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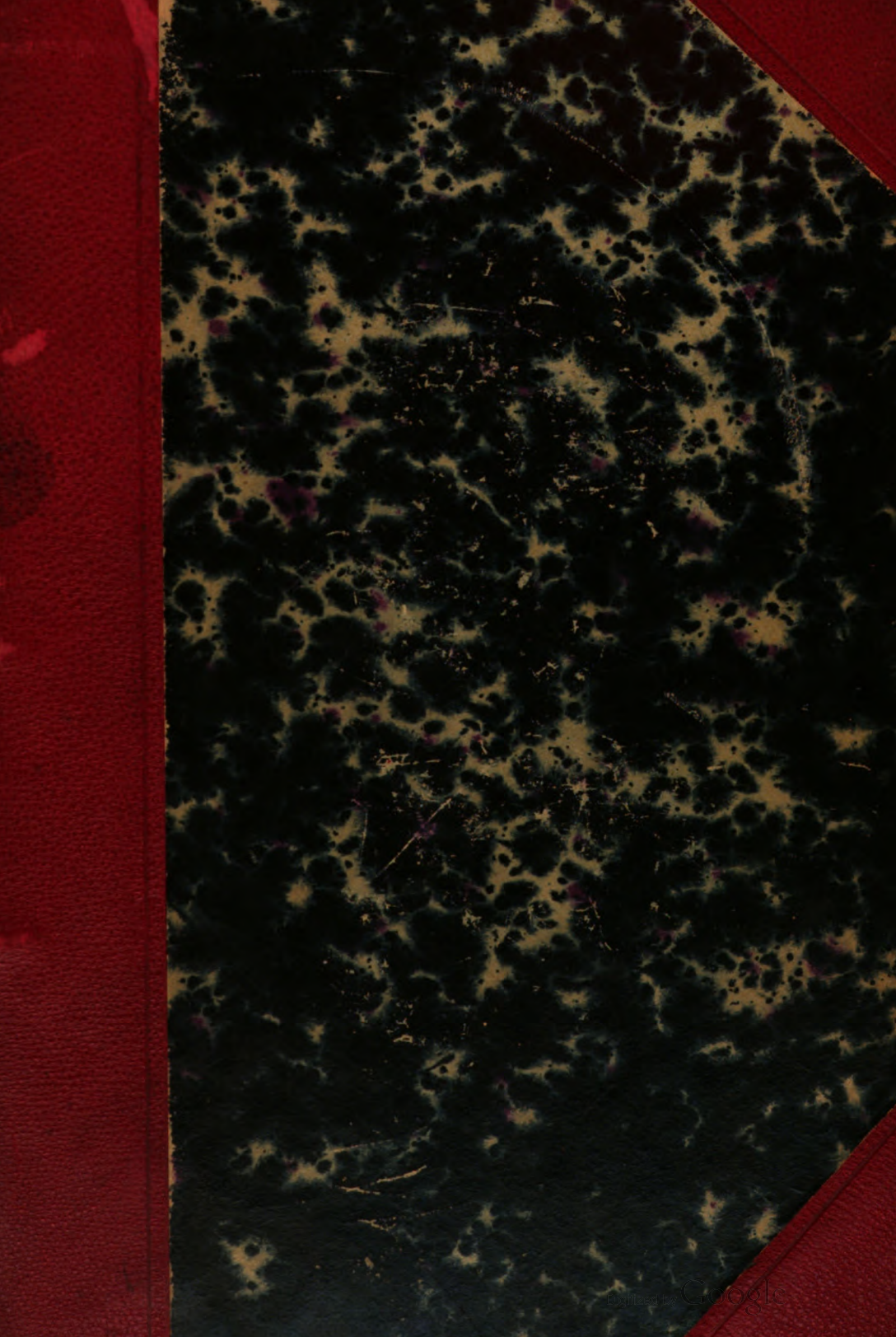
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THE  
**International Socialist Review**

A MONTHLY JOURNAL  
OF INTERNATIONAL  
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VOLUME VII

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JULY, 1906—JUNE, 1907



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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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NO. 1

## "Living In."

TO BE sure we all 'live in.' Do not the American girls?" was the remark made by a young woman in one of the large stores in the center of London, when I asked her as to the life of English shop girls. Further conversation with London shop "assistants" many of whom had spent several years in that position brought out a series of facts concerning the life of this class that is utterly different from anything in the American mercantile industry. Though much may be said concerning the need of the American shop girl, for seats, short hours, etc., the English assistants, besides having all these to secure has yet other troubles which are peculiarly their own. However long the hours or annoying the "floor-walker" may be to the American girl, when business closes at night she is at last free to seek her own home or to visit her acquaintances, as she may desire. Not so with the English assistant; her eating, drinking, and sleeping, equally with her work are under the close supervision of the employer.

In connection with all the large stores are great dormitories in which all the assistants, be they men or women, with or without homes of their own, are required to live. It is estimated that at least 75 per cent. of the large stores provide in this way for the housing and feeding of their employees.

Mr. S. Hobson, the English journalist, when asked concerning this practice of "living in" said: "Like so many other things in English life it is a survival. The Englishman clings to old customs and things. He is wedded to his fire-place and omnibus. So this custom of 'living in' is a remnant of the days when the apprentice boarded with his master and the small employer kept his few workmen. When the large store came in the employers

saw the advantage to them of boarding and housing their assistants, and forthwith began to do so on a large scale."

Great barracks were therefore erected for sleeping and eating purposes where the assistants are fed and lodged at an expense of from ten to fifteen cents a day, and indeed some particularly economical employers are reputed to have reduced this item of expense to as low as eight cents per day.

In some cases the house provides the food directly, but more frequently the contract is let to a professional caterer, and the employer gives the matter no further attention and allows the caterer to make all the profit possible. The food is coarse, poorly cooked, and monotonous, and badly served. One assistant bears witness to the fact that it is no uncommon thing for all to leave the table without touching the meal. There is no variation from week to week and even from year to year. One day it is "mutton hot" and the next it is "mutton cold," or the assistant may be dieted on pork for a week, while morning after morning the breakfast is made up of bread and butter or "drippings" and tea or coffee. The assistant is simply reckoned in by the employer as such and such a part of the expense, — so much for food, so much for beds, and a little over as wages for clothes and pocket money.

The outside life of the assistant may appear satisfactory, even comfortable. There may be a certain refinement about the person and surroundings of the shop-girl, and her work seem light and clean. The woman who would go shopping shabbily dressed in one of the West End shops may even be eyed coldly by these young ladies. One would naturally suppose that with their great numbers, over 700,000 in the city of London, they would be able to hold their own and like other wage-earners, show some resistance to the aggressions of employers. On the contrary their condition has either remained stationary or else actually grown worse with the passage of time.

Their hours are long, wages low, and made up by a system of premiums and uncertain commissions, and reduced by fines and deductions. They live an institutional life, eat what may be given them in the brief time allotted to them and are subject to dismissal at a moment's notice.

They must always appear neatly dressed and if a new recruit finds her clothes shabby before she has earned enough to purchase more she is very apt to find herself looking for a new position in a lower grade of shop at the East End.

But these features, however annoying, are not peculiar to "living in" and it is with that side that we are particularly interested. The bed-rooms have beds for from four to five sleepers. No choice is allowed as to room companions. There are no chairs or other furniture save the beds and a stove, no nails, hooks or

pictures allowed on the walls. Every article of clothing must be kept in a box under the bed. If any are left lying around the room they are at once confiscated. Below are a few of the rules that govern one of these dormitories.

"The house door is closed at 11 P. M., Saturdays at 12 P. M. The gas will be turned out fifteen minutes later. Any one having a light after that time will be discharged.

Assistants sleeping out without permission will be cautioned twice and discharged at the third offense.

All bedrooms to be cleared at 8 A. M.

On Sundays the bedrooms to be cleared at 10:20 A. M. and not entered again until 12:30 P. M.

Bedrooms must be kept tidy. No pictures, photos, etc., allowed to disfigure the walls. Anyone so doing will be charged with the repairs.

No assistant to enter any bedroom but her own.

No flowers to be put in water glasses or bottles.

No article of diet to be supplied unless by doctor's orders.

Strangers are not allowed to enter the house."

The law forbidding marriage is unwritten but is nevertheless a part of the "common law." A discussion once arose in Chicago as to whether the workers in the department stores of that city ought to marry on a salary of fifteen dollars a week. For the English assistant this question is all settled. He, or she is not to marry at all. Since "living in" is the invariable rule the applicant who is married stands small chance of being employed at all. If an employee does think of marrying he must keep his intentions secret. The practical result of this is that men visit their wives secretly once a week and spend the rest of their time in the barracks.

One example of the abuse here complained of is that of a man who for four years sought to obtain the permission of his employers to his marriage and who finally took the law into his own hands and was married without the desired permission only to be instantly discharged. The effects of thus forcing men and women to live through youth and even past the prime of life (for nothing is more striking to the American observer than the advanced age of the English shop-workers in comparison with those of the United States) a monastic life, need not be moralized upon.

The assistant "living in" forfeits not only his domestic but his civil rights as well. He may be twenty-one, or he may be thirty, he has no opportunity of exercising the powers of a citizen. Dr. John Clifford, president of the Christian Social Brotherhood, in a sermon on "Shop Life" said concerning this phase of the subject, "He is 'living in' and that means living out of the political realm."



After all life is made up of little things and it is the petty annoyances of the shop and the dormitories that grind the hardest. Perhaps the harshest side of this system appears in the matter of discipline. All individuality is lost. All privacy and freedom is gone and they become simply units of a subordinate class. The humiliation and helplessness of their position is felt by every man or woman with a remnant of spirit left. What must be the effect upon any person with the least atom of personal pride to be confronted every day with the following notice, posted upon the walls of that which they are forced to call home, "Trust nobody. Watch everybody. Goods are stolen every day and nobody ever catches anyone." It is a rule of the establishment that no one is to be treated as honest. Every other assistant and every customer must be viewed as a thief and looked upon with suspicion.

All these things have an added sting when accompanied by illness. Each assistant must pay twenty-five cents (one shilling) a month for the "house doctor," without whose consent no other physician is allowed to enter the house. At the end of a week's illness in the house, if the assistant has not yet recovered there is no choice but the hospital unless she happen to have friends who will take her to their home. Meanwhile she has occupied the same room with three others, — but one establishment in all London making any separate provision for the care of the sick. One sad case among many is that of a young man who when taken sick received a single visit from the doctor and no further care or special attention. Becoming delirious, his ravings so alarmed his room-mate that he ran from the room, and the patient got up from his bed. After trying for the second time the doctor was at last secured and came only to find that the young man had already died before the eyes of his helpless mates.

Following the well known rule that the less desirable the work and the more disadvantageous the conditions under which it is done the lower the remuneration received, we are not surprised to learn that the wages of the London shop assistants are even lower than the proverbially low wages of the famous London dockers. From the other archaic forms still to be found in the organization of the industry we may expect to find wages settled entirely through individual bargaining between the employer and employe. So far indeed is this carried that no employe has any means of knowing what any of their co-workers are receiving, while of course the employer bargains with all the advantage which a complete knowledge of all such facts will give. London being the Mecca of the provincial worker and the center toward which the young people from all parts of Great Britain throng most of the shop workers are country born, Wales in particular being known as the "happy hunting grounds of the shop-keeper."

The new comers, although they may have had several years experience in smaller cities are treated as "green hands" and alluring descriptions of the value of "London training" are held out to them with the result that they are not only frequently induced to engage for a couple of years without wages but it is no unusual thing for their parents to pay from \$100.00 to \$150.00 a year for the "privilege" of receiving this training.

In other cases, where more favorable terms have been made, the assistant, after serving free for three months to secure "experience," will receive \$1.25 a week. In a high class West End shop men start at \$100.00 a year and then while "living in" are obliged to pay from \$50 to \$60 of this for extra food. Wages for women vary from \$50.00 to in a few cases \$175.00 a year. Even these wages are being constantly reduced by the system of fines which is everywhere in force. In one shop we find no less than seventy-five rules enforced, and in another ninety-eight, all punishable by fines, varying in amount from three pence to the discretion of the floor-walker. An instance of the working of these rules is that of a boy who was fined ten shillings for having a frying pan in the box under his bed.

It must not be thought from what has been said that no one in England is awake to the troubles of the shop-assistant or that no effort is being made to remedy these evils. Through the indefatigable efforts of Mr. J. McPherson, and his very able assistant, Miss Margaret Bonfield, a shop assistants' union of over 5,000 members has been organized and an active campaign for parliamentary action against the worst abuses carried on. They have already secured the enactment of a law compelling the employers to furnish seats for their employees and it is believed that the investigations that are instituted at the suggestion of the labor members of Parliament will result in various changes.

MAY WOOD SIMONS.

## The Political Situation in Europe.

NOT since the Congress of the Social Democratic Party which took place in the summer of 1902, have the Socialists of Munich had an opportunity to hear an address by August Bebel, leader of the German Social Democracy; and consequently, although the meeting at which Bebel was to speak was called for eight o'clock, the great hall of the *Kindlkeller* was well filled at six, and at seven the crowd had become so dense that the doors were shut by the police. From five o'clock in the afternoon a steady stream of workmen had been pouring into the building; an hour later every seat on the floor was occupied. Late comers were either obliged to stand or to take a back place in the galleries. Shortly before eight Bebel appeared, a storm of applause bursting forth as he slowly made his way to the platform. August Bebel was 66 years old on the 22d of February; his hair and beard are white, but he is still Bebel the "ever-young." His step has lost none of its elasticity; he is as agile in his movements and gestures as a man of thirty years, and his voice retains all its extraordinary carrying qualities and power. Slightly below the middle size, spare in figure, and unassuming in dress, there is but little in Bebel's external appearance to suggest the political genius and orator: like our own Lincoln and Wendell Phillips, we must hear him speak to be disillusioned. He spoke as follows:

The world of the ruling classes is always fighting for peace; we are assured by all governments that peace must be maintained for peace is necessary to the labor of civilization,—peace is the most valuable possession of mankind. Yet in contradiction to this assurance, all the nations of the world are striving to outdo one another in the construction of the most elaborate and costly armaments that have ever been known to history.

If we ask the ruling powers how they manage to bring their assurances of peace into harmony with their preparations for war, we are told that in order to have peace it is first necessary to be armed to the teeth. But no nation trusts another, and no one takes the assurance that peace is desired seriously. The world of the ruling classes indeed requires peace; its dominant principle is on the one hand labor, and on the other hand profits from labor and the accumulation of capital. To-day, no country in Europe, if forced to depend upon its own resources, would be able to exist; and however much we Socialists are reproached for our international tendencies, the capitalistic world

is itself compelled more and more to realize the spirit of internationalism. Each nation must enter into relations with other countries for the mutual exchange of industrial, agricultural and natural products. For this reason we have every reason to believe that the most obvious duty of the ruling classes is to maintain peace. And yet, every moment some question or another arises and seems to threaten the entire civilized world with a sudden outburst of hostilities.

Hand in hand with the work of exchanging the products of one nation with those of another goes the endeavor to conquer new markets in all quarters of the globe;—an endeavor which has also made its appearance in Germany. But as a matter of fact, everything in the shape of colonial territory that is worth the trouble of annexing has long been annexed. Like the poet in the fable, when it came to dividing up Germany arrived too late. From my present standpoint, there was no harm in that; for we exchange our products with civilized nations, not with Hottentots and Zulus. In 1905, Germany's foreign trade mounted up to the fabulous totals of thirteen thousand million marks (three billion dollars), and now I ask, what are the countries with which we have commercial relations? During the last few months there has been a great deal of discussion in regard to our relations with England, and not a few of our fellow countrymen suffer under the delusion that our first and foremost duty is to strain every effort to drag England down from the position which she holds to-day, and above all to make an attempt to seize for Germany one or more of the English colonies; for it is said in confidence that the colonies now owned by Germany are not fit to grow cabbage on. Yet twenty-four per cent of the foreign trade of Germany is with England, and in spite of all differences of opinion between the two countries, it increases from year to year, — an unanswerable proof that the material interests of nations are more powerful than personal likes or dislikes. Our trade with the United States amounts to some fifteen or sixteen hundred million marks (\$375,000,000). From America we obtain for the most part raw materials and foodstuffs that are absolutely indispensable to our welfare; for at home we are unable to raise and produce all that is necessary to supply our needs. Besides England and America, we have commercial relations with Russia, Austria, France, — in short, we can prove statistically that by far the greater part of our foreign trade is with the leading civilized nations of the world.

From this point of view, and considering their mutual necessities of life, it is madness for civilized nations to wish to measure their strength with one another in the battle-field, instead of by way of peaceful competition. And yet those questions are con-

stantly arising, as a result of which the world is confronted with the danger that some day the very thing that is dreaded most by all may happen, and a general conflagration burst forth between the leading powers. Such a question, which made a sudden appearance about two years ago, was

#### THE MOROCCO DISPUTE.

Morocco, a barbarian Mohammedan state in North Africa, is a country of extensive area and large population, two-thirds of whom, however, do not acknowledge their own Sultan, let alone any foreign ruler. It is a backward country, — backward in industry no less than in civilization, — although beyond doubt it possesses many possibilities of development. Since it is situated so close to France and Spain, it is not to be wondered at that these countries were anxious to establish themselves there. England also was greatly interested in Morocco, and at one time it almost appeared as if there was going to be war between England and France for supremacy in that country. But to everybody's surprise an agreement was entered into by France and England, April 8, 1904, according to which, in spite of their strongly opposed interests, France agreed to recognize England's position in Egypt and the Sudan, and England agreed to give France free hand in Morocco. There was a clause in the treaty which to a certain extent injured German interests, but, strange to say, Prince von Bülow declared at that time in the Reichstag, that Germany had no cause to be dissatisfied: for even if France did take charge of the affairs of Morocco, German industrialists were perfectly free to compete there if they chose. We may say in passing that German trade with Morocco amounts to about four million marks (less than \$1,000,000) a year, — a mere bagatelle compared to the 13,000 million marks of German international trade.

But the situation soon changed. It now appeared that what Prince von Bülow had praised as an acquisition, was after all of doubtful advantage. And as a matter of fact, the treaty contained a clause, according to which Germany was given the right to trade in Morocco for a period of thirty years only. We too thought that there was something wrong in this, but were of the opinion that the danger to which the nation would be exposed by a hostile interference in the affairs of Morocco was wholly out of proportion to the value of the object to be gained. However, the Morocco affair soon became a question of this nature. In a French document the suspicion is voiced that an attempt was made to convince the German Emperor that in consequence of the unfortunate outcome of the war with Japan, Russia would no longer take the part of France. And it is quite possible that

this suspicion was founded on fact; for a short time afterwards an event took place such as had never before happened in the intercourse between nations, — at least for the sake of a matter of such small importance. The German Emperor sailed to Tangier and talked to the representatives of the Sultan of Morocco in such a manner as could only heighten their feeling of self-importance and at the same time arouse a most unpleasant impression in France and England. It was not until the occurrence of this event that Prince von Bülow began to talk about an impending catastrophe; and Delcassé, the French Minister of foreign affairs, is said to have inquired of the British government if it would be willing to support France in case of a war with Germany.

It is a long time since England and Germany have been on friendly terms. A whole series of events, among others the celebrated telegram to President Paul Krüger, has tended to estrange Germany and England more and more from one another. The result of the Morocco question has been to cause England and France to become permanent friends, — to the injury of Germany. As was only to be expected, Italy and Russia also took the part of France, so that finally Germany was able to reap no other advantage than the abolition of the clause limiting her right of freedom of trade in Morocco to thirty years. All the rest is only of value to France and Spain. And it is for this reason that Prince von Bülow now tries to minimize as much as possible the significance of the Morocco question, — the same von Bülow who last summer is said to have inquired of the General Staff if it were prepared to begin the war! But this most recent declaration of von Bülow's stands in decided contradiction to the tendency of German foreign policy of recent years; and I fear that it has not had the effect of increasing the prestige of Germany and her diplomacy. We must also remember that during the entire tremendous

#### REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA,

Germany has done everything in her power *to be of service to the reaction*. (Cries of shame!) Germany has even gone so far as to anticipate every wish of the Russian government, besides agreeing to allow a Russian loan to be raised here; and as a reward Russia has just opposed the German claims in Algieras in a most ostentatious and insolent manner. A more humiliating situation is scarcely to be imagined; but the Russian government knows only too well that Germany is at its beck and call. The heart of our ruling classes, especially the East Prussian agrarian nobility, is with the Russian government. The East Prussian nobility looks upon the Russian autocracy as its ideal, and expects,

in case a serious struggle should burst forth in Germany between the government and the people, that if the former should prove too weak to withstand the will of the latter, that Russia would assist it with her Cossacks.

The Prussian nobility is the incarnation of all reaction, the representative of whatever is opposed to the welfare of the people, the enemy of all economic progress. So long as Russia remains a despotism, it is her endeavor to uphold similar political conditions in all adjacent countries. But the war with Japan and the revolution at home have now combined to weaken Russian absolutism, and the ruling classes in Germany, the Emperor, von Bülow, and the East Prussian nobility view with regret the events that are taking place in Russia, and would welcome the day they could see the old conditions restored, — that is, if the old conditions were capable of being restored! But that is a thing of the past. The Russian revolution will not come to an end until the autocracy has been succeeded by a more reasonable social order.

For us, the *general situation* is not very edifying. We have not one friend left except Austria; but Austria has fallen far behind the times in financial affairs, and in military entanglements financial power is a very important matter. Still, from this point of view, poverty has its advantages. The development of military strength has grown to a colossal extent. In 1900 a conference was held at The Hague to discuss the question of disarmament, and now Russia comes along with

#### A SECOND PEACE CONFERENCE

— more banqueting and pacific resolutions — and armaments to be increased on sea and land. (Laughter.) There is much reason for laughter; the pacific resolutions will remain written in black and white for the entertainment of future generations no less than of the present. For ten years the idea has been officially promulgated, that Germany also must live up to her interests as a World Power, and we have been told that whenever opportunity offered our national importance was to be clinched by a demonstration. And so we tried to demonstrate in Morocco, — only it did not all turn out quite as was expected. In 1896, the majority in the Reichstag, including even the Conservatives, declared that we had no inclination to compete with other nations in costly armaments, if for no other reason than because the necessary funds were lacking. But since that time, one after another the bourgeois parties have capitulated; and a few weeks ago the naval programme was voted for by all except the Social Democrats. For eight years Germany has endeavored to become at least a second-rate sea-power. In 1905, we expended the enorm-

ous sum of twelve thousand fifty-eight million marks on the army and navy; and all the while the national debt has been constantly increasing. Such management as this is enough to bring on a catastrophe even in times of peace. The committee on taxes is searching everywhere for new sources of revenue. And the Clericals are now discussing the expediency of a so-called military tax, in case the present objects of taxation prove insufficient. This is the same Clerical party that in 1900 introduced a paragraph into the naval bill, stipulating that if the naval budget should exceed one hundred and seventeen millions, the surplus should not be raised through indirect taxation.

The new proposals for additional revenue are

#### INDIRECT TAXES

which must be borne by the masses of the people. The taxes that ought to be levied, namely, on incomes, property and inheritances are conspicuous by their absence. During the recent debate on the naval budget, the property tax suggested by the *Freisinnige Volkspartei*, which would have yielded forty millions, was rejected,—likewise the tax on all incomes of over five thousand marks by the Social Democratic group. We want those people to pay who claim that patriotism demands that Germany should require a huge army and navy. We want them to be patriotic not in word but in action. The State is at bottom a great mutual insurance company, and the premiums should be paid in proportion to the services rendered. Since the army is an organization for the defense of the interests of the propertied classes,—it is also employed in the struggle against the “enemy at home”,—and since the navy serves a similar purpose, justice demands that both should be paid for by the classes who seek their protection.

But *direct taxes on property and incomes* are paid by no ruling class, with the exception of the English bourgeoisie. At the time of the struggle in South Africa with its tremendous drain on the finances of England, the English middle class, (and in Germany this must be said to their credit by a Social Democrat) increased the tax on incomes in order to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war,—and in England incomes of less than three thousand marks (\$700) a year are free from taxation. In this way the English bourgeoisie were enabled to raise no less than one thousand one hundred millions in direct taxes. It is true that at the same time a duty on grain was also adopted; but whereas we paid here at that time a duty of three and a half marks per double hundredweight, the English duty was only one-seventh of that amount. Moreover, although the English duty on grain was abolished at the end of two years, our duty has been increased to five and a half marks, or almost sixty per cent. This is the work of the agrarian nobility. Thus while in a nation also



ruled by the bourgeoisie, not only the principle of *noblesse oblige* prevails, but also the principle that the possession of property brings with it responsibility to the public; in our country, the society for the promotion of the interests of the navy, which recruits the majority of its members from the most fashionable circles, had the unparalleled impudence to demand that the entire surplus of the duty on grain, which had been set aside for a pension fund for widows and orphans (30-40 million marks), should be devoted to the building of new warships! I cannot conceive of anything more infamous than that such a desire should be expressed by the wealthy classes of a nation.

Thus armaments have everywhere taken a new lease of life. It is an interesting question how things would turn out

#### IF WAR WERE REALLY DECLARED.

All the nations of Europe are in debt, and their indebtedness is increasing from year to year. What is yielded by taxation just suffices to make both ends meet in time of peace. But how would this be in case of a war? Germany would now place five million men in the field as compared to the one and a half million of 1870. Mobilization alone would cost 700 million marks, of which only the 120 million deposited in the *Juliusturm* are available. The expenses of the first month have been estimated at 1,400 million marks, and if we were obliged to carry on the war for a year, the cost would be 22,000 million marks. Where is the money to come from? The wealthy classes will not furnish it, and the issue of paper money would immediately be followed by its depreciation. Even granted that we were victorious, does anyone believe that there is a nation to be found capable of paying an adequate indemnity, as was the case in 1870-71? We would have to enslave the inhabitants of entire France in order to clear off the debt. It is also possible that the pension funds would be used for the same purpose. We have been in the habit of granting pensions to the disabled, but considering the increased effectiveness of modern weapons there would now be an appalling number of wounded, and where are the funds to be obtained? We must also remember that of the 5 million troops  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million individuals would at once cease all productive work. In a war of the future we would have both France and England against us: they would blockade the North sea and the Baltic; trade, both import and export, would stagnate; the millions of workers who remained in the factories would be thrown out of employment; and as a result of the interruption in the importation of the necessities of life, there would be a sudden rise in prices. How would the capitalistic world be able to face such a situation? It is probable that it would be at the end of its tether.

Two years ago in the Reichstag, when I similarly described the probable effects of a European war, and in my reply to Prince von Bülow declared that such a situation would signify that the last hour of the capitalistic order had come, Von Bülow answered: "This we know, and because we know it we will avoid war." But if that is the case, why these endless preparations for war? We also have a

#### COLONIAL POLICY,

and our colonies are a heavy expense. If we had to pay for our foreign trade a tithe of what we pay for our colonial trade, we would go bankrupt in one year. We are told that the navy is for the protection of our colonies; but in case of a war we could not even protect our commerce. Our sea coast requires no fleets for its defense; but our trading vessels could be captured and our commerce destroyed. With our navy shut up in the harbors, England could, if she chose, take possession of every one of our colonies.

We Social Democrats are considered enemies of our native country. I have just shown how profound the love of the Jingo patriots is for their native country, so long as it does not cost them anything. When it comes to paying, their patriotism evaporates. They increase both navy and army, and thereby create new sinecures to be occupied by the sons of the nobility and bourgeoisie. The masses pay, and in time of war *their* sons are the food for powder. The nobility and bourgeoisie are also enthusiastic for colonial expansion, for officials are needed there too. We stand for

#### THE INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS OF CIVILIZATION.

We are not of the opinion that there will be a general dissolution of civilized nations; but we are opposed to the unheard-of burdens that are laid upon the shoulders of the workers of every nation to pay for the creation of instruments of destruction. We wish to employ this wealth for the furtherance of civilization. We believe that the common interests of nations are growing from year to year, in spite of the endeavors of the ruling classes to erect barriers of protective duties between them. Just as we have a national house of representatives, so should civilized nations have an international parliament for the arbitration of disputes. If we are told that this is idealism, our reply is that all that exists to-day was once idealism. Christianity also is international, and tells us of a God who allows the sun to shine on both the just and the unjust. But these same Christians, when it comes to a conflict between nations, see nothing strange in appealing to an international God for the victory of their own

particular nation. We know very well that nothing can be accomplished by preaching: if we desire the internationalism of peoples, we must recognize and strengthen the internationalism of interests. The International Postal Union,—in fact, every commercial treaty is a work of international solidarity. Why can not this spirit of solidarity between nations be infused into all our relations? Where there's a will there's a way. The working-class of the various civilized nations, who are everywhere subjected to exploitation and oppression, have but one interest, not only within their own nations, but also in the relations of the different nations to one another. From this the

#### INTERNATIONALISM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

has naturally developed. When the danger of war between Germany and France arose last year, it was the Social Democrats of Germany and France who stood together as one man for the idea of peace.

But it is not only the burden of armaments by which the people are oppressed. On the first of March of this year, the new tariff laws came into force, and the result of these tariff laws has been a general rise in the price of the necessities of life. What one could buy for 100 marks three years ago now costs 120 marks. But in the meantime the income of the workers has not increased; and in this manner must the working class pay the penalty of the military expenses of the nation with poor nutrition, sickness and death. A decade ago there were millions of people in Germany who were insufficiently nourished, and what must their condition be to-day? Even our Jingo patriots will have the effects of the increased cost of living brought home to them, for the number of unfit recruits for the army must increase with insufficient nourishment. A further effect of the new tariff laws is the decrease of our exports, due to tariff wars with other nations.

That our domestic political relations are also in a lamentable condition can be gathered *ad nauseam* from the newspapers. On the 20th of January, 1903, Prince von Bülow announced in the Reichstag the social program of the Emperor and the State Governments. The Imperial Chancellor said that the workers should be granted equal rights with the other classes, and that this equality of rights should find its expression in legislation. The German workingman is still waiting in vain for the Chancellor's words to be realized. A short time ago at a banquet given by the agrarian party, Prince von Bülow spoke of Social Democracy among other things, and said that the Social Democrats are endeavoring to ruin the farmers. But that is precisely what we are not trying to do; *what we want is truth and justice in all human relations in state and society*. No one shall be permitted to live at the cost of another, or to exploit and oppress his fellow

man. We wish to assist the farmer with all our power in his endeavor to obtain better means of conveyance, agricultural schools and colleges, experiment stations, instruction in scientific methods of stock breeding and sanitation; but we are not willing that the prosperity of the peasants should be paid for by the increased cost of living of the proletariat. I have never heard of a peasant starving to death, but starving workingmen are to be numbered by thousands. What has become of von Bülow's social reforms and equality of rights? Perhaps the continuance of the three-class system of voting is the answer to this question, or the attempted suppression of the right of coalition and of holding political meetings, or class justice! And in view of these conditions, can one wonder that in reply to a question list published in a French newspaper, some of the most distinguished men of Europe have stated that in the interest of freedom and progress they should not care to see the influence of Germany increase? But we will take care that what is said of the Germany of to-day will not be true of the Germany of the future. We Social Democrats demand the freedom of all men; and in order that this demand may be realized, we require knowledge of national and social conditions, unity of action, and the enlightenment of all classes, above all the working class. The workers must learn to know their historical mission; they have no other future except Socialism. And hence I say to you: your future depends upon your own unaided efforts; join hands with the party of the proletariat, support our organization and our press, and then in closed ranks forward to victory!

AUGUST BEBEL.

(The above address delivered at Munich, April 7th, 1906, was furnished us through the kindness of *Wilshire's Magazine*, by whose foreign correspondent the report was sent.)

## The Election in Denmark.

NEVER has the Danish Social Democracy won a prouder victory than at the election for the *Folkething* (the second legislative chamber) on the 29th of May. Their vote, which in 1903 was about 55,000 rose to 76,566, an increase of 25 per cent over the previous vote. The number of members elected rose from 16 to 24 (out of a total of 114.) To be sure one previously Socialist district was lost; but in place of this nine new ones were captured. What was even more significant than the momentary gain, was the promise for the future of our party contained in the result of the election. In a long list of districts our minorities were so large that their capture at the next election is certain; in three districts, for example, we were defeated by less than one hundred votes; in four others we lacked between 100 and 200. On the next occasion, which cannot be later than 1909, and probably will be next year, when we enter into the electoral battle, the number of Social Democratic seats cannot be less than thirty. Even in many districts where the majority of our opponents was much larger, we have made such great gains, that even there we can hope for victory within a perceptible number of years. A complete picture of the growth which our party has made can be best comprehended by a study of the forty-five districts in which we participated at the last election, which gives an opportunity for comparisons of strength. The increase in these was 35 per cent, from 43,741 votes in 1903 to 59,066 in 1906. It is this steady irresistible advance, this so-to-speak cosmical growth of socialism in all portions of the country, that has been so strikingly characteristic of the last three years. To mention one typical example of this ripening process in a single Danish electoral district: in Fredrica, in southern Jutland, a Social Democrat, (a printer by the name of Ras-musson) was nominated for the first time in 1892; he received only 59 votes; in 1895 his vote had grown to 167; in 1898 to 385; in 1901 to 901; in 1903 to 1088, and in recent election he was victorious with a vote of 1446.

The character of the victories are perhaps even more significant than their number. The previous socialist districts were, without exception, city districts—ten of them were in Copenhagen and the immediate suburbs, and the six additional, in other great cities. Of the nine newly acquired districts, on the contrary, only three can be designated as city districts; in four the urban population makes up but 35 per cent of the total population, in one about 20 per cent, and the other is purely rural. The same

thing is true of those districts where we are just crossing the threshold to victory; the overwhelming majority are populated mainly or exclusively by an agricultural population. This means that the Social Democracy is now pushing its victorious course out into the open country. Agricultural laborers and small farmers are being rapidly awakened to socialist consciousness. There has always been some grounds hitherto for the assertions of our opponents that socialism could take root only in the paving stones of the great cities, but this saying has now lost all meaning. With a greater clearness than ever before the Social Democracy has announced itself as the party of the proletariat, in the country as well as in the city. This fact may indeed be looked upon with greater cause for rejoicing than any other.

In the political situation of the immediate present, these facts are of very great importance.

There exists at the present moment in Danish politics something that can only be designated as a conspiracy of the possessing classes against the propertiless. Landlords, capitalists, and great farmers are combined against the laborers and the small farmers. Since the year 1901 when the Agrarian fraction of the Left came into power,\* their democratic tendencies quickly and thoroughly faded away. Of the social reforms concerning which during the long opposition period so much was said, only a very few and very insignificant ones were realized; while on the other hand whatever furthered the Agrarian and capitalist interest at the cost of the poorer portion of the population, found fertile soil. Consequently there arose in all spheres of public life a hostility to culture (*Kulturfeindschaft*) such a darkness, and appeal to the worst instincts; the "whipping law" of the last session, providing for the re-introduction of corporal punishment in certain criminal cases shows the intellectual level. There were two questions which were especially prominent during the recent campaign: the radical reduction of military expenses, and the extension of universal and equal suffrage in municipal elections. On both of these points, the very touch-stones of democracy, the betrayal was plain. The military question was temporarily buried in a commission, but it was very plain both from the expressions of the leading men of the Left, as well as from many individual measures, that we might rather expect an increase than a diminution of military expenses from the Left. And so far as the promised suffrage is concerned, we are now confronted with the proposal not only to exclude married women and servants, but to introduce the proportional system and to require a majority of three-fourths or four-fifths of the members of the municipal councils, which would place the possessing class in a

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\*) See INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, Vol II, p. 29.

position to prevent any reform in the interest of the propertiless class. It was particularly the great farmers who sought thus to guard their money bags, and who were met more than half way in the task by the capitalists and landlords.

The center of gravity of Danish politics has been forced into the *Landsting* (the first legislative chamber.) Here the capitalists, and especially the great land owners, by virtue of a privileged suffrage, have a majority, and here the fate of all proposed laws is decided; every reform that does not further the interests of the rich soon has its throat cut, and the ministry looks on quite contented. Instead of taking up an aggressive policy against the *Landsting*, for which it possesses the legal power to nominate new members, it seeks only to form compromises with the country nobility (*Junkerregiment*.) In this way it proves false to all its democratic traditions.

The political conditions through which we are now passing resemble those of a generation ago when the Conservative landlords and the National-Liberal capitalists, amalgamated in the party of the Right. At that time the motive which forced them to act was fear of a class movement among the peasants. Now when the landlords, capitalists and the large and medium sized farmers are preparing to unite in a "conservative combination"—into an anti-socialist mass—the motive is the common fear of the powerful, rising class movement of the proletariat.

When at last the betrayal of democratic principles became plainly evident, at the beginning of the year 1905, a group broke away from the Left and formed a new "Radical Party," with a platform resting on universal suffrage, and demanding a long list of social reforms, the larger portion of which were taken from the Social Democratic list of immediate demands. These Radicals fought hand in hand with the Social Democratic Party at the polls against the reactionary parties, but with little results. Although in many districts where the Social Democratic movement was still poorly developed, we supported their candidates, nevertheless the number of their representatives fell from 15 to 9, and many of those that they now possess are held by a narrow margin. The time when a really radical capitalist democracy is possible seems certainly to have passed away. Divided up, as individuals, the radical writers, artists, teachers, etc., can still perform a service in the fight against the ignorance and vileness of the reaction. But the great mass of the people, so often and so deeply disappointed in their hopes of the capitalist parties, are now going directly into the ranks of the Social Democracy.

GUSTAV BANG.

*Translated from the German by A. M. Simons.*

## The Relation of Individualism to Socialism.

. Reply to Bryan.

**I**T WILL be necessary to correct two of Mr. Bryan's definitions and some of the interpretations of socialism in his article on "Individualism versus Socialism" in the April *Century Magazine*. But at the same time it is admitted with chagrin that the socialist philosophy has been thus misunderstood and misinterpreted by some who are regarded as authorities. Where then shall we find an authoritative definition of what socialism means? In the United States alone some tens of thousands of voting men are united in a dues paying organization for a definite aim which they call socialism. Delegates duly authorized by them, elected to a national convention, have set forth a definition of purpose upon which these men agree and for which they are organized. This document is the National Platform of the Socialist Party of the United States. It is our expression of the same purpose declared with equal authority in the platforms of the party in other nations. This does not imply that these millions of socialists do not hold opposite opinions on other subjects and even on problems concerning socialism not definitely dealt with in our platform. But on so much we are agreed, because this document has the almost unqualified approval of the party members through a referendum vote of the party upon each clause of it. No individual or committee can presume to state for us in obvious opposition to this platform what our united purpose is, though they may interpret its meaning with as much weight as their influence can give. More than this document conveys the party does not assume responsibility for. Let those who approve it answer for it as a personal opinion; but, by so much as they have overstepped in assuming more authority for it, they have misrepresented us. Our platform contains the declaration of a simple purpose:

"Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered; it means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men."

Preliminary to the accomplishment of this revolutionary



aim, there are some things we would do merely as steps to its accomplishment and as measures of relief for the present, which are set forth in the concluding paragraphs; and the preceding part is an indictment of capitalism. But the foregoing paragraph is the socialist platform in the sense that it is a bare definition of purpose.

We will not be drawn into an attitude of attack upon individualism because Mr. Bryan defends capitalism under the name individualism. Accepting his assumption that the highest aim of society is the harmonious development of the human race, physically, mentally, and morally, it is the purpose of this endeavor to show that the socialist program is indispensable to it. Socialism must be in order that we may have political and religious liberty, freedom of speech, individual liberty, and private property, in other words, individualism. The dictionaries say that individualism means "the quality of being separate or individual, having individuality. Personal independence of action, character, or interest. *The theory of government that favors the utmost social and economic liberty of the individual.*" This definition taken from the Standard Dictionary, — and other authorities give pretty much the same thing — is quite good enough for the purposes of this discussion. Mr. Bryan gives a definition he likes better. "For the purpose of this discussion," he says, "individualism will be defined as the private ownership of the means of production and distribution where competition is possible, leaving to public ownership those means of production and distribution in which competition is practically impossible; and socialism will be defined as the collective ownership, through the state, of all the means of production and distribution." Now this is better as a definition of capitalism than it is as a definition of individualism. For even where competition is possible, private ownership of the means of production and distribution necessarily involves that the tools will be owned for the most part by those who don't use them, and used by those who don't own them. Of course this is true not only for the most part but altogether without exception of means of production and distribution in which competition is impossible. Private ownership therefore involves capitalism. The aim of the socialist is "that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users." No one else could have any purpose in owning them but to get an income from the labor of those who use them. And this is the essential purpose of capitalism, to get profit, interest, and rent without labor, which it is the essential purpose of socialism to defeat. The capitalists' purpose is accomplished with systematic perfection in the modern stock corporation. If the corporation owns means of production in which competition is practically impossible, it is called a trust, and gets its profits

by two different ways. The first, by extortionate charges drawn from the purchasing public, is condemned by Mr. Bryan. The extortionate prices are paid out of the profits of the middle class capitalist. He does not particularly condemn the other way, by the exploitation of propertyless laborers. The middle class capitalist also gets his profits in this way.

Whether "socialists agree in hostility to competition" and "regard competition as a hurtful force to be entirely exterminated" depends upon just what is meant by competition. The man on the street believes that socialism would abolish competition. He has been told so by socialists and by the opponents of socialism. He is being told so yet. But neither socialism nor anything else can abolish competition among men for a better reward to be gotten by excelling one another in usefulness to their fellow men. Competition in this sense is necessary to the well being of society and works harm to no one. It may be said with absolute positiveness that this is not the competition that socialists would have abolished. Mr. Bryan divides our industries into those in which competition is practically impossible and those in which competition is yet possible. Let us compare the advantages of organized industry urged by the socialists, even as the trusts have established it, with the results of competition. In the trust organization we have orderly co-operation, efficiency, and, for the masters' profit, economy of everything but the lives of the employees. In competition we have numberless little inefficient factories and stores fighting one another in the dark to get the business; consequently, there is working at cross purposes, waste, improvidence, and ruin. In fact it is anarchy, compared with order, though it be the orderly co-operation of slaves. Individualism does not involve anarchy. But, if this competition be necessary to it, it does. This is the competition which the socialists said must go. And it is surely going. Even Mr. Bryan has ceased talking about making "laws against corporations existing in restraint of trade" and he admits now that there are industries in which competition has become practically impossible. Nor is there reason to take it for granted that the tremendous advantages of organized co-operative industry cannot be enjoyed without the overwhelming disadvantage of stifling individual initiative and independence.

The desire to be independent, to work out one's individual success unhampered by the stupid or domineering interference of others, is just as natural to the socialist as to those who affect the name individualists. But the socialist sees that the individual ownership of means of production and distribution not individually used gives the owners power to hold others in dependence and even slavery. Control of our occupations is involved in the ownership of our tools. And in control of our

occupations all the important affairs of our lives are involved. The propertiless wage worker has nothing in this world but his power to labor. And even this is worthless if he cannot apply it to the means of production. Therefore he has no rights he can defend. Certainly he has no rights our masters will always respect. This private ownership therefore is not individualism, though Mr. Bryan calls it so. The social system founded on private ownership of the machinery of production is plainly in opposition to "the theory of government that favors the utmost social and economic liberty of the individual." These reasons have been presented with the utmost clearness again and again to the trading class without apparent effect upon their fine sensibilities.

But recently the middle class capitalist has come under an influence whose gentle persuasiveness quickly illuminates his mind. Collective ownership through the government of machinery of production does not now seem to him so idiotic. For he perceives that the private ownership of machinery of production and distribution, as for instance a railroad, in which competition is practically impossible, gives the owners power to confiscate his factory or mine which must use it, just as his private ownership of machinery of collective production in which competition is still possible enables him to take profit from the wage workers who must use it. If the trust is not a logical economic development consistent with middle class business methods, why is it that the Democratic Party of the middle class, like the Republican Party of the great capitalists, never applied any legislation while in power, and never proposed any legislation in or out of power which can be effective against the trusts? They would make laws, but what laws? There is not in this country a complete monopoly. No law can be devised against the big establishment controlling sixty or eighty per cent. of the business which does not apply just as well to the little capitalist. Therefore the Democratic Party seeks now to develop some strength by advocating in appearance a thing which socialists have advocated long before, but after adapting it to middle class interests.

But we do not concede, as Mr. Bryan does, that competition can be carried to a point where it would create a submerged tenth. Competition is not to be charged with the presence of this surplus unemployed or miserably employed population which degenerates necessarily into a submerged tenth. It is directly the result of private ownership of means of production in which competition is possible, as well as of means of production in which competition is practicably impossible. Under private ownership of the means of social production every increase in the aggregate productive power of the workers increases their

poverty, slavery, and despair. For private ownership of the tools as they are to-day, developed into machines and systems of machines in factories, involves, even where there is competition, the operation of the industry for the profit of the owners. Suppose the introduction of machinery that multiplies the product of a given amount of labor eight times. In "The Trust, Its Book," it is said that machinery has multiplied the aggregate product of labor eight times. And there are machines that have multiplied their product a hundred or five hundred or even four thousand times. If no more of the product is sold, then only one eighth of the labor can continue to be employed in its production. If the same labor as before is to continue in this employment, eight times as much must be sold. Who is to buy this vastly increased quantity of products? Those who made them cannot buy them. Business is conducted to pay them the smallest possible part of the price of their own products and the capitalists the highest possible profits. The capitalists have used it to support workers employed in building the new factories for the industries in which their profits have been invested. But their investments prove to be bad, for they cannot sell the still greater quantities of products which the new plants turn out. And the capitalists say to themselves, "To what purpose would we invest our money to employ people in building more factories to make more of the same products which we already cannot sell?" Under the profit system the sale of the products cannot increase equally with the tremendous increase in the quantity produced with the same labor. Continued employment depends upon the sale of the product at a profit, which is ultimately impossible. Private ownership of the improved machinery of production, therefore, makes employment for an increasing number of the workers impossible. Nor is this effect confined to the reserve army of unemployed, which is continually changing but never disappears. The intense competition of these unemployed anxiously seeking the jobs that all cannot have reduces all workers to an average wage of bare living.

These are the commonplace conditions under which the so-called free contract is made between the wage worker and the private owners of the machinery of production. These are the conditions under which the propertiless man, hat in hand, with probably one week's wage between him and actual want, faces the flint-hearted factory superintendent, who holds his position by reason of his proved ability to hire labor cheap, and to get the most work out of his hands. This is inevitably the result of private ownership of the tools used collectively. But Mr. Bryan disclaims responsibility for this logically inevitable consequence of private ownership by saying: "It is not only con-

sistent with individualism but a necessary implication of it that the competing parties should be placed upon substantially equal footing, for competition is not worthy of that name if one party is able to arbitrarily fix the terms of the agreement leaving the other with no choice but to submit to the terms prescribed. .... When the money lender is left free to take advantage of the necessities of the borrower, the so-called freedom of contract is freedom to extort." This is doubtless a sincere expression of trading class morality. But notwithstanding their fine sentiments in favor of a full and free competition, made fair by law, these individualists have usually taken the utmost advantage of the wage worker which their ownership of the tools made possible.

The capitalist is not contending merely for the return of the value of his efforts, of which the benefits have been enjoyed by others. For, if he gets back only so much as he puts in, what would be the purpose of his investment. If all the value of his property and of the use of it, and all the value of his own labor is paid to him and no more, what would his profit be? This profit is something he demands beside and above and in addition to all the value he contributes to society by his labor and through the use of his property. For, if his labor is sold for no more than the like labor of others, and his property for only so much as it is worth, he would receive only his own, and what would be the reward of his business sagacity? His code of ethics is devised accordingly. The ethics of the capitalist class does not restrain them from buying cheap and selling for more without labor to add to the value of the commodity dealt in. Since only nothing can out of nothing come, where does their profit come from? If no labor is done to add to the value of the commodity, and no change occurs in the cost of production, when it is sold for more, either he to whom it is sold, or he from whom it was bought must be cheated. One cannot get a dollar honestly without working for it, except by gift. Besides this way of taking advantage of ignorance or misfortune by buying property for less than value and selling it for more than its value, there is the eminently respectable and orthodox method of capitalist accumulation by hiring labor at the price of its necessities. The benevolent capitalist, owning the tools and materials for production, perceives the poverty and anxiety of his propertiless fellow man, and estimates how far he can take advantage of it to his own profit. If the supply of labor is great and the demand small, the worthy man expects to hire labor cheap, even if the product of the labor sells for a very good price. For that is his good fortune, or rather the result of his business sagacity. By either or both of these methods, business, to be successful, must be done. They fairly illustrate the moral-

ity and the system of ethics which Mr. Bryan offers to measure against the ethics and morality of socialism. This system of ethics, by courtesy, so-called, draws a distinction where there is not a difference in moral and material effects between robbery by one means of imposition and robbery by another.

Our opponents are better able to discuss the subject of socialism the less they know about it. This is the most charitable construction that can be put upon the persistency with which our aim is represented to be an arbitrarily imposed social equality stifling individual initiative and independence, a religious and sentimental communism in which it is hoped to "substitute altruistic for selfish motives." No, socialists do not hope to attain a nearer approach to justice by purging the individual of selfishness. We reckon on human selfishness mostly for our chances of success, taking man to be just what he is. But though the success of socialism does not depend on it, we do anticipate that when the penalties are removed from honesty and fair dealing and the highest rewards are no longer to be gained by unscrupulous business, more people will determine to be honest. For nothing so thoroughly unfits a man for the pursuit of great business success as scrupulous honesty. Socialism is no altruistic scheme but the demand of accurate justice and stern necessity which must now command the serious consideration of men and women who expect to pay for what they get and intend to get what they pay for.

At least it can be said that the workers of the world have nothing to lose in the apportionment of rewards, which cannot be made worse for them than it is. Society has nothing they do not contribute by their labor applied to the natural resources. Its fine fictions about justice consist mostly in defining the ways in which the fruits of labor may be gotten without labor. There must indeed be all the different kinds of employments, some tasks more uncomfortable, unhealthy and dangerous, and again some tasks which will require more of the ability and intellect developed by long previous preparation, either inherited or attained in a single life. And the prevalent notion of socialism has been that all these various kinds of activity are to be rewarded according to arbitrary decisions of some executive committee, or that they should all be paid the same. How great was the blunder of such an admission when seriously made by a socialist may be judged by the eagerness and activity with which our opponents disseminate and strengthen the absurd popular notion that this is the aim of the Socialist Party. All the methods and resources for attacking this problem of determining the pay justly for different kinds of work which exist now will be available under the democratic administration of industries. There is nowhere any official declaration of the Socialist

Party which suggests or implies any change from the commonplace way in which the relative pay for different kinds of work is determined now, that is, determines itself by the ordinary action of supply and demand. Indeed nothing is said about it in socialist platforms, and nothing needs to be said. There will be all the various incentives to excell which exist now, including the desire for material gain. In as much as the material gain will be many times greater than what can be gotten by merely honest and useful activity now, perhaps we are right in thinking that the incentive to get it will not be any less. This accords with the conclusions of writers on scientific socialism, whose works are regarded as classics. Mr. Charles H. Kerr, who has translated and published more standard works on modern socialism probably than any other man in America, writes in his late brief article on *The Co-operative Commonwealth* as follows: "When the co-operative commonwealth is in operation, wages will tend to adjust themselves. If enough street cleaners cannot be had for fifty cents an hour, we shall have to pay sixty. If there are too many book-keepers at fifty cents, the pay may drop to forty until part of them have found work that is more in demand." This was issued with the formal approval of our National Committee, and hundreds of thousands of copies of it have been distributed by the state committees of the Socialist Party. A more direct and unmistakable declaration of the position taken by the Socialist Party on this question could not be had. And from whence it comes it carries the authority of the National Committee of the party and of the state committees also.

If there had been no development of improved machinery, that is, if the people who use the tools could now own them individually, there would be no demand for collective ownership of them. We can work with this machinery only collectively, not individually; therefore, if this social tool is to be owned by the people who use it, it can be owned by them only collectively. But this does not involve the ownership by the government of all the means of production. It does not imply that there would be no occupations outside of government control and therefore no outlet for discontent with government management. There need be and there should be no restrictions upon harmless private enterprises. In fact this common ownership of the things we depend upon in common alone can make possible what the individualist calls a fair field of free competition. In it the private enterprise threatened by the great capitalists or prohibited altogether by the extortions of the trusts would again find its opportunity. And the skillful and industrious workman and the able and efficient business manager could each increase his income by increasing his productive power. In the same article

Comrade Kerr writes on this subject: "It is very certain that a socialist administration would not control all industry from one central point. The Socialist Party always and everywhere leaves control in the hands of the smallest groups that can manage efficiently. Again, it would not take away the artist's brushes, nor the farmer's little farm. We hold that tools so complex that they have to be used in common should be owned in common; but, if a man choose to work with his own tools, there would be nothing in the world to prevent him from doing so, except the probable fact that as machinery improves it will be possible to earn more by working co-operatively than by working alone."

WARREN ATKINSON.



## Why the Workingman Does Not Go to Church.

**I**N NEARLY every pulpit the country over this question is being asked. Solutions are many, diverse and even contradictory. But somehow the policies formulated to bring the workingman back to the fold are ineffectual, and the workingman appears to be contented to wend his weary way minus spiritual guidance from ordained ministers of the gospel.

Possibly due to the fact that our age is termed one of rampant individualism, the solutions to the problem have assumed a personal aspect for the most part. So we are told that it is because preachers do not make their sermons absorbingly interesting and because they do not come close enough to the toiler's everyday life, that the pews are empty and the collections meagre. And as a consequence we are treated to the spectacle of pastors endeavoring to keep their flock under their benign care by providing vaudeville entertainments, while festivals, lotteries and picnics are resorted to for the purpose of raising funds.

But, in the opinion of the writer, the problem is not a personal one. Or, rather, whatever personal equation may enter into the matter, the writer holds that underlying the wide-spread and universal apathy is a social cause, that is not even bounded by the limits of the country.

The workingman does not go to church because he is part of the modern labor movement. And the modern labor movement *as a movement* is and is bound to be irreligious.

This does not mean that the individuals constituting the labor movement are of necessity less God-fearing than heretofore. It does not mean that there is anything in the internal workings of the labor movement that cultivates skepticism or makes the individual's mind a fertile ground for the breeding of agnostic and atheistic doctrines. It does not mean that because of their affiliation with the labor movement, that Christians and Jews leave their old faiths for a new one. The personal beliefs or disbeliefs of the component parts do not go a little way toward determining the irreligious principles of the whole. It is because the labor movement as a movement has a decided program, because it is confronted with certain grim facts, and because its struggle for existence compels it to adapt itself to the conditions as they are and fight its battle with weapons that are not of its own choosing, that the labor movement is irreligious.

For the church — public worship, — as an institution, has to a large extent ever been in control of the ruling class. And

the movement of the ruled class has ever been irreligious, because the hand of the religious institution was raised against it. History will bear out this assertion.

Take for example the destruction of feudalism. Feudalism was a social order, a phase in the development of society, remarkable for the fact that it tried to be stationary. There was no demand for culture, civilization or progress. The permanence of the feudal system was dependant upon things remaining just as they were. This made it logical for an institution like the Catholic Church to be the power behind the throne, to declare the hereditary rulers divinely elected and to threaten with excommunication and death any thought of change in science or politics.

But the ovum of the present business system had nevertheless been impregnated with the discoveries and inventions of the fifteenth century, and all attempts to resist nature's course proved futile. And the food upon which the infant fed sapped the vitality of its mother. With the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, every encouragement and impetus was given to the inventor, to the explorer, to the scientist and to the innovator. And because the Church was the right bower of the feudal regime, the movement of the rising class was irreligious. So came, indeed, the Reformation. And so the narrow materialism of Bacon, Hobbes and Locke. As feudalism lingered on, the attack on the Church grew more outspoken, until, with the overthrow of the system through the French Revolution, the fact was flaunted to the sky.

For its part, America has witnessed numerous changes in the course of its brief life — for events travel with seven league boots in modern history — and the movements of the under strata grasping for power have all been irreligious.

The American revolution — coming even before the sacrilegious French revolution — was an indication of the truth that it is social conditions and not individual thoughts and feelings that determine the actions of peoples, and that similar social conditions produce like consequences, irrespective of the temperament of the people. What with Jefferson, Franklin, Paine and "Brother Jonathan" and with such sentiments as "Put your trust in God, but keep your powder dry," it is a wonder that the Declaration of Independence even went so far as to acknowledge the existence of "nature's God." Certain it is, the Church as an institution denounced the rebels in no uncertain language, and it is no mere accident that Tom Paine grasped the first opportunity in his busy career to pen his "Age of Reason" — to demolish the old religious notions, — as a companion piece to his "Rights of Man" — to demolish old political notions.

Abolitionism also encountered the antagonism of the Church. For a time trial boards were kept pretty busy with charges of

heresy, which consisted of preaching irreverence for chattel slavery and the Southern oligarchy. The reader will doubtless recall the experience Lincoln had with a delegation of Springfield clergymen who interviewed him and departed firm in their determination to vote against him. Said Lincoln, holding a bible, "These men well know that I am for freedom in the Territories, freedom everywhere as far as the Constitution and laws will permit, and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this, and yet with this book in their hands, in the light of which human bondage cannot live a moment, they are going to vote against me."

Now, as to the modern labor movement. Let us recount the factors of modern economic development. These are, chiefly, the revolutionizing of science and of industry, and of the unprecedented conquest over nature and nature's powers. Let us remember that the progress of the capitalist method of production necessitates a constantly larger field for action, that it can exist only so long as it ever revolutionizes the means of wealth production, and that stagnation means death. Further, that all barriers in the way of boundary lines, confines of religious creeds and political beliefs had to be ruthlessly battered down before the new system could flourish.

Because of the kaleidoscopic changes, the last century, particularly the latter half, witnessed the acceptance of a new theory of development, the theory of evolution, and a revolution was worked in the basis for the examination of the principles of cosmogony, of biology, of ethics, of sociology, and the kindred sciences. The nineteenth century was well called the "wonderful century" by Wallace.

But synchronous with the marvelous achievements of science, the capitalist method of production attained its zenith of development in its monopolization of industry. And then the ruling class began to fear further discoveries and progress, in that they presaged change in property relations, and the once revolutionary, world-destroying bourgeoisie became ultra conservative, narrow and cowardly. So we find Haeckel complaining of "the mental relaxation which has lately set in, and the rising flood of reaction in the political, social and ecclesiastical world." The capitalist class abandons science, thanks to the good offices of which it came to be, and rushes to cover under whatever institution will protect it from the gathering storm. And so the ruling class to-day returns to its vomit, contritely bending its head and supplicating for pardon. So the Church is slyly lugged out from the scrap-heap, the cobwebs tenderly brushed away, and a little the worse for the rough treatment accorded it by the erstwhile irreligious bourgeoisie, is reinstated in its former seat behind the throne and restored to its prestige.

And so, in this free American republic, where Church and State are presumably divorced, the Church is again one of the instruments of the ruling class used to keep the ruled class in submission.

By the term church, the Catholic church need not be implied. But that the Catholic church as an institution is peculiarly fitted for the purpose the ruling class desires to serve cannot be gainsaid. More so than any other is its highly centralized form of organization calculated to fit in with the centralization of industry that is the characteristic feature of the present age. Industrial despotism will necessitate such ecclesiastical despotism as is exercised by the pope and the fathers of the Catholic church.

We need not look for a Catholic president, though Blaine's fate need not serve for a precedent. On the contrary, good presidential timber may be found in Charles J. Bonaparte, for example. Mr. Bonaparte is now secretary of the navy, as well as president of the National Municipal League. Still, Secretary Bonaparte does not exhaust the list of Catholic office-holders appointed by the President. In point of fact the Catholics have good grounds for echoing the sentiment recently expressed by a Catholic organ: "He certainly has been good to us." The future will testify to the soundness of Mark Hanna's prediction that, "when the conflict rages between the upper and lower classes, the Catholic church will be found on the side of the existing order."

Already experience has shown that it serves nought for such prelates as Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Ryan and Messmer to go out of their way to declare that the existing order is bound to remain. It appears, by decreasing church attendance, that such utterances do not satisfy the workingman that the existing order is bound to remain. It rather satisfies him that Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishops Ryan and Messmer side with the ruling class.

And the irreligion is bound to assume tangible shape when such men as John H. Converse, head of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, which is popularly known as the "little Hell on earth," are instrumental in arranging a course of sermons for trades unionists (the Baldwin Works are strictly non-union) and acting as treasurer of the finance committee of the Torrey-Alexander revival in Philadelphia.

We are now at the parting of the ways. If the preachers of the gospel ignore the great labor problem, their preachments will, for the average workingman, resolve themselves into so much rehash of mothworn platitudes and fustian. The workingman demands something more substantial. The labor question must be faced. And there can be no middle ground. "He

that is not for me is against me." If faced from the standpoint of the ruling class, the workingman tends to drift away from the Church. This is the spectacle that now confronts us.

All ministers, however, are not capitalist minded, no more than all preachers have in the past maintained the justice of conditions as they then existed. There were then and there are now notable exceptions. These exceptions, however, men of the stamp of the Rev. Crapsey, care little for belief in the miracles and the formalities of the Church. They deal with the application of its ethical teachings to life. And because Christ's teachings can be practiced only in a society of economic equals, preachers like the Rev. Crapsey cannot but be revolutionary, directing their energies to the overthrow of the present class system and the inauguration of the coming industrial democracy.

So, for the future, we may hardly expect the workingman to return to the Church. He will probably do his worshipping in his private closet. He will probably refuse to support the preacher who tells him to be "contented with his lot" because "labor is honorable." More likely is he to be of the opinion of the Rev. E. A. Wasson, of Newark, who declared at a gathering of Philadelphia's striking printers recently: "I don't believe that workingmen can ever expect much from us ministers as a class, for the reason that we are under the control of the class that is hostile to organized labor. The rich employing class control the preacher, either directly as members of his congregation — and not only the honest ones but all the biggest scamps of the country are active in the church, and the likeliest place to find a big financial rogue of a Sunday morning is in church — or indirectly through their retainers in our churches, their lawyers, doctors, secretaries, employees, customers, associates, poor relatives and hangers-on in general; or through the denomination, by placing the denomination under such financial obligations to them that the ecclesiastical powers-that-be will ruthlessly bar the objectionable preacher from promotion. . . . . You workingmen will have to work out your own salvation, as you have thus far. The men of God won't help you to any extent."

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JOS. E. COHEN.

## Concentration of Capital and the Disappearance of the Middle Class.

### II

**I**N what relation does the existence or non-existence of a middle-class stand to the possibility or inevitability of Socialism? It is generally assumed that, according to Marx, all the middle-class must disappear and society become divided into a handful of capitalistic millionaires on the one hand and poor workingmen on the other before a socialist form of society can supplant our present capitalist system. There is, however, no warrant for such an assumption. Marx nowhere says so expressly. Nor is there anything in Marx's historico-philosophical views, that is, in his Materialistic Conception of History, from which the evolution of society depends entirely on the development of its economic forces. And in those passages of his great work where Marx speaks of the evolution of society from Capitalism to Socialism, it is only the social forces of production and distribution that claim his attention. But Marx is no fatalist. He does not believe that society develops automatically without the aid of the human beings who compose it, or of the social classes into which it is divided. He takes into consideration the human beings with which these social forces work. This is, in fact, the essence of his theory of the class-struggle. In this respect the different social classes have, according to his theory, their bearings on the evolution of society.

In his analysis of the evolutionary tendencies of the capitalist system Marx notes and accentuates the presence of a tendency to eliminate the small bourgeois or middle-class which he believes to be rapidly disappearing. He lays great stress on this point, and evidently believes it to be a movement of very great importance in the evolution of capitalism towards socialism. A careful reading of Marx, however, will not fail to disclose the fact that Marx did not consider the complete disappearance of that class all-essential, and that it was only the disappearance of that particular middle-class of which he treated that he considered of any importance at all. In other words, it was not the entire absence of any middle-class or social stratum between the big capitalists and the workingmen that he considered of importance for the realization of his socialist ideals, but it is the presence of a certain particular class, possessing certain particular characteristics (or at least its presence in any such great

numbers as would lend it social strength) that he considered obnoxious to the movement of society toward socialism. In order to understand thoroughly the Marxian position on this question we must consider his general estimate of the different classes or strata of society as factors in the evolution of society from capitalism to socialism. And that, again, we can only understand if we consider them in the light of the Materialistic Conception of History. This we shall now proceed to do.

Our readers are already familiar with the Marxian philosophy of history from the discussion in the early chapters of this work. We have there shown the absurdity of the claim that Marx and his followers denied the influence of ideas on the course of history. Here we want to go a step farther and say that, in a sense, Marx was one of the most idealistic of philosophers. And the sense in which we mean it is in relation to this very question of the influence of ideas. Marx believed in the reality of ideas, both as to origin and influence. There were philosophers who, like Hegel, did not believe in the reality of our material world. They believed that the only real world was the world of ideas, and that the material world was only a manifestation of the development of the absolute idea which developed according to laws of development contained within itself. To such philosophers there could, of course, be no question of the influence of ideas on the course of history. To them there was nothing real in the whole course of history except this development of the idea. These philosophers are, of course, the real idealists (and, incidentally, more deterministic than Marx). But of those philosophers who believe in the materiality of the material world, Marx is easily foremost in the *reality* which he ascribes to ideas. According to Marx, ideas are firmly *rooted in reality* and are therefore of abiding influence while they last, and not easily susceptible of change. In this he radically differs from those to whom ideas have a mere ærial existence, coming from the land of nowhere, without any particular reason in our historic existence and, therefore, vanishing without regard to our social environment, its needs or tribulations. This Marxian esteem of ideas must always be borne in mind when discussing the influence of the human being as a factor in the making of his own history. Let us, therefore, keep it in mind in the following discussion.

What are the characteristics of the socialist system of society in which it differs chiefly from our present capitalist system? First, the social ownership of the means of production — the absence of private property in them. Second, the carrying on of all industry on a co-operative basis — the absence of industrial individual enterprise. Third, the management of all

industrial enterprise democratically — all “captains” of industry and all other industrial dignitaries to be elective instead of appointed by divine prerogative, and to hold office by the consent and during the pleasure of the governed.

Now let us see what classes of our present society are suited to bring about such changes, and what are not. The bearer of the socialist revolution is the modern Proletariat. It is the class of the proletarians that has the historic mission of tearing down the capitalist system of society. Remember well: not the poor man, nor the workingman, but the proletarian, is going to do this work. There were poor men before, so were there workingmen. But they were not proletarians. So may there be poor now, and there may even be poor workingmen who are not proletarians. The modern proletarian is not merely a poor man, nor is he necessarily a poor man in the ordinary sense of the word. Nor is he *merely* a workingman, although he necessarily is one. He is a workingman — usually poor at that — under peculiar historic conditions. Those conditions are that he is not possessed of any property, that is, the only property that counts socially, — means of production. By reason of this condition he is placed in certain social relations, both as to his own kind and as to his social betters, as well as to the social machinery. Through this he acquires certain characteristics of mind and body, a certain mentality and psychology which make him peculiarly fitted for this task.

We will not attempt to give here an exhaustive description of his mental and psychological nature. We will denote his character by a contrast: he is in every way just the reverse of the peasant. He had to be that, according to Marx, in order to be a fitting instrument for the carrying out of his historical mission. Marx's attitude towards the peasant is most characteristic. The peasant was a positive abhorrence to him, and he eliminated him from his promised land. This had the peculiar consequence that in countries where the peasantry is now undergoing the process of “capitalization,” as in Russia, for instance, the Marxists have been accused by the peasant-loving utopians of all sorts of horrible designs against the poor peasants. Of course, Marx and the Marxists have nothing but compassion for these poor people. But, besides seeing clearly the hopelessness of their case, they recognize the fact that the peasant, were he to exist, would be the greatest obstacle in the way of socialism. First let us note his ideas as to property. By reason of his occupation and the environment in which he and his forefathers have lived for ages, he has contracted such a love for his land, his house, his cattle, and everything else which he calls his own, that he will find it more difficult to separate from them than a millionaire



from his millions. Their worthlessness has nothing to do with the case: their value can hardly be measured in money. This colors all his ideas about property. He and his forefathers before him have lived on this particular spot of land, and all his family history is connected with it. Here are buried the labors and sufferings of generations. All his own woes, and his pleasant memories (if he has any) are intimately associated with this patch of ground. Here he was born and here he hopes to die. Every tree, every building, is the result of his own and his family's great cares and labors. Every animal is his friend and companion in toil and misery. Most of them have been reared by him, even as were his own children. He will not enter the promised land if he has to give up his ruined, worthless, tax-eaten property for it. The "sacredness" of property rights to peasant, the tenacity with which he holds on to it is well recognized by those who have studied his character. This "idea" of his as to private-property, in view of his stolidity and immobility, due to the immobility of his surroundings and the sameness of the method and nature of his work, would make him an inveterate enemy of socialism and a stout upholder of capitalism. But, aside from this, he is unfitted for a socialist society, and particularly unfitted to make a fight for it, because of his inability to co-operate with others. A peasant is the greatest individualist imaginable, at least as far as boorishness, suspicion, opinionatedness, and the other "individualist" virtues are concerned. For centuries he has led an isolated and self-sufficient existence. He lived by his own toil without the help of others. He never came into contact with others except to be robbed and oppressed and occasionally to be cheated. No wonder he is such an individualist. Nor has he been fitted by the countless generations of oppression which he has undergone, or by the work to which he is accustomed, to the arduous and complicated duties of a self-governed industrial community. All this would make the old-fashioned peasant an inveterate enemy of socialism, notwithstanding his great poverty and ruined existence, if he were to survive. But he is not to survive. We cannot enter here upon a discussion of the so-called agrarian problem. One thing may be stated, however, without any fear of contradiction: the old peasant, as Marx knew him, and the old economic surroundings and social environment which produced him, are no more, except in very backward countries, and there he is disappearing before the onward march of capitalism. With the old-fashioned peasant passes away the mainstay of private property and the bulwark of reaction. There is no other social class that could quite fill his place in this respect.

The bourgeois has few of the characteristics of the peas-

ant. He is quick and on the *qui vive*. His love and attachment for property are not as pronounced as those of the peasant. He has not the kind of property which becomes individualized and may be personified. He has himself produced none of it. He cannot form any lasting friendship with his stock of goods or the machines used in his manufactory. They are liable to constant change and can be easily supplanted by others of their kind. In most cases it is in their quick disposal that his chief advantage lies and he parts with them without regret. As a matter of fact he never cared about them: it is their money value or equivalent that is dear to him. In other words, it is not the property itself that he values or cares for, but the advantage derived from its possession, although in some cases, particularly where business is done in the old-fashioned way, and life arranged correspondingly, there may be some love of property as such with reference to some kinds of property: usually the place of business or abode and its furnishings and belongings.

With these characteristics the bourgeois is ill-adapted to take the place of the peasant as a defender of property and of reaction. Yet, Marx considers his disappearance of considerable importance for the inauguration of the socialist state. Why?

To the vulgar materialists who insist on calling themselves Marxists this question presents no difficulty. They reduce the Materialist Conception of History to the simple formula: "everybody for his own pocket." And as the pockets of the bourgeoisie are presumably going to be injured by the transformation from capitalism to socialism, that class must necessarily be against the change, and therefore it must be removed in some way in order to pave the way for socialism. This perversion of the Materialistic Conception of History is, unfortunately, very widespread, and for good reason: It is a reproduction of the practice and theory of capitalism. Of the "common" practice, of course, but also of the very highest theory of which capitalism is capable. It is, in effect, a mere paraphrase of the "intelligent egoism"—the greatest height to which the capitalist intellect could rise. The fact that this theory can easily be proven to be logically absurd and historically false will not diminish its vogue as long as the condition to which it owes its origin remain unchanged. Only gradually, following in the wake of the economic changes, and at a distance at that, will a truer understanding force its way.

Except in the case of seers like Marx. With all his dislike for the bourgeoisie Marx never believed that all bourgeois, or their intellectual and moral leaders, simply followed the dictates of their pockets, personal or otherwise, as can easily be seen from numerous passages scattered in his many writings, and particularly in the "18th of Brumaire."

What makes the bourgeoisie character unfit for socialist co-operation, and his ideology one of the chief mainstays of capitalism is the independence which the possession of property gives him. While he has no particular love for his property, or, to be more exact, for the objects of his property, he values very much the independent *social status* which the possession of property gives him, no matter what this property consists of. As a matter of fact it is not the particular property that he is concerned about, but its social exchange-value. For the purpose of his social status it is not the actual objects of his property that count, but the social properties and possibilities which attach to all property. That is why he stands up for the abstract principle of private property, something which the peasant is very little concerned about as long as its practical enjoyment is not interfered with. The social existence of the old-fashioned bourgeois, his everyday economic life, make him accustomed to strive for and cherish this independence founded upon the possession of property and his ideology becomes decidedly individualistic. In his foremost intellectual representatives this crystallizes into some such system as that of Herbert Spencer, and looks upon socialism as a form of slavery. The alertness and aggressiveness of the class only accentuate the craving of each individual for absolute economic freedom, for being let alone to fight the battles of life. And the success of the class only whets its appetite for further conquests, and makes it impatient of any restraint, while its intellectual achievements give it one of the brightest weapons ever wielded by a ruling class.

A good deal has been written and said about the supposed great influence of force as a social factor, and again the vulgar materialists have contributed their little share to the general confusion. Of course brute force has been and will be used by all ruling classes, both in acquiring and maintaining their dominion. But brute force alone never did and never could sustain a ruling class for any considerable length of time. In order to see the correctness of this assertion it is sufficient to bring to mind the fact that the ruling class is always a minority, usually a small one, of the population of a country, and that, taken man for man, the members of the ruling class seldom possess more strength than the members of the subject class. The force of the ruling class is not natural but acquired, and is social in its character. It consists in its organization which permits it to use part of the strength of the subject class, and sometimes the whole of it, for the subjugation of that class. Sometimes the mere fact of its own organized condition may be sufficient to hold the superior but disorganized force of the subject-class in awe and trembling. But even then it is not mere brute force, for organization itself

is a moral force and not a physical force, which is evidenced by our language, in which we speak of a physically superior force, which is incapable of properly exerting itself for lack of proper organization and discipline, being "demoralized." But this is true in only exceptional cases. Usually the ruling class depends on something outside its own organization to maintain its supremacy. This something is the social organization of the whole community or nation. It is by using the power of the whole social system for its own purposes that the ruling class is able to maintain its supremacy at a time when that is clearly against the general interest or against the interest of large portions of the subject class or classes.

The basis of this social power exercised by the ruling class is usually the economic system in vogue, which makes the subject-class economically necessarily dependent upon the ruling class. But this does not always suffice. Very often, therefore, the ruling class depends, to some extent at least, on purely moral suasion for the continuance of its power. Religion was, therefore, from time immemorial, the handmaid of the temporal power, except where it was itself a temporal power, and thus united in itself the functions of mistress and maid. With the waning of religion and the passing of its influence, science and philosophy have taken its place, and usually perform the same functions with equal alacrity and facility. That does not mean, of course, that either religion or science and philosophy were invented by the ruling classes in order to keep the subject classes in bondage. The ruling classes merely make use — sometimes proper and sometimes improper — of a means which they find at hand. The point is that usually the lower classes get their "ideas" — their religion, science, art, philosophy — from the upper classes, and they are apt to be such as express and represent — in short "idealize" — the mode of life of those classes and the principles underlying the same. This is always true when the subject-class depends on it mostly for its economic existence. At such times the economic virility of the ruling class expresses itself in a buoyant and aggressive ideology which seems to, and often does, express the interests and aspirations of society as a whole. But no ruling class has ever had such a great opportunity of exercising such great moral or ideal influence on its subject class as has the bourgeoisie, owing to the great and manifold development of the arts and sciences during the time it held its sway. This unprecedented wealth of ideas has had the remarkable effect, first of all, of making the bourgeoisie itself drunk with its power and almost mad in its desires and aspirations. No king has ever believed himself more God-chosen to rule than has the bourgeoisie, nor has any ruling class ever laid such pretensions to the absoluteness and immutability of the laws of its rule

as does the bourgeoisie. Or, rather, we should say, as *did* the bourgeoisie in the heyday of its power. And while it was in the heyday of its power the bourgeoisie managed to permeate the working class with its ideals, habits and modes of thought, perhaps more than any ruling class ever influenced a subject class. This was due, on the one hand to the unprecedentedly large extent to which the working class has been permitted to participate in the benefits resulting from the general spread of knowledge, and on the other hand the peculiarly forcible way in which the economic argument is brought home to the modern workman. Under no preceding social system have the economic woes of the ruling class been so quickly and with such dreadful effect reflected on the subject-class. We must, therefore, never forget the great importance which the influence of the bourgeoisie ideology has on the modern proletariat, particularly in the early stages of its development, although, as we shall see later, that during and by virtue of its development it formulates an ideology of its own.

The capitalistic "ideas" and habits of mind are inculcated into the working class by the capitalist class, intentionally and unintentionally, by and through its lower strata, or what is usually called the "middle class." So long as there is a large and virile middle class the working class will be largely under its domination and influence, morally and æsthetically. It is with this class that the working class comes into immediate contact socially. It is on this class that the workman fixes his hopes and aspirations for the future. It is this class that teaches him at kindergarten and at school, that preaches to him at church and at "ethical" societies, and it is this class that gathers and sifts for him the news of the world and explains to him in his daily newspaper, and gives his popular science, his art and his "literature."

It is because of those "ideal" characteristics of the old-fashioned bourgeois, the old middle-class of capitalist society, and even more so because of the "ideal" influence of that class on the working class, that Marx considered its disappearance of such great importance in the movement of society towards socialism. That is, in so far as he considered such disappearance of any moment in itself, outside of its being a mere indication of the movement of the economic forces of society. For it must always be borne in mind that it is the development of the economic forces that is the real power working for socialism, and any influence which any class or group of men may have on that movement, except as an expression of such development, is merely secondary.

L. B. BOUDIN.

## Corporations and the Middle Class.

**I**N the June installment of Mr. L. B. Boudin's admirable series of articles now running in the REVIEW, dealing with that phase of the concentration of capital and the disappearance of the middle class wherein there is an apparent need of revision of the Marxian philosophy to account for a seeming avenue of expansion for the middle class by diffusion as corporation stockholders into the concentrating industries of the country, I disagree with the author when he says: "Here, then, is a check to the development of capitalistic society as outlined by Marx—a check which is destined to arrest or at least retard that development. The formula of centralization of wealth and of the disappearance of the middle class evidently needs revision."

The limitations of the world market compelling our material progress to proceed by expansion and contraction, in times of expansion, like the present, with us at least, the appearance is given of a new lease of life for the middle class. Concentration of the opportunities for investment into the corporate or collective form naturally carries with it the necessity of investment in the altered form of opportunity, as long as the means for investment are present. As the movement from country to city is but in response to the altered form of industry, so is the investing movement of the middle class in response to an alteration in the diminishing forms of opportunity.

So long as expansion prevails corporation stocks as an investment will seem a safe enough avenue by which to prolong the life of the middle class. But whenever contraction sets in, as it must, owing to the limitations of the world market, and a period of stagnation follows, capital must turn and feed upon itself, the great capitalist absorbing the small by the process of intercapital elimination. Corporation stocks as one of the diminishing forms of middle class investment are really a net from which none of the small fry may escape, their opportunities having been concentrated into bait which they were bound to follow in order to continue their urban existence. They were not taken in for any service to be performed, but for the capital they brought or the small industries they consented to merge with the element of their personal direction and ownership wholly eliminated. The next step in their personal direction is to be themselves eliminated by intercapital competition enforced and grown fiercer by a period of contraction naturally succeeding one of expansion.

J. W. BRACKETT.

## Socialists and the Chicago Charter.

THE Socialists of Chicago are at present moment engaged in a work such as has never been attempted, at least on as large a scale, by the socialist party of this country. Their experience in this new field may possibly be of value to socialists in other parts of the country, and a knowledge of their work will probably bring to their aid the co-operation of those in other localities who are able to give valuable suggestions.

The government of the city of Chicago, like that of most American cities is the result of a rapid patch-work growth. As a result it is contradictory, — and, what is worst of all in bourgeois minds, extremely expensive in performing its functions. In the hope of consolidating and reducing the number of independent taxing bodies, and thereby reducing taxation, the last legislature took steps toward the formation of a new charter.

For the purpose of formulating a draft of a charter a most anomalous body, called a charter convention, was created. This body consists of a number of men appointed by such diverse authorities as the Legislature, the governor, the mayor, the city council, the park board, the library board, the drainage trustees, etc. This convention has no legal power, further than to recommend a charter to the legislature. The legislature, in turn, must submit its work to the referendum.

Since the members of the charter convention are not salaried, and have no patronage or other political spoils to dispose of, the regular politicians showed no great desire to become members. So it happens that although Tom Carey, Johnny Powers, and a few other notorious spoilsmen are members, yet they have taken little or no part in the proceedings, and the work is being done largely by what the politicians are accustomed to designate as the "long haired bunch," — the professional reformers, members of the "Voters' Leagues," Settlement workers, etc. These men are usually radical and honest, and willing to consider whatever may be brought to their attention. To be sure, the powers that be were not foolish enough to permit these men to be in a majority, and the machinery of the convention is carefully retained in the hands of the representatives of capitalist interests; yet on the whole it is probable that the result will be a charter which will be of a much more liberal character than any possessed by any great city at the present time.

The convention has divided its membership up into a large number of committees, on Education, Taxation, Municipal Util-

ities, etc., and these sub-committees hold open sessions to which they invite anyone interested in the subjects covered. The charter convention as a whole also proposes to hold open sessions to which non-members will be invited to present any matter that should properly come before the convention.

The Socialist Party of Chicago early determined to take advantage of the opportunities here offered both for agitation, and also for attainment of such measures as will further action later when the city government shall begin to fall into the hands of the workers. Before the first session of the charter convention, Comrade William Bross Lloyd, drew up a draft for a charter embodying the socialist positions as to municipal government and it was published in the *Chicago Socialist*. Copies of this were sent to some of the members of the charter convention, and when they began their deliberations, this was the only draft of a charter before them. The ability with which it was drawn and the completeness with which it met the situation attracted the attention even of those who were bitter opponents of almost its every provision, to such an extent that the convention sent over to the office of the *Chicago Socialist* and purchased sufficient copies to supply its entire membership.

Thus from the very beginning socialist influence began to make itself felt. But there was a general feeling that the work of the socialists should be directly under the control of the party and should be carried on in a systematic manner. Consequently the Cook County Central Committee appointed a Charter Committee having one member for each of the various sub-committees of the Charter convention, as follows:

1. Committee on municipal elections, appointments and tenure of office—James S. Smith.
2. Committee on municipal executive and departmental organization—C. L. Breckon.
3. Committee on municipal legislature—Wm. B. Lloyd.
4. Committee on municipal courts—M. H. Taft.
5. Committee on municipal taxation and revenue.—E. H. Winston.
6. Committee on municipal expenditures and accounting—J. B. Smiley.
7. Committee on the relations of the municipality to other organizations and public authorities—S. Stedman.
8. Committee on public education—Mrs. May Wood Simons.
9. Committee on public utilities—Walter Thomas Mills.
10. Committee on penal, charitable and reformatory institutions—A. M. Simons.
11. Committee on municipal parks and public grounds—Mrs. Corinne Brown.



12. Law Committee—Peter Sissman.
13. Committee on rivers and harbors—Joseph Medill Paterson.
14. Committee on rules, procedure and general plan—Carl Strover.

These persons will meet with the various sub-committees to which they have been assigned and will present to them the socialist position regarding any matters that may be under discussion, in so far as they are given the floor. They also meet as a committee of socialists to discuss the work which they are doing and consider any matters that may require the combined ideas of the whole committee. Each one endeavors to make himself familiar with the field to which he has been assigned, by study of what has been done in other cities of this country and Europe and this will in itself prove of value for future work by and for the Socialist Party.

The work of the charter convention will be subject to a referendum after revision by the legislature, and this fact, backed by the knowledge of the existence of fifty thousand socialist votes in Chicago will compel attention to the proposals of the Socialists. Moreover there is a law in Illinois which enables a referendum to be initiated by a much fewer number of signatures than the socialist party, with its organization, could gather in a very short time. To be sure the resulting referendum has only "advisory" power, but when that advice is backed by a rapidly growing party it is apt to be more effective than when supported only by ephemeral reform bodies.

The work of the socialists has not as yet taken sufficiently definite form to permit publication. It may be stated that the general principle underlying their efforts is to secure as great municipal autonomy as possible. With the present city charter, the capture of the city of Chicago would at once involve the Socialists in a struggle with the state authorities, and might easily lead to violent outbreaks. If the interference of the state can be reduced to a minimum, this conflict can be largely avoided, or at the least the socialists will have the slight advantage of the formal law on their side.

A. M. SIMONS.

# EDITORIAL

## What of Bryan?

With little beyond a voice and strong pair of lungs as capital William Jennings Bryan shot into the public vision, and the nomination for the presidency, through a single speech in 1896. Ever since then he has been the "peerless leader" of what, until a few months ago was a steadily, and fairly rapidly diminishing band of followers. Now, all at once, while on a tour around the world, he awakes once more to find himself apparently about to have a third presidential nomination thrust upon him.

The immediate cause of this latest revival is an article contributed by him to the *Century Magazine*, which might well have been labeled, "A few of the Things I do not know about Socialism." But the main point was that he distinctly disavowed being a socialist, and made an attack on something which he evidently thinks is socialism,— and what is more important, which quite a number of other people must think is socialism. Since he was always reactionary in his political philosophy, it was only necessary for him to place the label which disavowed his socialism in a prominent place to make him acceptable to the most thorough-going defenders of the "interests."

For many reasons he is more acceptable than Roosevelt. He does not know so much, for one thing. His article in the *Century* can always be instanced as proof of any degree of ignorance which may be desired. He is more "dependable" for another thing. Bryan conscientiously believes that capitalism is right, while no one on earth has ever been able to tell what Roosevelt believed in for more than five minutes at a time.

Yet after all, we are not inclined to take the Bryan boom very seriously. It looks very much as if it were started so early in order that it may have plenty of time to explode before it is ready to bear fruit. (Excuse the mixed metaphor.) It seems much more probable that after Bryan has been used to divide the Hearst forces, that he will be quietly assisted to one side while some man more immediately and directly controlled by the "interests" is given the nomination.

## HOW WILL WE MEET IT?

The trial of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone has been postponed until after the fall elections to determine whether the workers are really as indignant as they have been saying they were. That is the simplest, plainest, fullest explanation of the latest action of the Standard Oil Judge in Idaho. If at these elections the Socialist Party vote falls off, or makes but a small increase, then the ruling power will be perfectly justified in concluding that all the talk and resolutions were but bluff, and that it will be perfectly safe to proceed with the legalized murdering. If the workers expend their time between now and then in issuing bombastic manifestos, like the one that has just appeared from the office of the I. W. W., without the least sign of a recommendation to the workers to use their most effective weapon—the ballot-box—then the capitalists need fear no interference. The I. W. W. has done magnificent work in the gathering of funds and conducting of agitation meetings, but it is now permitting all these to pass by without pointing out the logical conclusion.

It is for the Socialist Party to now perform the only work which will really be effective in saving the lives of our comrades. Every congressional district must this fall be made to ring, not simply with wild denunciation of the outrage of keeping innocent men in prison for nearly a year in defiance of every form of law and justice, but with clear cold analysis of the causes that have impelled to this action, and constant repetition of the path which must be taken to free them and avenge the outrage which has been perpetrated upon them.

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## NO ESCAPING THE BEEF TRUST.

Those whom the recent packing house exposures have made vegetarians are simply fleeing to "ills they know not of," as yet at least. They are not even escaping from the clutches of that dread ogre of the middle-class — the Beef Trust. Not to mention the fact that practically all the fresh fruit is handled in Armour or Swift refrigerator cars, the news now comes from California that the Packing Houses are going into the fruit canning industry. Libby McNeil and Co., which is but a branch of Swift's is establishing a chain of canning factories in the fruit belt of California, and with complete control of the transportation facilities, by which to depress the price of fresh fruit for export and secure rebates on canned goods, the tale of the little canner will be short, — he will be "canned."

A further light is cast on several dark places in the capitalist Jungle, when it is pointed out that Edward M. Tilden, the Superintendent of Libby, McNeil & Co., is a representative of important Standard Oil interests. This is but one of the numerous not generally known facts which connect Rockefeller and the Standard Oil System with the Beef Trust.

Tilden is also the political manager of Beef Trust interests in Chicago, and the President of the Chicago School Board, to which position he was elected by the votes of the appointees of Mayor Dunne, the Hearst Democrat. Great are the ramifications of capitalism.

\* \* \*

Capitalism seems to be panic stricken, if we are to judge from the recent expressions of its foremost spokesmen. Those who with ponderous platitudes instruct the rising generation at college commencements, as well as those who deal out wisdom by the yard in the columns of our most respectable periodicals, all seem to be possessed with one idea, "What shall we do to be saved?" from Socialism. The general tone of these preachments seems to be that if the capitalists will only "be good" they can prevent the threatened deluge. Meanwhile, as always, the substantial rewards of capitalism are going to those who refuse to "be good."

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Our attention has just been called to the fact that we were in error last month in stating that the suggestion of a general strike in case of the judicial murder of our comrades of the Western Federation of Miners was first made by Comrade Wilshire. The suggestion was clearly made in Comrade Debs' article in the *Appeal to Reason*, "Arouse ye Slaves." The idea of having this last resort ready for use is steadily spreading.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## SPAIN.

The recent attempt to assassinate the king by means of a dynamite bomb having led to the usual amount of lying by the capitalist press about the identity of the Socialists and the anarchists, the Berlin *Vorwärts* published a survey of the anarchist movement in Spain from which the following is taken:

In the first place there is really little reason to believe that the attack was by an anarchist at all, but that it was but the despairing act of one of the hundreds of thousands of starving subjects of the young king who had been driven a trifle swifter toward their death by the taxation to meet the expense necessary to the barbaric display accompanying the royal wedding.

Spanish anarchy, in philosophy and practice is a natural off-spring of bourgeois radicalism, and the Manchester school of political economy, which maintains that every extension of state activity is an evil. From the very beginning of the International Workingmen's Movement thirty years ago Spain has had a strong anarchist movement, which is only within recent years being overcome by the growth of socialism. In 1882 the anarchist movement reached its height. At that time an anarchist congress was held in Sevilla with 251 delegates, representing 209 local organizations, having 632 sub-divisions and 49,500 members. As the strength increased the divisions multiplied until at the present time there are three well-defined schools with numerous minor sects and subdivisions.

*First* in influence and energy, but not in numbers are the *Individualist* anarchists. They are mainly composed of the impoverished "intellectuals," especially the literary "Bohemians," and the poor teachers. Along with these are found many handworkers, and embittered Free-thinkers, who are attracted by their hatred of the Spanish priesthood. The genuine laborer, especially the members of the industrial proletariat, plays a very insignificant part in their movement. As a means to the attainment of their ends this division depends upon keeping up a constant unrest and agitation against the government and its supporters, largely by means of general strikes, street demonstrations, and occasionally by violent attacks upon prominent supporters and officials of the existing system.

The *second* division, the *Collectivist-Anarchist*, might be designated as the anarchistic trade-union group, since it is composed almost entirely of the organizations connected with the anarchistic "Federation of the Labor Unions of Spain," in opposition to the socialist "General Labor Union." Although these talk much of a future collectivist regime, yet, like the individualists, they preach political abstinence (although by no

means always practicing it), and advocate the General Strike and public demonstrations.

The *third*, the *Communist Anarchist* group, is very much like the Collectivists, but maintains that the foundation of the future society, to consist of independent producing communities, must be based upon the common ownership of the earth and the means of production.

Not only in regard to tactics, but in their whole comprehension of economic and political relations, the historic foundations of present society, and the direction of its evolution, the anarchists are fundamentally different from the socialists. They are much closer to the Liberal movement than to the Socialists.

Anarchy will disappear from Spain only when the corruption, the government by cliques, and the exploitation of the country by clericalism disappears—and when the working class shall awake to independent political life and organize itself into a great socialist party that shall relentlessly expose and denounce the corruption, and point the way to its abolition.

#### BELGIUM.

The recent legislative elections in Belgium are discussed at considerable length by Camille Huysmans in a recent number of the *Neue Zeit*. It seems that the election was an extremely hardly contested one. The Clericals, feeling their power slipping away, went to greatest lengths to retain their following. It had been shown in the Chamber of Deputies that for some time the Clericals had been making use of the clergy, nuns, monks, and clerical teachers to maintain a system of personal espionage over the most private affairs of the Belgian people, and that this information had been used in connection with the great capitalists to terrorize the workers into supporting the Clerical Party. The most absurd reports were circulated concerning the socialists—that they proposed to destroy the churches, drive out the worshippers with bayonets, etc., and cartoons depicting these horrible prospects were circulated among all the more ignorant of the workers.

Moreover the electoral lists were in the possession of the Clericals and they used this power for the most wholesale frauds.

The Liberals, raised the cry that only through them could salvation from the clerical terror be secured, and since the socialists had formed an alliance with the Liberals in many parts of the country, the whole affair was in confusion, and consequently the socialist vote did not receive as much of an increase as had been expected. However two additional seats were gained for the socialists giving them thirty instead of twenty-eight as before, and a slight increase in the vote registered.

One of the reasons for the comparatively slow growth of the socialist vote during the last two years, is due to the fact that the small retailers and their friends, in Brussels are very much enraged against the socialist co-operatives, which are driving all the little merchants out of business.

Another cause that tended to retard the increase of the socialist vote was that the Liberals stole all of the socialist platform that they dared, including many of the "immediate demands."

#### RUSSIA.

The Progressive Woman's Party of St. Petersburg, has sent the following energetic resolution to the Douma, which body is giving it consideration:

"In the name of the well-being of the Russian people, the Progressive Woman's Party protests against any legislative action what-

ever by the Imperial Douma so long as women are excluded from its ranks. It demands that the representatives of the people, must first of all see to it that the entire population of the Russian Empire, including the women, have the right of suffrage. The Progressive Woman's Party appeals to the sense of justice of the representatives of the Russian people, and expresses the hope that the Russian women may immediately receive their political rights, and become transformed from slaves without any rights whatever into complete legal citizens."

Comparisons between the French and the Russian Revolutions grow ever closer, but not without the development of some striking distinctions. The sessions of the Douma are growing more and more like those of the General Assembly. Although all precautions were taken to exclude socialists, yet a strong body of socialists has developed. Like the "Mountain" they are becoming the dominant party. There is this tremendous difference, however, that behind them stands the mighty power of the International Proletariat.

Only the other day the new Russian legislative assembly was forced to listen to eulogies of Lieut. Schmidt, whose tragic death has been described in these pages.

Moreover the Douma is now arranging for investigations of the massacres of the Jews. While no effective legal action can be taken by them in this regard, yet they can do as the socialists of all other lands have done in legislative chambers: make it the sounding board to give force to their propaganda. Indeed, it is as an organ of publicity that the socialists have always mostly utilized legislative bodies to which they were elected.

In the meantime the socialists have in no way relaxed their attacks and criticisms of the Douma itself. A recent meeting of the Socialist and the Socialist Revolutionary parties in St. Petersburg condemned the new legislative body in strong terms. The latest press dispatches would indicate that the Czar had determined to throw himself into the arms of the radical bourgeoisie and permit the formation of a radical parliamentary government, in the hope of thereby staving off the complete collapse of the autocracy.

The two demands on which the Russian ship of state seems about to be wrecked are those of complete amnesty of political prisoners and the division of land. To yield on either of these or to either side is to confess defeat and invite destruction.

#### FRANCE.

The united socialist party has decided to pursue an absolutely clear cut policy founded upon the class-struggle in its legislative work and has therefore refused to present any candidate for the presidency of the Chamber. At a former session Jaures was presented and was elected as one of the vice-presidents, and a like result would have been certain this time had the party so desired. This item is especially referred to those who never tire of telling how the socialists are rejecting the narrow Marxian tactics.

#### TASMANIA.

It is encouraging to see the progress made in Tasmania—seven Labor men have been returned where only four were in the previous Parliament. Our comrade, George Burns, M.H.A., for Queenstown, had a fine majority of 619. Our comrades of Victoria all heartily congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Burns on the victory. No doubt it is an indication of a deter-

mination on the part of the Tassie workers to catch up to and keep up to the movement in other States. All good success to them.—*The Socialist*, Melbourne.

## ITALY.

Hunger riots have recently occurred in Sardinia, which were put down with violence by the troops. So terrible have the conditions been on this island that for several years marriages and births have fallen off in a most striking manner. While sheriffs' sales average but 29 per 100,000 population annually in the remainder of Italy, in Sardinia they reach 422 per 100,000, with the overwhelming majority for between five and twenty dollars.

## REPORT OF SECRETARY TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

*To the National Committee, Socialist Party,*

DEAR COMRADES:—In submitting this, my second report, of the work and proceedings of the International Socialist Bureau, I can do no better than to give a brief summary of the proceedings of the Bureau at its last regular meeting.

The meeting was held in Brussels in the month of March, and I did not personally attend it.

I received a copy of the minutes of the proceedings but a short time ago. Hence the delay in my report.

The question of the basis of representation and mode of voting in International Socialist conventions and Bureau meetings which had occupied the attention of the Bureau for the past year, was disposed of by the adoption of the following set of resolutions:

"I. The following organizations shall be admitted to the International conventions:

A. All associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: the socialization of the means of production and exchange; the international union and action of the working class, and the socialist conquest of the powers of government by the proletariat organized as a class party.

B. All organizations which, while they do not directly take part in the political movement, stand on the basis of the class struggle and recognize the necessity of political action, legislative and parliamentary.

II. A. The associations and organizations of each nationality form one section, which passes upon the admissibility of all associations and organizations of that nationality.

If any association or organization is not admitted by the section of its nationality, it has the right to appeal to the International Socialist Bureau, whose decision on the matter is final.

B. The secretary of each affiliated party or the national committee of the affiliated organizations in each country, where such national committee is constituted, shall transmit to the various socialist organizations of their respective countries, the invitations to take part in the international conventions and the resolutions adopted by the International Socialist Bureau.

C. The text of all motions must be in possession of the Bureau at least four (4) months before the date fixed for the international congress, and distributed by the Bureau one month after their receipt. No new resolutions will be accepted, distributed or discussed if they have not been submitted in the manner above indicated, except matters of urgency. The International Socialist Bureau is alone competent to decide upon the



question of urgency. All amendments or resolutions should be submitted to the International Socialist Bureau in writing, and the Bureau will decide whether such amendments are admissible or whether they merely attempt to introduce new resolutions under the guise of amendments.

III. The method of voting in international conventions shall be determined by the following rules:

A. The vote shall be by delegates, except when three nations demand a vote by nationalities, in which case the vote shall be taken by nationalities.

B. As nationalities, are regarded the aggregate body of inhabitants living under the same government. But the Bureau may also in exceptional cases consider as nationalities the bodies of inhabitants whose aspirations for autonomy and moral unity are the result of a long historical government, provided however, that the latter decision shall not alter the proportion in the number of the votes of the section.

C. Each section shall have a number of votes varying from two to twenty according to a list which shall be prepared for the first time by the Bureau in office in 1906 to 1907. The number of votes for each section shall be fixed with regard to

(a) The number of dues-paying members of the parties, bearing in mind the number of inhabitants.

(b) The importance of the nationality.

(c) The strength of trade unions and co-operative socialist organizations.

(d) The political power of the Socialist Party or parties.

The number of dues-paying members shall be proved by all documents and papers which the Bureau may demand. Should there be two or more different parties within one section, the distribution of votes among such parties shall be made by the parties themselves, and, in case of a disagreement, by the Bureau. The list shall be revised periodically, or as circumstances may demand.

IV. An International Socialist Bureau organized on the basis of representation by national sections, shall continue the function of such sections. Each section may send to the Bureau two accredited delegates. The places of the delegates may be filled by substitutes elected by the affiliated parties.

V. The Bureau has a permanent secretary, whose functions have been determined by the Paris convention of 1900. The seat of the Bureau shall be at Brussels, and the Belgian delegation shall serve as the Executive Committee.

VI. The dues of every party shall commence in the month of January of each year, and shall be fixed on a scale periodically to be adopted by the Bureau.

These resolutions practically constitute the first attempt to codify and regulate the rights of the various socialist parties and labor organizations in the international conventions and the International Bureau.

The resolutions are not final, since they will have to be submitted for approval to the next international convention, and one or two parts are adopted only provisionally, and will be again considered by the International socialist bureau at its next regular meeting.

The committee also adopted unanimously the International Socialist Peace Resolution offered sometime ago by our French comrades through Vaillant and Jaures. The resolution is the same which was recently adopted by our National Committee, and need not be repeated here. The vote of our party had been sent in by me prior to the meeting, and was counted as cast in favor of the resolution.

One of the most notable features of the meeting was the report of the secretary of the International Bureau, Camille Huysmans, covering the work of the Bureau for the year 1905. The present secretary of the

Bureau assumed office in February 1905, and during the short time of his incumbency, he succeeded admirably in extending and strengthening the activity of the Bureau. In order to establish closer relations between the various affiliated parties and the Bureau, a system of monthly reports was introduced, which reports contain brief accounts of the work accomplished, and the correspondence exchanged by the Bureau, and are regularly submitted by the Secretary to the delegates of the various national parties. The reports are written in French, but during the last few months the secretary has been accompanying them by a brief summary in German, and it is expected that within a short time the reports will be published and sent out simultaneously in three languages: French, German and English. The Executive Committee of the Bureau has also taken steps to procure from the representatives of the various national parties quarter-annual or semi-annual reports of the socialist and labor movements in their respective countries. These reports will be printed in the three principal languages, and it is expected that they will develop into interesting and valuable chronicles of the modern international socialist and labor movements. The Bureau also made energetic efforts to carry out the unity resolution of the Amsterdam Congress and its efforts have contributed materially to a unification of our comrades in France.

Among the most interesting items in the report of the International Secretary is the fact that the Bureau is in communication with representatives of the socialist movement in China. The Bureau expects that our Chinese comrades will be strong enough by next year to send a delegation to the international socialist convention. The socialists of Cuba and Brazil likewise expect to be represented in the Stuttgart congress.

The Bureau has also made a beginning for the establishment of an international socialist archive which is expected to contain all valuable socialist publications, documents, etc. The number of books and periodicals so far collected already exceeds 15,000.

The annual dues of the various national organizations were re-adjusted by the Bureau at its last meeting. In view of the increased activity of the Bureau and the corresponding increase in its expense, the effect of the re-adjustment was in a majority of cases to raise the annual charges except in cases of the smaller countries in which the charges have been reduced. The socialist movement in the United States is now charged 1250 francs per year instead of 800 francs as heretofore, but it must be borne in mind that our party is only responsible for part of these dues, since the other part must be borne by the Socialist Labor Party, which is now likewise represented on the Bureau.

Probably the most fruitful activity of the International Socialist Bureau within the last year was its support of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The international celebration of the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday" was a complete and emphatic success, and stands without parallel in history as a demonstration of the solidarity of the revolutionary working class the world over. The financial support which the Russian revolutionary movement received through the International Bureau was also very material, and the Bureau succeeded in a number of cases to prevent the extradition of Russian socialists from various European countries either by direct intervention or through the medium of the affiliated parties.

On the whole the International Socialist Bureau apparently begins to realize the great hopes of the socialist movement which attended its creation in 1900, and the time seems to be near at hand when it will become a body more powerful and influential than the General Council of the old International.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) MORRIS HILLQUIT.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

It is interesting and surprising what peculiar political and economic alignments can take place in the short space of a year — how groups of individuals turn a complete flip-flop from one extreme to the other. In the first place certain shining lights among the Socialists assiduously cultivated the notion formerly that industrial organization was pretty much of a failure, that strikes and boycotts had outlived their usefulness, and that the workers must convert their unions into political machines to fight capitalism at the ballot-box, etc. How many times have we heard Debs, De Leon, Hagerty and others expound these and similar views? Then, on the other hand, there was Sam Gompers, Duncan, Mitchell and their followers who made no effort to conceal their contempt for political action. "A strike makes a real man of the most timid slave." I have heard Gompers fairly shout during the heat of debate. I never heard Duncan make a speech in which he did not stretch to his full height (he must be about ten feet high on such occasions) and point with pride to the fact that the granite cutters, the cigar makers and many other union people had obtained through their industrial organizations what had been impossible of attainment in legislative halls up to date — the eight-hour day, more pay, regulation of apprentices and other favorable conditions of work. Mitchell and other brethren also recalled innumerable advantages secured through union effort and in every debate in Federation conventions there was a fine sense of scorn displayed by the pure and simple saints toward the Socialists. The latter were not considered to be good trade unionists; they were referred to as "Socialist politicians," who were seeking to destroy organized labor by injecting political claptrap.

But, presto! the grand transformation scene changes the Socialists into pure and simplers and the pure and simplers into politicians. A year ago the I. W. W. was launched in Chicago, a declaration of principles was formulated in which political action is repudiated in so many words, and many of the spokesmen of the new body have sneered at the idea of dropping pieces of paper in a box and ridiculed the "Slowshulist" party as being a mere reform aggregation. Now it is the strike — the general strike — that will save society, while politics is merely a buffer for capitalism to divert the attention of the workers from the wrongs that are inflicted upon them in the shops, mines, factories, etc. Hagerty has become the purest of pure and simplers. De Leon, having destroyed his own party, is now busily engaged in sowing the seed of dissension in the Socialist party to kill off that promising organization also, and he hails with delight and magnifies, as only De Leon can, every little local factional fight or the withdrawal of the most obscure member of any backwoods branch. Debs, I am informed by comrades of Toledo, where he recently delivered an address, spoke in discouraging tones in private of the political movement, expressing the fear that the S. P. would lose

ground in 1908. Of course, this is mere hearsay, but it reminds me that 'Gene has not displayed nearly as much of his infectuous enthusiasm for political action as he has for that wonderful wheel of fortune scheme that is destined to make capitalism quail and plead for its life. Do you think that this sudden whooping and hurrahing for the new industrial organization is not reacting on the Socialist party? It certainly is — at least at present. Several months ago I mentioned the fact in the REVIEW that party members in many sections of the country are putting in more time boosting the I. W. W. than the S. P., and that they are becoming pretty well tangled up in factional quarrels among themselves, with the result that bad blood and jealousies are being aroused and the locals and branches are suffering the consequences.

A case in point is a recent occurrence in Ohio. The Cincinnati comrades became ensnared in the industrial net. A minority became imbued with the notion that life was hardly worth living if the I. W. W. were not endorsed. They made their fight in the local convention and were defeated, then they appointed themselves fraternal delegates to an alleged state convention of the S. L. P., which met at the same time and place as the S. P. convention. The De Leonite remnant endorsed the I. W. W. and then the "fraternals" were sent over to the S. P., denied the floor for the reason that Cincinnati local was duly represented, and bolted off home, called a meeting of their faction, voted to secede, and, State Secretary Gardner being one of the members, used the state office and the party machinery to create as much trouble throughout Ohio as possible. Several manifestos have been sent out by the little minority rule-or-ruin crowd to the locals in the state, and now there is all kinds of hell to pay, and nobody knows where or when it will stop. Here is one of the significant sentences that appears in the bolter's manifesto: "Division, division, division everywhere. And the motto of the ruling class has ever been: 'Divide and conquer!'" Then follows this concluding paragraph: "Several ward branches have returned their charter to the Socialist party and are reorganizing as branches of the S. L. P." Do you wonder that the capitalist class can sit back and grin at such ridiculous displays of muddle-headedness! Who is creating the "division everywhere," and why must we pass through a second De Leon experience? What is it all about? Why should another party be wrecked for a mere strike and boycott machine! I suppose when a policeman's club comes down on the head of a striker who carries an I. W. W. card it will make less of a dent or leave a smaller lump than on the head of an A. F. of L. member. Maybe when the courts learn that injunctions are to be flung against the unfrightened wheel of fortune devotees instead of Fakirion agitators the judges will become panic-stricken and fly to a cyclone cellar. Perhaps the capitalists will be real good and weakly pray for forgiveness when the I. W. W. stalwarts come to town and drive the puny Federationists from the field. It is really astonishing how "bug-house" otherwise earnest and intelligent men can become when they start to worship a fetish, a name, a mere sound. As I stated before, the capitalists of this country, wielding the enormous power that they do, care nothing what form or name the workers are organized under, and probably hardly ever display sufficient interest to inquire, but when they see a head they hit it. They control the powers of government and will order out their militia, hurl their injunctions, hire deputies and thugs to create trouble, oppress men, women and children in every manner possible as quickly in Colorado as in Ohio. Furthermore I am not even prepared to admit that the members of the I. W. W. will display any more unselfishness, fortitude and heroism than A. F. of L. members, or that the former will stick to their organization when the next great panic breaks over the country any more tenaciously than the latter. What has become of the "stonewall," S. T. and L. A., who were supposed to be so much more intelligent than ordinary folk? If

the Socialist philosophy holds true that material interests dominate men's actions, then let the party members join whatever organizations safeguard them best, for industrial associations are, at most, but temporarily alleviating the conditions of the toilers from the pressure of capitalism. My appeal to comrades is to not lose their heads and keep their powder dry. No form of industrial organization is going to solve the labor problem for the packing house employes, the railway workers, the miners, the iron and steel workers, the marine men, or in any other branch of human activity, no matter whether such organization be labeled I. W. W., A. F. of L., K. of L., S. T. and L. A. or whatnot. The experience of the toiling millions of Great Britain, where they have some of the finest purely industrial organizations in the world; on the European continent, where they are fighting for universal suffrage that they may meet the enemy at the polls and in the legislation chambers; in Australia, where the trade unions were shot to pieces, so to speak, and finally took refuge behind the ramparts of their political power; yes, right here in America, where the most reactionary and ultra-conservatives have suddenly begun to appreciate the fact that they must move politically, demonstrates the fact beyond peradventure of doubt that, after all, the ballot is the club that must be used if final emancipation is to be achieved. Let it be understood, once for all, that those who deprecate political action, whether they are found among the old school of pure and simplers or in the new-fangled I. W. W., are anarchists, but lack the courage to so announce themselves. Between the latter and the Socialists there can be no compromise or anything in common. It is the duty of every member of the Socialist party to quit monkeying with old, wornout schemes, irrespective of the highfaluting names they may be paraded under, and to give the best of his talents, time and means to upbuild the Socialist party. We need have no fear of the Bryans and Hearts and Roosevelts, although they may temporarily check our movement here or there. They are less dangerous, however, than those whom the experiences of the past, have taught nothing, and who are stampeded by every freak scheme that may be promulgated by some ambitious individual or a coterie of unclear minds who hope to stop comets by passing resolutions. Political action through the Socialist party, I repeat, is the road to final victory. All other movements are ineffectual and more or less humbug.

Meanwhile the original pure and simplers of the A. F. of L. continue to issue their proclamations in favor of political action along certain lines, "to reward our friends and punish our enemies," and where they are all "enemies" to stack up independent tickets. As has already been pointed out in these columns, this policy, if adopted by the members, will do more damage than could have been done if a bold, honest stand had been taken independent of all parties. Cheap skates and petty grafters will take advantage of the opportunity to designate "friends" and "enemies" according to their own selfish plans, and then there will be rows galore. But the indications are that the latest Gompersian policy will meet with little favor in important industrial centres. The rank and file will move ahead of their alleged leaders and nothing will stop them from landing in the Socialist camp sooner or later. Yet one thing has been accomplished by the A. F. of L. executive council in declaring for political action, and which can be applauded by every Socialist no matter what interpretation may be placed on such action, and that is pure and simpledom has heard its death-knell in the Federation, the bars are down and the political issues must be discussed, and the Socialists who have steadfastly fought in conventions in favor of political action have been vindicated. It is now up to the Socialists to make their principles known in the local unions, and then it won't take long to completely down reaction and fossilized conservatism.

On the purely industrial field there have been no great developments

during the past month except that the bituminous miners have nearly all returned to work, having gained their increase of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or the 1903 scale. The miners, on their side, made a number of concessions in the various states, but whether they will offset the increase of wages only time will determine. The printers in a number of cities are still fighting for the eight-hour day, and the bookbinders and pressmen are making arrangements to inaugurate national moves to enforce the same demand. The bridge and structural iron workers also continue to fight the American Bridge trust, a constituent part of the United States Steel Corporation, which aims to destroy the union. The officials of the Western Federation of Miners remain in prison, their trial having been postponed again until next winter, the excuse being that the habeas corpus case must be tried in United States Supreme Court, but the actual fact probably is that the prosecution has no evidence to convict. The W. F. of M. executive council has refused to charter Eastern coal miners, which was a wise decision.

There are the usual number of local strikes in progress in many industrial centres, showing that the class struggle has not yet disappeared.

## BOOK REVIEWS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By Henry C. Taylor, *The Macmillan Co., Half leather*, 327 pp., \$1.25.

The "Factors of Agricultural Production — Land, Capital-Goods and Population," in the United States, consist of 838,591,777 acres, of which only one-half is improved, with about nine dollars per acre invested capital, and a farming population of a trifle over ten millions. The "Economic Properties" of these various "Factors" are considered and are found to "vary in productivity." From this broader view the transition is at once made to a discussion of "the economic principles which the farmer follows when intelligently seeking to win the largest possible net profits;" "those circumstances under which the winning of the largest net profits on the part of the farmer does not result also in the highest value of the agricultural productions of the country as a whole," and "the methods which have been employed by public authority in its attempts to promote the agricultural interests, and the institutions which are essential to a proper adjustment of the economic relations of those engaged in this industry."

The problems which meet the individual farmer in the distribution of his "factors of production" are considered at some length, and in decidedly academic language, which often serves to give commonplaces, if not platitudes, the aspect of wise observations.

One naturally turns to his chapters on "The Size of Farms" and "The Distribution of Wealth" to discover what valuable social conclusions are arrived at. But such a reader will be grievously disappointed. The size of farms seems to be wholly determined by individual considerations relating to the farmer, while the entire wealth of the farm, according to this author, would seem to be divided between the tenant, landlord, and their employees. There seems to be no grasp of any wider relations between the farm and a great complex system of capitalistic production, which fact is infinitely the most important and distinctive thing about modern agriculture. The doctrine of "diminishing returns" is accepted in its baldest form with never a hint that the whole theory is disputed in its very fundamentals, and certainly does not apply in any such manner as is taken for granted here. There is much that is suggestive and valuable in the short chapter on "The Principles to be followed in Estimating the Value of Farm Lands and Equipments," including some ingenious mathematical formula. It is almost amusing however to see this chapter, by far the most intricate and technical in the book, commended as practical advice to the prospective buyer of farm land. The chapters on "Tenancy and Land-Ownership" and "Landlords and Tenants" are perhaps the best in the book, both because of the treatment of a hitherto neglected subject, and because of its presentation of sample contracts for the renting of land on the share plan. It is

strange, however, to read this contract with its utter disregard of all the Ricardian laws of rent, the productivity of the soil, the proximity to market, etc. and then to turn back to the chapter on the "Organization of the Farm," for instance, where that law of rent is pre-supposed as of universal and active influence.

As one of the first steps in a new field in economics, at least so far as the English language is concerned, the book is to be welcomed without too close examination. It does bring considerable matter of value, and must be read by whoever wishes to enter upon the study of agricultural economics. Yet its short-comings are many. Not to mention the complete disregard of the socialist writings on the subject, both in German and English, to which the author is very careful to avoid all references, — perhaps because some of his pet premises would be upset by them should his readers happen to also become familiar with the socialist works — there is tendency towards the ponderous expression of platitudes, which is all too common in much of present day, economic and sociological literature. On pages 94-5, for example, a whole paragraph is devoted to saying that the farmer ought not to use a machine unless it pays. On page 126 we are gravely told as the final result of several pages of reasoning that, "The conclusion is, therefore, that every man who can make more by hiring to a farmer should do so, and every farmer who can increase his net profits by hiring men and increasing the size of his farm, without increasing the amount of effort which he need put forth, should do so." Indeed!

We are also struck with the omissions. As has been already noted, there is no discussion of the law of concentration in agriculture, save in the adjustment of farm labor, no examination of the changes wrought in the whole agricultural situation by the introduction of improved machinery, no historical perspective of any sort, and no recognition of the diverse industries that are comprised under the name of farming. These things are certainly fundamental in character, and germane in subject-matter. Why were they not considered?

THE PLASE OF INDUSTRIES IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, by Katherine Elizabeth Dopp. Second Edition. University of Chicago Press, Cloth, 270 pp., \$1.00.

We welcome the second edition of this book, and recommend it to every socialist who wishes to know the latest and most practical word on the "new education," which in itself is but a part of the great intellectual political, and fundamentally industrial movement, of which socialism is the largest expression. A full review of this work was given on the appearance, (Vol. IV, p. 186), and this cannot be repeated here. Suffice to say that the industrial evolution is discussed from the lowest stages to capitalism, with the application of the various stages to practical question of education. An additional chapter has been added giving detailed instructions to teachers as to the methods by which to apply the ideas of the book. Numerous illustrations have also been added, which naturally increase the value of the work. Wherever socialists are in any way interested in education,—and they should be so interested everywhere—this book should be carefully studied.

METAMORPHOSE, *Involving Regeneration of Individual and Race, and also the solution of the great Problem of Poverty*, by Orlando K. Fitzsimmons. Progress Publishing Co., Marquette Building, Chicago. Cloth, deckel edge, 217pp., and Appendix, \$2.00.

This is one of the multitude of confused discussions of social pro-



blems that the last ten years have brought forth. There is a little undigested fraction of nearly all social philosophies, no matter how contradictory, to be found within its pages, and nothing that can be considered a contribution to the subjects attacked.

MODERN JUSTICE, *A Drama in Five Acts*, by Rhoda O. R. Reichel, Published by the Author at St. Paul, Minn. Paper, 79pp.

There have been any number of attempts by amateurs to write socialist plays during the last few years, and none of them can be said to have been extremely successful. Nor is the present one an exception. There is considerable strength to certain portions, but on the whole it is crude and too melo-dramatic.

THE TRI-UNIT PHILOSOPHY, *A Treatise Based on the Discovery of Unit Matter*, by Porter Mellen Jones, M. D. Published by the Author at 312 W. Monroe Str., Chicago, Ill.

A pseudo-scientific work discussing astronomy, geology, and incidentally sociology. It is largely a jargon of scientific terminology with very little meaning, that the reviewer is able to discover.

A HOME COLONY, by Upton Sinclair, The Jungle Publishing Co., Box 2064, New York. Paper, 23pp.

Not a plan for a socialist community, but for a community of socialists, which will solve the servant problem while capitalism remains, and make living a little more endurable for those who are lucky enough to be able to co-operate as suggested.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### WHAT WE DID IN JUNE.

Summer is usually the dull season in the book publishing business. Ordinarily we think ourselves lucky if the sales in June cover the running expenses. In June, 1905, our book sales were \$676.61. In June, 1906, they were \$1527.18. In June, 1905 our receipts from the sale of stock were \$140.55; in June, 1906, the receipts from this source were \$307.72. In June, 1905 the receipts of the International Socialist Review were \$173.77, supplemented by cash donations to the amount of \$227.00. Last month the receipts of the Review were 199.84 while the only donation was \$10 from Jacob Bruning of Chicago.

The meaning of all these figures is that within a year our book publishing business has doubled. We are receiving new stock subscriptions daily, because it has become self-evident that any buyer of socialist books can get more for his money by taking advantage of our plan of co-operation than in any other way.

Donations have fallen off because we are no longer making any special appeal for them. The comrades who can spare but from one to five dollars a month are putting the money into new books, which is far more satisfactory for every one concerned.

Meanwhile the one unsolved problem is the International Review. It has run six years, and it is about as far as ever from paying expenses. The socialist movement is now large enough so that it can support such a periodical with ease if the party members really care to keep in touch with the socialist thought of the world. A net increase of just one thousand subscribers would stop the deficit and enable the publishing house to go on issuing the Review without crippling its other work. But it must be a *net* increase, that is we must not only get a thousand new subscribers, but enough more to make up for the old subscribers who do not renew.

There is just one way to get these subscribers. They will not come of themselves. We might get them by advertising but only by spending on the advertising about all the money received from the subscriptions. The one way they can be obtained is by the personal efforts of readers of the Review who think it worth continuing. That is the only way any socialist publication in America keeps alive, even the most prosperous ones.

### SIX MONTHS FOR FIFTY CENTS.

It is easier to get half a dollar than a dollar from a new reader. Moreover if the subscription list is not substantially enlarged we shall

not publish the Review on its present lines after the end of 1906. We offer no commission on new subscriptions, for to do this would certainly result in the rate to subscribers being cut by those who "rustle" for subscriptions. But as an inducement to send lists of new subscriptions we offer

### BOUND VOLUMES FREE.

The sixth volume is now ready. It contains 764 pages with complete index, and it is solidly bound in cloth with gold stamping. The price is \$2.00. But we will mail this volume free to any one sending \$5.00 for the Review six months to ten names. Or send \$25.00 with fifty names for six months and we will send by express prepaid the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth volumes. These make up an invaluable history of the socialist world-movement and mirror of socialist thought for the years from 1901 to 1906. We do not include the first volume in this special offer for the reason that our supply of it is nearly exhausted. Its price has therefore been raised to \$5.00. A complete set of the six volumes is sold for \$15.00; our stockholders can buy the set for \$7.50 by express at purchaser's expense or \$9.00 including prepayment of charges by us.

### WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM.

This is a book of 64 large pages, each page containing considerably more matter than a page of the Review. It is a descriptive catalogue of the books of this publishing house, prepared with the idea not of inducing readers by glowing descriptions to buy what they don't want, but of informing them what each book contains and does not contain, so that they may select understandingly the books that they do want. And it is more than a catalogue. It contains an introduction by Charles H. Kerr explaining in the simplest possible style the ideas held in common by international socialists. It is thus in itself an effective piece of propaganda, and as it has the effect of making people buy socialist books, we are able to supply it at less than the cost of printing. The price is one cent a copy including postage either on copies mailed singly or on a bundle to one address. Or we will send copies in any quantity by express at purchaser's expense at 50 cents a hundred.

### SUMMER PROPAGANDA PACKAGE.

- The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, 64 pages, 10 cents.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, 127 pages, 10 cents.
- Socialist Songs, Dialogues and Recitations, compiled by Josephine R. Cole, 55 pages, 25 cents.
- Capital and Labor, by a Black-listed Machinist, 203 pages, 25 cents.
- For Russia's Freedom, by Ernest Poole, 32 pages, 10 cents.
- Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons, 64 pages, 10 cents.
- Socialism vs. Single Tax, a Debate between Post, Hardinge and White, single taxers, against Untermann, Stedman and Simons, socialists. 64 pages and eight portraits, 25 cents.
- A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller, by John Spargo, 16 pages, 5 cents.
- Science and Life, by Enrico Ferri, 16 pages, 5 cents.
- The Socialist Campaign Book, 151 pages, 25 cents.
- Underfed School Children, the Problem and the Remedy, by John Spargo, 32 pages, 10 cents.

The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand, by Dr. C. W. Wooldridge, 64 pages, 10 cents.

The Root of All Kinds of Evil, by Rev. Stewart Sheldon, 32 pages, 10 cents.

Forces that Make for Socialism in America, by John Spargo, 32 pages, 10 cents.

A full set of the Madden Library, six booklets of 16 pages each, 10 cents.

These books contain 1112 pages, they retail for two dollars. We will send a full set of them along with 20 copies of What to Read on Socialism, by express at purchaser's expense for one dollar, or for \$1.50 we will send them by mail or express prepaid to any address. This offer is open to any one, whether a stockholder in our publishing house or not, but it will not be good after the last day of August. Better order at once; the offer will not appear in the REVIEW again.

### THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

This new library was started at the beginning of 1906, and eight volumes are now ready. It contains in handsome and substantial form for the library a series of works that are positively indispensable to the student of socialism. The titles of the volumes which can now be supplied are The Changing Order, by Oscar Lovell Triggs, Better-World Philosophy and The Universal Kinship, by J. Howard Moore, Principles of Scientific Socialism, by Charles H. Vail, Some of the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen, Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, by Antonio Labriola, Love's Coming-of-Age, by Edward Carpenter, and Looking Forward, by Philip Rappaport. A descriptive circular of all these books will be mailed to any one asking for it. Three more volumes in this library will soon be ready. Any book in this series will be mailed promptly on receipt of one dollar. The following letter from a famous English author to J. Howard Moore will give some idea of the importance of his book:

### A LETTER FROM MONA CAIRD.

"I must send you a few lines to thank you for your splendid book, *The Universal Kinship*, which I have just finished. It leaves me in a glow of enthusiasm and hope. It seems like the embodiment of years of almost despairing effort and pain of all of us who have felt these things. That which we have been thinking and feeling — some in one direction and some in another, some in fuller understanding and breadth, others in little flashes of insight here and there — all seems gathered together, expressed, and given form and color and life in your wonderful book.

We seemed to be working in the cold and dark, derided, and called well-meaning, (most damning of epithets), and compelled to see and know of horrible wrongs practiced, not merely by the base but by some of our otherwise noblest and best. And everywhere the strange, instinctive desire to bolster up and to justify savage survivals as 'manly', wholesome, and all the rest of it.

And now comes your book — which is not merely an emotional statement of the case, but a broad, convincing, and scientific exposition of the whole proposterous situation, fired by feeling and enthusiasm (a splendid blend) — and the whole ghastly nature of our 'civilization' is made so clear that no one can help seeing the truth even though he denies it with his lips.

Your book is very beautiful and grand, if I may speak as I feel; and it gives me more hope than anything I have read for many a year.

Since Evolution has produced this clearness of vision and tenderness of universal sympathy in *one* of our species, time may, surely it *must*, bring the higher view and broader outlook to the average man and woman in the form of a current standard or view.

\* \* \* \* \*

Please excuse this long letter and accept my warm gratitude for your magnificent contribution to the progress of the world."

Yours very truly,

MONA CAIRD, LONDON.

#### OUR NEW EDITION OF MARX'S CAPITAL.

More than half the type for this book has already been set, and next month we will announce the date of publication. We have made no great effort as yet to secure advance cash orders for this work, since we do not wish to keep the comrades waiting too long for their books after they have sent in the money. We are sparing no expense to make this the best edition of Marx that can be obtained anywhere. No edition yet published has an alphabetical index; ours will have an excellent one prepared by Ernest Untermann. The price of the first volume, nearly 900 large pages, will be two dollars less the regular discounts to our stockholders. Later we shall issue the second and third volumes, never yet published in the English language, and they will be in uniform style with the first volume, making a set that will be an essential part of every socialist library. It will take twelve hundred dollars within the next few weeks to publish this first volume. For forty dollars received before the end of August we will send forty copies to any stockholder by freight *prepaid*. This will enable the members of almost any city local to get their copies for a dollar each by co-operating in time. Smaller orders from stockholders will be filled at \$1.20 each by mail; \$1.00 each by express. To have books sent by freight it is necessary to order at least twenty dollars' worth at once.

That is about all for this time. We have more new books but no room to tell about them. Our work is growing faster than ever before, because 1412 stockholders are helping it along. If you want it to grow faster still, take hold and help.

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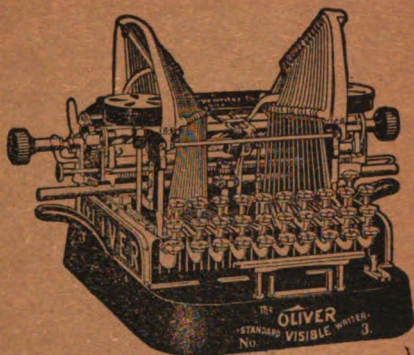
No network of flimsy keys to get tied into hard knots.

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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## Is Public Ownership Worth While?

**I**N HIS article on "Socialism and Public Ownership" Comrade Francis M. Elliott touches upon a most important problem of socialist tactics. He has well expressed a feeling that is growing upon an increasing number of socialist workers: besides teaching the general principles of a co-operative commonwealth, we must get into the very thick of our political and economic reality; if we are to rise above the stage of a debating club, and become a political party in fact as well as in name. Barring all theoretical arguments, the policy of utter neglect of the actual, burning problems of the day in one political campaign after the other has cost us thousands of votes in many places. And it is gratifying to see the tide turning, as I judge from the interesting study of "Lapis" on the Railroad Situation in the May number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and the article of Comrade Elliott, above mentioned.

In connection with the problem of Public Ownership there is a point or two that seems to need some elucidation.

One is the enormous quantitative importance of this problem, which few socialists realize. It is the superior contempt which the average "scientific" comrade bears to statistics, i. e., the scientific study of reality that makes him speak of public ownership as a petty superficial problem. A few statistical data will therefore not be amiss:

a) The assets of the street railways (including the electric interurban railways) of the United States amounting to \$2,545,-132,305. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Street and Electric Railways, 1902 (Bureau of Census, Special Reports) Washington, 1905, p. 90.

b) The capital of the gas companies in the United States in 1900 was \$567,000,506.<sup>1</sup>

c) The total capital of the central electric light and power stations is not given, and their capitalization is a very uncertain thing to go by. This is stated as \$627,515,875 in 1902. But to be conservative we shall take the cost of construction as stated; namely, \$504,740,352.<sup>2</sup>

d) The assets of the telephone systems at the end of 1902 were \$452,172,546.<sup>3</sup>

Here are only four groups of franchise capital for which recent and reliable data are available; they do not by far cover all kinds of municipal franchise capital. Yet we are dealing here with \$4,062,000,000 — four billion dollars! A petty problem indeed! And if we go beyond the cities the total rapidly rises.

e) The telegraph system has assets amounting to \$195,503,775.<sup>4</sup>

f) And finally the greatest sum of franchise capital is to be found in the railroad business, the commercial value of which was computed by Prof. Henry C. Adams for 1904 as \$11,244,852,000, not including the Pullman and private cars; which had an estimated value of \$123,000,000, so that the total for railroad property was \$11,367,852,000.<sup>5</sup>

Here we have property to the amount of \$15,430,000,000 for the public ownership of which there is already a tremendous demand in this country. And to better appreciate these figures we want to remember that the total capital invested in manufacturing in 1900 was only \$9,858,205,501, i. e., that the franchise capital of six groups only was 56 per cent larger than the total manufacturing capital of this country.

Add to this the enormous mining capital, the socialization of which, as a so-called natural monopoly will undoubtedly be demanded as soon as the properties mentioned are acquired and here is a — comparatively — easy way to socialization of a larger share of the entire private property.

But is it worth while? the revolutionist impatiently asks, For you do not offer expropriation, you speak of capitalist public ownership which means acquisition of these properties for a fair price. Where, then, is the benefit?

Whenever I hear this question I very much feel like answer-

<sup>1</sup> Census Reports, Twelfth Census, Vol. X, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Central Electric Light and Power Stations, 1902. (Bureau of the Census, Special Reports). Washington, 1905, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Telephones and telegraphs (Bureau of the Census. Bulletin 17). Washington, 1905, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bureau of the Census, Bulletin 17, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property in the U. S., 1904. (Bureau of the Census. Bulletin 21). Wash., 1905, p. 7.

ing: My friend, remember your principles of your clear-cut, scientific, class-conscious socialism,—above everything else, class-conscious. How long have you been telling us that the interests of capital and labor are directly opposed to each other. And now observe, how violently capital, which is surely more class-conscious than labor in this country, how violently it fights any efforts at public ownership? Don't you think that is strong evidence that there is something in the tendency for labor?

But the problem may be approached in a more direct way. If only you will agree that gradual expropriation is a desirable method, you cannot but become an enthusiast of the public ownership method.

For there is, first, the method of purchasing franchise property, by right of eminent domain, at a fair price, which need not necessarily be equal to the market price. There is your first step at expropriation. Second, franchise property, being monopoly property, must inevitably rise in value, and rapidly. With increase of population, growth of cities, nothing acquires the "unearned increment" as rapidly as franchise capital, and an early socialization, nationalization or municipalization (choose any term you please) means so much surplus value torn from the teeth of the capitalist class.

Third, the gradual reduction of the interest in the bonds issued to purchase these properties, would be as painless a method of expropriation as can be devised.

Granting that the day will come when the Socialist Party will make up and find itself in the majority in both houses of Congress, and with a comrade in the White House and will then proceed to introduce the co-operative commonwealth, I think the most revolutionary comrade will agree, that the problem will be much simplified if more than half of the actual capital will be in the possession of the nation, though it be through the capitalist class state.

Meanwhile, think what an object lesson these naturalized industries would be! What a stimulus they would give to public life! How much more real political life would be for the average citizen; even the most backward one!

One very important political consideration must be emphasized: With the elimination of franchise capital the most powerful stimulus of political corruption will be removed. We socialists, sufficiently attack the dishonesty of old party politicians. Yet it is well known by his time, that the most potent source of corruption is not so much the moral depravity of the politicians, as the temptations that are put forward by franchise capital. And this demoralization reaches far beyond the professional leaders; it permeates the public mind, and does a great deal towards making politics a game of sordid personal interests. And

only when our citizens will learn to put class interests above purely personal interests will our propaganda succeed in overcoming the poison of political boodles.

I can hear the hackneyed arguments that public ownership, or municipal ownership will only lead to an increase of political corruption, because of the low moral standard of capitalist politicians. But I must emphatically assert, that past experiences do not warrant such pessimism. The cases of corruption in the federal public service are probably better known to the writer of these lines than to the majority of the comrades, yet I doubt very much if all this federal corruption for an entire century equals that amount of public property stolen, say, by the Chicago Street Railway Companies alone. And it stands to reason that in its fight for public ownership the Socialist Party must necessarily fight for civil service, the referendum, the initiative and the recall, which will go far towards making our government clean and democratic. And the Socialists have nothing to lose and everything to gain from such a rise of our political morality.

I certainly do not expect public ownership of franchise enterprises to solve the social problem in its entirety. Yet I cannot agree with Comrade F. M. Elliott, when he contemptuously speaks of it as "so superficial a remedy." Without being complete, it is far from being superficial. And for the following reason:

Fortunately we are done with the "impossibilist," who thinks the two words "co-operative commonwealth" a sufficient platform for the Socialist Party to stand upon. We are not discussing any more the necessity of immediate demands. One need not be a revisionist or a Bernsteinist, to admit the feasibility of an immediate improvement in the condition of the working class. And we are not any more frightened by the fetichism of the "iron law of wages." It has been adequately established, not only by English but even the limited American experience in municipal ownership that the wageworker profits by it, both as a consumer and a producer.<sup>1</sup> And the number of *workingmen* employed in the six franchise groups enumerated, is enormous:

Railways .....	1902—	1,002,979
Street Railways .....	1902—	133,641
Gas .....	1900—	22,459
Electric Stations .....	1902—	23,330
Telephones .....	1902—	64,628
Telegraphs .....	1902—	26,798

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1,273,835

<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the data of the Gas Industry in this country shows that municipal gas plants sell gas cheaper, and pay their workmen better than private gas plants.

By this time it is about a million and a half of wage workers. Their improved economic condition is no small matter in itself, embracing as it does almost 10 per cent of the total *working* population of this country. But as an object lesson, the influence of the raised standard of life and better conditions of work would undoubtedly permeate the entire American working class.

By no means do I advocate the neglect of our final great aim. But let us not drift into the sweet current of visionary idealism. Let us make our movement a class-conscious movement of the working class in the full sense of the word. Let us not forget that we are not dealing with the German philosopher, who will vote for a hundred years in succession and patiently wait, wait; but with the practical everyday American to whom one solid fact is dearer and nearer than a hundred sublime theories! Then, and then only, will we utilize this strong current of dissatisfaction, this blind groping for better things, utilize it for our final aim! If we miss this exceptional opportunity, loud-mouthed demagogues will not; and we will remain what we have been for many decades — harmless dreamers!

STATISTICIAN.

## Senate Reform in Canada.

**F**OR many years past the Canadian people have demanded the abolition or reform of the Senate. This body performs no useful service and is a burden of expense. In the session of parliament just closed the senators themselves discussed the question and the consensus of opinion was that although the upper house is not needed just at present it will form a powerful check on labor legislation when the proletariat secures control of the Commons, or lower house. The newspapers of the Dominion have devoted much space to the rise of labor in Great Britain and doubtless this fact had much to do in bringing about the discussion in Canada. The extraordinary growth of socialism in the Canadian province of British Columbia, where the two revolutionary socialist members of the legislature will probably be joined after the next election by at least five more, has also alarmed the ruling classes to no small degree.

The present Canadian Senate was formed in 1867, when the several provinces of the Dominion were united together by the British North America Act. The government was to consist of a Governor General, appointed by the British government as representative of the Sovereign, House of Senate and House of Commons.

Members of the Commons are elected by a vote of the people. The upper house differs from the British House of Lords and American Senate, for lords are hereditary and American senators elected for a term of years, while Canadian senators are not hereditary though they hold office for life. Each senator must be thirty years of age and possess real estate to the value of four thousand dollars. In this way the body is exclusive for the mass of the people do not possess the necessary real estate. No bill affecting taxation or revenue can originate in the Senate. It, however, has the power to reject measures brought up from the lower house but in most cases it acts as the willing tool of the party in power.

The Conservative (tory), and Liberal (grit) parties, corresponding to the Republican and Democratic parties of the United States, are the representatives of capitalist politics in the land of the Maple Leaf. The "Tories" were the first in power and they naturally appointed their own followers to the Senate. In 1873 this party resigned because of the Canadian Pacific railway scandal and was succeeded by the other representatives of capital. In 1878 there was another change but meanwhile a



good many old and feeble appointees of the "Tories" died and were succeeded by men of another stripe. The "Grits" remained in opposition for the next eighteen years. During this period they launched all their invective against the upper house. "Abolish the Senate" was their cry through press and on platform. It was shown that the house was a refuge for broken-down politicians, some rejected by the people and others considered of more harm to the party than good. It was also shown that the government leaders auctioned off seats in the body to party friends, receiving in some cases as high as \$30,000. The people naturally bit and as a result the "Grits" were launched in office in 1896. Since then the very men who were loudest in denunciation of the Senate have become its members and principal defenders, while seats have been auctioned in the same old way.

The result is that to-day the Canadian Senate is a body composed of would-be aristocrats, striving to be what is impossible in Canada, a second House of Lords. Formerly men were recruited from the legal and medical professions but so many of the larger manufacturers have secured seats that it may now be called a house of corporation lawyers, stock brokers and large employers of labor. There is not one bona fide workman in the house and it is doubtful if one of the three hundred or more men appointed since Confederation has represented the masses. They have been, in most cases, men up in years and therefore out of touch with the trend of events. Only one of the senators was under thirty-five when appointed while five of those to-day are over eighty years of age.

A year ago each senator's indemnity was increased \$1,500 a year and the radical element of the "Grit" party began to ask: "What about Senate reform?" It was felt that something must be done because the senators were drawing more pay, although their work had dwindled down to the passing of divorce bills. To secure a divorce in Canada a special bill must be introduced in the Senate. This costs money and usually a Canadian desiring a divorce resides in some state of the United States for the necessary time.

As the Senate cannot be abolished or reformed without the consent of its members a debate was opened early in the last session by Senator David, the personal friend and spokesman of Canada's premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on a motion: "That an humble address be presented to His Excellency, the Governor General, praying that his Excellency will cause to be laid before the Senate, copies of all petitions, resolutions or documents concerning the abolition or reorganization of the Senate."

The Toronto "Globe," the chief party organ of the Government, in commenting on Senator David's resolution said: "Did Senator David, who propounded a plan for the reform of the



Senate, speak the mind of the Government? There are many people who think he did. Mr. David is the close personal friend of the Premier, and this fact lends additional weight to his utterances on the question."

He, naturally advocated reform and not abolition, proposing that of the members one-third be appointed by the Federal government, one-third by the Provincial governments and one-third by the universities and other public bodies.

In justifying the existence of such a body he said:

"There is now, and will be in the future, much necessity for second Chambers, especially in view of the great movement which is going on in the world towards extreme democracy.

"The struggle now is between labor and capital, between the millionaire and the trust, and the working classes. This struggle will be the most terrible the world has ever seen, but the ascendancy of the laboring classes is apparent. Gradually the labor classes are rising up, and before long they will domineer over the whole world. Personally I am not afraid. I would not be afraid of that ascendancy of the laboring classes if I were assured that they would be controlled by the best elements of the laboring classes. My sympathy is with the laboring classes but the time is coming when their demands, owing to the efforts of agitators and demagogues, will be exaggerated. When that time comes society will find protection in the second Chambers, which, with the Magistracy, will be the great bulwarks of society."

Senator McMullen, another prominent "Grit," said: "I do not think it would be wise to go back and have a second Chamber like this elected by the people. If that were done the probability would be that the influences which would be brought to bear by combinations, trades union, and such organizations, might be very powerful and they might be able to put legislation through both houses which they cannot do now."

The utterances of several other senators were of a like character, "Tory" and "Grit" forgetting their party differences for the nonce, because of that common enemy—labor. No vote was taken, the object of the debate being to merely learn the opinion of the members themselves.

Now what does it all mean? That in the course of a few years the upper house is to be reformed, not because the people demand it, but because *Capital fears labor*.

G. CASCADEU.

## Concentration of Capital and the Disappearance of the Middle Class.

### III

IN THE first chapter of this article, printed in the June issue of this magazine, we stated that the development of corporate methods of doing business brought in a new factor into the development of capitalism which apparently worked at cross-purposes with those tendencies of capitalistic development which, according to Marx, were to result in the destruction of the middle classes of capitalist society. We also stated there that this presented to Marx students the problem of harmonizing the Marxian prognosis as to the tendencies of development of capitalism with this new factor, and that the Revisionists were not equal to the task, and therefore came to the conclusion that Marx's prognosis was wrong. We interrupted the argument in order to give in the second chapter of this article, printed in the July issue, a characterization of the different social classes of the capitalist society which Marx had before him, in order to understand his position with reference to them. This was necessary in order that the reader may get the full meaning of the argument that we are going to present here in an endeavor to show that the Marxian prognosis of the development of capitalism and its ultimate fate, as well as the delineation of the social system which is going to take its place, need no revision, any more than any other part of his theoretical system. We shall now, therefore, return to our revisionist friends, and particularly to their leader, Edward Bernstein.

The main points of Bernstein's position on this subject, as already stated, are: 1st, that as a matter of fact the *concentration* of capital is not as rapid as Marx or some Marxists imagined or believed. 2d, that as a matter of fact there is no *centralization* of capital, that wealth does not accumulate in few hands only, to the exclusion of all others, and that the middle class is, therefore, growing instead of disappearing. And 3rd, that the reason for the divergence in the tendencies of the concentration of capital on the one hand, and the centralization of wealth on the other, is due to the development of the new social factor, the corporation.

This being a purely theoretical discussion, the first point can hardly be considered. Theoretically only the tendency of

the evolutionary phenomena is of any importance. What may, therefore, have been of every great importance in the discussion between Bernstein and Kautsky, which embraced other than purely theoretical matters, may be of only secondary importance here. The length of time which History will take to complete the evolutionary process outlined by Marx is no part of the Marxian theoretical system. Marx never stated it, and it could, therefore, only be surmised. But even if he had expressly stated it, that would not, of itself, make it part of his theoretical system. Besides, the ground is so well covered by Kautsky that one does not feel like doing less, and can hardly do more, than reproduce the Kautsky argument in full. And as considerations of space do not permit us to do that, we must refer those of our readers who may be interested in this phase of the discussion to the original.

As to whether, and how far, the second point made by Bernstein is of any importance in the discussion of the Marxian theory will be considered later. Here we will examine the phenomenon supposed to have been noted by him. We have already mentioned the fact that the only proof on which Bernstein relies to establish his second proposition are certain statistics as to incomes. But right here the fallacy of his statistical method becomes apparent. Aside from the fact that there is no standard by which you can measure the different grades or divisions of incomes as high, middle or low, and any such division must, therefore, necessarily be arbitrary, and aside from the fact that such standard must vary, not only from country to country, but even between places in one country and even in close proximity with each other, and (and that is of paramount importance) from time to time, there is the cardinal defect that income, as such, is no index whatever to either social or economic position. A man's income does not, necessarily, place him in any social position, and must not, necessarily, be the result of a certain economic condition, except under certain exceptional circumstances when, as Marx would put it, quantity passes into quality. The mere giving of a man's income does not, therefore, give his social position or economic condition, unless it be first proven that certain incomes can only be derived in a certain way, or from certain sources. Bernstein glides carelessly over from incomes to property, assuming that the derivation of a certain income implies the possession of a certain amount of property. But this nonchalance is due to an absolute lack of understanding of the real questions at issue. As a matter of fact, a given amount of income does *not* always, nor even in the majority of cases, indicate the possession of a given amount of property. A farmer, a manufacturer, a grocer, a teacher, an army officer and a mechanical engineer, may all have the same income, and yet

their social position, their economic condition, and the amount of property which each possesses may be entirely and radically different. The question is, or should be, not *what* is a man's income, but *where does he derive it from?* And, under what conditions, and in what manner does he do it. And this does not mean merely that the inquiry should be directed to the amount of property he possesses or whether he possesses any at all, but also that, if he does possess property, what it consists of and how it is employed in order to yield the income. The importance of this last point will immediately suggest itself if the reader will recollect what we said in the second chapter of this article on the psychological and ideological effects of the different kinds of property and the different occupations. But we shall discuss this more at length further below.

#### EFFECT OF THE CORPORATION ON CAPITALISTS.

As we have already stated, however, in the first chapter of this article, the real strength of Bernstein's argument does not lie in the statistical data with which he attempts to prove his alleged facts, but in the social phenomenon which he observed and which seems to counteract the evolutionary tendencies of capitalism described by Marx. The real meat of his argument lies in the third point mentioned above. The real question is: how does the modern development of that social economic factor, the substitution of corporate instead of individual economic action on the part of the capitalists react on the fortunes of that class. Our inquiry must not, however, be limited to the question of the division of income within that class, but also as to how, in what manner and under what circumstances, this division is being affected. We must find out not only *how much* each capitalist gets as his share of surplus-value created by the working class, but how his share is determined and what he must do in order to get it. In what relations does his getting it, and the manner in which he gets it, bring him to his fellow-capitalists, the other classes of society and society at large, that is, the social organization as a whole.

Bernstein says, in discussing the importance of the Marxian theory of value, that the fact of the creation by the working class of surplus-value, and its being absorbed by the capitalist class being probable empirically as a fact (to his satisfaction, of course) it makes no difference by what economic laws it is brought about. This may be good enough reasoning when one starts out from so-called "ethical" premises, but is absolutely inadequate from the scientific-historico-economic point of view. We have already sufficiently pointed out the great importance of the difference which does exist in its purely economic bearings, and now we wish to insist on it because of what might be

termed its social or ideological importance. For it is not the mere fact of the creation by one class of surplus-value or a surplus-product and its absorption by another class, but the *way in which it is done* that gives its character, including its *ideology*, to society as a whole and to each and every class and subdivision of a class therein. In examining, therefore, the influence of the development of the corporation on the fortunes of the capitalist class, it is not only the effect upon its *numbers*, but also and mainly the effect upon its *character* that is to be considered, for on the latter may depend the character of the whole social system. Upon the latter may also depend the durability of the social system and its speedy transformation into another. We shall, therefore, examine the question from both aspects.

And first as to *numbers*. Does the substitution of corporate for individual effort arrest the shrinkage of the numbers of the capitalist class or develop a tendency to its expansion, as Bernstein asserts? Decidedly not. And even Bernstein's empirical-statistical method, poor as it is, shows this. Bernstein does not deny the absolute and relative growth of the working class. And as the working class and capitalist class can only grow, aside from their proportional growth with the growth of population, at the expense of each other, they evidently cannot both grow at the same time. But this is just what is evidently happening if Bernstein is to be believed. Both the capitalist class and the working class are simultaneously growing at the expense of each other! Only the uncritical handling of *mere figures* could betray him into such an absurdity. A careful examination, on the other hand, of the actual phenomena under consideration would have shown him that while the corporation may arrest the rapidity of progress in the shrinking process of the capitalistic ranks, it cannot do away with the process itself. The capitalist class *must* shrink!

In the first place is to be considered the fact, already noted by Marx, that the corporation itself is a means towards the concentration of capital, with all that it implies. By combining the smaller capitals of the individual capitalists, and more particularly by turning over to the big capitalists the small capitals of the middle class and upper strata of the working class, either directly or indirectly, by means of banking and saving institutions, such tremendous concentrations of capital and industrial undertakings are made possible which otherwise could not, or only with great difficulty, take place. This places the whole industrial system on a higher plane of capitalization and must necessarily force out a lot of small capitalists by making their capital inadequate for the undertakings in which they are engaged, and the return on their capital, owing to the increased falling of the rate of profits, insufficient to sustain them. Thus,

while on the one hand this form permits these small people, or some of them, to combine their capitals and therefore gain a new lease of life, long or short as the case may be, it on the other hand gives additional impetus to the very forcing out process which makes their individual independent position untenable. While in one way it retards the shrinking process it, in another way, accelerates it.

#### EXPROPRIATION THROUGH CORPORATIONS.

Another point to be considered in this connection is the fact that the corporation is the chosen and well-adapted means of all forms of dishonest and speculative undertakings, by means of which the unscrupulous rich manage to relieve the confiding, because helpless, poorer strata of the capitalist class of whatever individual competition has left to them. In times of "prosperity" all sorts of industrial and commercial undertakings are organized which no one would dream of organizing if he had to do it with his own capital. But as the corporation form permits the "promotion" of these schemes at the expense of the public, there will always be found enough "promoters" who are willing to "take a chance" with and at money of the "general public," which is composed of the lower strata of capitalism. This "public" not being in a position economically to compete with the magnates of capital are willing to nibble at their schemes in the hope of finding some profitable employment for the remnants of their former fortunes or their savings.

Then comes the panic or the "contraction" and all the bubbles burst leaving the field strewn with the corpses of the small fry, the would-be-capitalists despite the fact that their means were insufficient to give them standing as capitalists individually. Another and very important aspect of this phenomenon will be considered later in another connection. Here we simply want to point out the fact that the corporation is not merely a means of permitting the small capitalists to participate in the economic undertakings which they could not tackle on their own account, but also of relieving them of their small capitals, and either wasting them or transferring them to the large capitalists, directly or indirectly. This was pointed out at the beginning of the discussion by Kautsky, and since then we have had abundant proof of the great possibilities of this relieving process. The exposures of Thomas W. Lawson have shown that the very loftiest pillars of capitaldom engage in this relieving process, not merely as an incident to the natural "expansion" and "contraction" of the commercial world, but deliberately, with malice aforethought, manufacturing to order "expansion" and "contraction" in order to accelerate the relieving process. These exposures have also shown that where the small fry do not nibble

themselves in *propria persona*, their bankers, savings banks and other depositaries do it for them, as if they were vying with each other to prove the correctness of the Marxian prognosis.

It must not be assumed, however, that this relieving process is due entirely to dishonesty on the part of the big sharks of capitalism in dealing with their weaker brethren. On the contrary, the process itself is a natural one, due to the natural workings of the corporation. This process is only accelerated by the exposed "evils," by the abuses of the corporate form of doing business, for there are natural, as well as artificial, panics and contractions, and they all result in the transfer of the capitals of the small fry to the big sharks, or in their utter waste and destruction, as will be seen later.

Aside, however, from the "evils" and "abuses" of the corporation system, aside from the casual, although periodically recurring, waste of small capitals and their transfer to the big magnates of capital in times of panics and contractions, the usual and necessary results of the corporation system, its very *uses* and mode of operation are such as to make it almost nugatory as a preservative of the *numbers* of the capitalist class — as a means of staving off the destruction of the independent middle class.

The ordinary and usual course of corporation business is such that only a few persons, the rich who organize and control them, get most or all of the benefits derived therefrom. In order that we may clearly understand this point we must bear in mind the difference between business and loan capital. There is a difference between the return a man gets from his capital when he employs it in business himself and when he lends to another capitalist to be used in the same business. In the first contingency he gets all the profit that is made in the business, in the second only that part of the profit which is called interest. The amount of interest is not always the same as compared with the whole amount of profit realized, but it is always only a share and never the whole thereof. In determining the proportionate share of the owner of the capital and the undertaking capitalist, respectively, in the profits realized in the business, all other things being equal, regard is had to the risk assumed or undergone by the owner of the capital, the lowest proportion being paid as interest where the owner of the capital takes no risks whatever. This is interest proper. The balance of the profit, whatever is left after the deduction of this interest for the mere use of the capital with no risk attached, remains in the hands of the capitalist, according to capitalistic notions, for his work of supervision of the industrial undertaking and the risks involved in it. If a capitalist lends his money on insufficient security he gets higher interest. But this higher interest is

really not pure interest; it is interest proper together with an additional premium (part of the profit in its narrower sense) paid for the risk run by the man who makes the loan.

In a corporation the work of supervising the undertaking engaged in by a corporation is not done by the stockholders, but by paid officers and employees. These officers and employees are always the rich who organize and control, and they not only eat up all that part of the profits which go to the capitalist for his work of supervision, but usually a great deal more in the shape of high salaries and incidental expenses. That part of the profit of *all* of the capital interested goes to the big capitalists only, the small fry get none of it. And if by some chance a small capitalist should get this (which would only be possible in the exceptional case where all stockholders are small men) it would still remain true that only he would get it, and the ordinary stockholders would not get that part of the profit which goes to *every* independent capitalist.

#### THE SMALL CAPITALIST GETS ONLY INTEREST.

There remains, therefore, to the stockholding capitalist only the interest proper and that part of the profit which goes as compensation for risk. In this respect the stockholding capitalist is placed in the same position as the lending capitalist; the greater the risk involved in holding stock in a certain corporation the greater will be his return (if he gets any) and the smaller the risk the less his return in the shape of dividends. But the risks which he takes here are not only the risks of the business venture, but also those of dishonest corporate management. Besides, even in the question of the profitability of the business there is the possibility of fraud, for he is obliged to rely on the judgment of others who may be interested only in the venture to the extent of their ability to draw large salaries. The result of all this is that the prospective stockholder is desirous of investing in a safe corporation, that is to say, in corporations at the head of which are big capitalists who hold out some kinds of guaranty or promise as to results. But the safer the corporation the more is the investor, not only the bondholder but even the stockholder, reduced to the position of a person who lends his money to it, at least as far as the amount of profits he receives on his capital is concerned. This can be seen any day on the stock exchange. The safer the corporation the more is the dividend reduced to the level of mere interest. In speaking of dividend in this connection we mean, of course, the amount of the dividend as a percentage on the capital invested. Sometimes a very safe corporation pays very large dividends (although this is unusual) but in such an event the value of the stock will be so much above par as to bring the dividend down



to the proper level. The small capitalist who desires to invest in a corporation is, therefore, between the Scylla of taking all sorts of risks which are not present in the case of the independent industrial undertaker, and the Charibdis of getting no return on his capital except interest.

But as interest is only a share of the whole profit, and usually a small one at that, it is very evident that not all, and not even most, of the capitalists who possess sufficient capital to furnish them an independent income at the prevailing rates of profit, if they could remain independent undertakers, will be able to derive such income as stockholders of a corporation. A good many of them will necessarily have to fall out at the bottom. Usually these are the people who furnish the capital for all sorts of venturesome schemes with alluring promises which result disastrously. Being unable to maintain their position as capitalists by investing in safe corporations, they desperately risk their small capitals in these undertakings hoping to retrieve by a stroke of luck what they lost by the force of economic evolution.

But this is not all yet. Those smaller capitalists whose capital is for the time being sufficient to maintain them as *rentiers* of capitalism, as investors in safe corporations are by no means sure of their position. We have already shown that the rate of profit has a tendency to fall. With the falling of the profit falls that portion of it which is paid as interest, directly or in the shape of dividends, to bond and stockholders of corporations. This makes a capital which is sufficient to maintain a man independently to-day insufficient for that purpose to-morrow. Thus the falling out at the bottom process increases as capitalism progresses.

Some of the causes and processes noted above are slow in their operation. But one thing is certain, they are there and working their deadly havoc in the ranks of the capitalistic cohorts constantly and surely. The *tendencies* of capitalistic development cannot, therefore, be mistaken. Not only can the capitalistic class, that is, its lower strata which is commonly called the middle class, not grow, but it must surely and constantly *diminish*.

This diminishing process in the capitalist ranks, the passing from the capitalist class into the proletariat, may, however, and, owing to certain circumstances which will be considered later, does frequently assume such forms that the whole process becomes veiled and not easily recognizable. Here again the corporation plays a part, although not a very important one. Its part here consists in furnishing some additional folds for the vail which covers this process.

Some Marx critics, and Bernstein is among them, talk as

if Marx saw only one process, and that one the constant passing of former capitalists of the middle class into the ranks of the proletariat. No doubt there are some passages to be found in Marx's writings which at first blush give such impression. And as a general statement of a tendency this is true too. But that does not necessarily exclude some cross-current which may affect the original and prime tendency described by him, although it cannot completely negative it. Hence the danger of relying on single passages in Marx without careful examination as to their connection and the immediate purposes for which they are used, in the connection in which they are found. Hence, also, the ease with which all sorts of contradictions are found in Marx, according to his critics, as was already pointed out in another connection. It took Marx several bulky volumes to systematically expound his theoretical system, and then his work remained unfinished. He could not at each point recount all the circumstances which might affect or modify the tendencies or laws discussed which might be contained in other parts of his work. He assumed that the reader would remember them and read all the passages relating to the same subject together. Sometimes he purposely gave absolute form to a statement which he intended to qualify and made certain assumptions he himself did not believe in, intending later to modify the absolute form of the statement or show the incorrectness of the assumption, in order to more clearly and *systematically* present his theory.

As regards the matter now under discussion there can be no doubt but that Marx did not mean to say that *all* those who are reduced from the ranks of capitalism by the progress of capitalism become proletarians. Some of them may, for a time at least, remain in the position of half capitalist, half proletarian, in that they may derive a part of their income from their property and part thereof from their labor. But even those who have lost all their property may still become proletarians in the antique sense only, that is, persons who possess nothing, but they may not be proletarians in the modern sense of the word, that is, laborers who are not in possession of their means of production. They may cease to be capitalists and still not become laborers; they may live by their wits instead of by their labor, or become mere sponges on their former co-classites. It is our opinion that, with the progress of capitalism, the percentage of this last mentioned class of people is growing larger among those who lose caste by reason of the diminishing process of the middle class.

Hence the cry of the so-called "new middle class" raised by the Revisionists. Hence, also, the peculiar features of the statistics as to incomes. It is not because there is no process of Centralization of wealth accompanying the Concentration of

capital, as Bernstein would have us believe, that there is apparently a wide diffusion of small incomes which are not the proceeds of wages. This phenomenon is due: first to the fact that with the concentration of capital wage-slavery has been growing upwards, embracing constantly new occupations, such as by their character and remuneration were not properly within its domain on a lower rung of capitalistic evolution. This class has been particularly increased by the development of the corporation. And secondly, to the increase of the class of people, who, although not possessing any property, still manage to maintain themselves in real or apparent independence and without coming, formally at least, within the purview of wage-slavery.

This brings us to the question of the effect of the recent economic development on the *character* of the middle class. Before passing, however, to the examination of that question, we desire to note the fact that much of the talk and statistics about the supposed slowness of the process of the concentration of industrial undertakings is due to the merely apparent and formal independent existence of many undertakings and undertakers who are really mere dependent parts of a large, concentrated, industrial enterprise. And we also desire to mention here the fact that Heinrich Cunow, one of the ablest of the younger generation of socialist writers in Germany, has done splendid service in pointing this out.

#### THE "NEW MIDDLE CLASS."

But, somebody will ask, while it may be true that the processes which you have described show that not all the members of the present or former middle class can remain in their position of small capitalists, deriving their income from the possession of property, there still does remain this "new" middle class which you yourself admit is not reduced to the position of proletarians. This "new" middle class, while it possesses no property, or not sufficient property to count economically, is still a class distinct and apart from the proletariat, and if numerous enough is a force to be reckoned with. And as to the great numbers of this class, the income statistics are certainly an indication. Those incomes which can not possibly be the result of wage-labor must be the incomes of this "new" middle class, unless they are the incomes of the property owning middle class, and the income statistics therefore certainly prove at least one thing, and that is that the "new," property-less-middle-class, together with the old-propertied-middle-class, certainly form at present quite a formidable class and diminish only slowly. Where is the difference, as far as the subject that interests us, (the approaching transformation from capitalism to socialism,) is concerned, between the old and the new middle classes? Isn't

Bernstein right, after all, when he says that if the coming of socialism were dependent on the disappearance of the middle class the socialists might as well go to sleep, for the time being at least?

In answer to such questions we will say: As already pointed out, it is not part of the Marxian doctrine that all middle classes must disappear before the advent of socialism, and the fact, therefore, that there may be developing a new middle class is no warrant for the assertion that the Marxian theory needs revision. Provided, of course, that the new middle class is sufficiently different to make a difference. It was shown already that Marx's prognosis as to the centralization of wealth through the disappearance of the property-owning middle-class is correct. And this is one of the decisive moments in the evolution from capitalism. It is not the merging of the persons who compose the middle class into the proletariat that is so much required as their severance from their property. For the passing of our society from its capitalistic form of production to a socialistic form of production, that is, for the socialization of the means of production, the only things that are of paramount importance are that these means of production should be social in their character, and the more social the better (the concentration of capital); and, second, that these means of production should lend themselves to social management, that is, be in the hands of as few persons as possible (the centralization of wealth). It is of comparatively little importance how the surplus-value produced by the working class, the income of the capitalist class, is distributed. The question of this distribution is of any importance only in two aspects: 1st, in so far as it reacts on the centralization of wealth by permitting greater or less numbers to maintain their position as property-owners; and, secondly, in so far as it may affect the ideology of the different classes of society.

In the first aspect, as we have already seen, the "new" middle-class is harmless. Its existence does not retard the process of the centralization of wealth, but, on the contrary, is its direct result. It is, therefore, only in the second aspect that any significance whatever could be attached to it. Let us see what it amounts to?

But before proceeding any further we must state that the possession of capital property being of the essence of a capitalistic class, the introduction of this so-called "new" property-less middle-class has created no end of confusion. A very great proportion of what is termed new middle class, and appears as such in the income statistics, is really a part of the regular proletariat, and the new middle class, whatever it may be, is a good deal smaller than might be supposed from the tables of incomes. This confusion is due, on the one hand, to the old and firmly-

rooted prejudice, according to which Marx is supposed to ascribe value properties only to manual labor, and on the other to the severance of the function of superintendence from the possession of property, effected by the corporation as noted before. Owing to these circumstances large sections of the proletariat are counted as belonging to the middle class, that is, the lower strata of the capitalist class. This is the case with almost all those numerous and growing occupations in which the remuneration is termed "salary" instead of "wages." All these salaried persons, no matter what their *salaries* may be, who make up perhaps the bulk, and certainly a great portion, of the "new" middle class, are in reality just as much a part of the proletariat as the merest day-laborer. Except, of course, in those instances where, by reason of the amount of their salary, they are in a position to save and invest. In so far as such investment takes place (as in the case of those who invest the remnants of their capital while depending for their support mainly on some useful occupation) they are on the border line between capital and labor, and are akin in their position to the ruined peasants who, before abandoning their villages, attempt to remain farmers by doing "something on a side." These cases are, however, not very numerous, and their condition is merely temporary. Another exception that should be noted is of those cases where the salary is so large that it evidently exceeds the value of the labor of the recipient. It will be found, however, in such instances, that such salary is paid only to capitalists who are really in control of the corporation which pays it to them, and is part of the process by which the big capitalists relieve the small ones of part of the profits coming to them. With these negligible exceptions, *salaried* persons are really part of the proletariat, no matter what they themselves think about it.

It is true that by reason of their descent, associations, habits and modes of thought these persons feel a certain solidarity with the upper class rather than with the class to which they belong. But this does not change their social-economic status, and, so far as their usefulness for the work for socialism, they present a problem which is only different in degree, but not in kind, from the general problem of the organization of the working class for its emancipation from wage-slavery. In the solving of the special problem, as well as in the general, the change in the character of the middle class is of quite some importance.

#### THE PASSING OF INDIVIDUALISM.

And the character of the middle class has changed. Nay, the character of the whole capitalist class has changed by reason of this substitute of corporate undertakings in place of individual enterprise. And not only this, but the character of our whole

social system is undergoing a change of quite some importance by reason thereof. And these changes have already wrought great changes in the ideology of the different classes composing our society, and are going to entirely revolutionize it. The famous phrase of a great English statesman: "We are all socialists now" was not as idle as some people supposed it to be. Of course the gentleman who uttered it may not himself quite realized its full import, but the fact that he uttered it is one of the proofs of its correctness, although he may have attached to it an entirely different meaning from the one we give it. Its real meaning is this: The philosophy of *individualism*, the ideology of private ownership of property, but particularly of individual enterprise, is doomed; and the philosophy of *collectivism*, the ideology of the collective ownership of the means of production and of the social organization of human enterprise, is fast taking its place. The change is taking place not only in the realm of jurisprudence, which is the immediate expression of accomplished economic facts, but also in the remoter fields of *art* and *philosophy*. As yet there is chaos. None can mistake the "breaking up of old ideals," but only very few can see the whole meaning and import of it: that a new society and a new ideology to correspond are forcing their way and making rapid strides.

Spencerianism, that purest expression of capitalism, and not so very long ago the reigning philosophy, is dead and forgotten. And every new day surprises us by the official throwing overboard of some remnant of that philosophy which was still clung to the day before. Socialism is the order of the day. But not merely the "menace of socialism," which merely reflects the growth of the organization of the working class, but the recognition of collectivist principles and the expression of collectivist ideas. The session of our Congress just closed gave remarkable evidence of that. It is not what was accomplished but what was conceded in principle that interests us here. It is not, therefore, the legislation or attempted legislation for the benefit of the working class only that must be considered, but all legislative attempts which show this change of ideology.

In this connection we desire to state that there is some basis of fact in the cry raised in some capitalist quarters that Roosevelt is more "dangerous" as a socialist than Bryan. We do not think much of the socialism of either, and believe that they are both quite "safe," but we really think that Roosevelt is not quite as "sane" from the capitalist point of view. The difference between them is that between reactionary and progressive capitalism. It is the difference between anti-trust laws and railway rate legislation. Both classes of legislation are purely capitalistic measures, designed to protect the small capitalists against the big ones. But the methods adopted are based on fundament-

ally different social principles. As was already mentioned in an earlier part of this article, the anti-trust law is a capitalistic measure pure and simple, based on the theory that the State had only police duties to perform. Railway rate regulation, on the other hand, proceeds upon the theory that social means of production are there primarily for the benefit of society as a whole, and are, therefore, subject to social control. That does not mean that railway rate regulation is of any importance in itself. Neither regulation nor even ownership of railways by the capitalistic state are of any importance. But the assumption of regulation, particularly in a purely capitalistic country like the United States, is of significance as showing the drift of ideas. It is also of significance that attention is diverted from *incomes*, the Bryan mode of attacking capitalism, to the control of production, the field on which the real battles for the reorganization of the social structure, will have to be fought out.

These changes in ideology have not come about because people have obtained a "better insight" into the true relation of things, but because the basis of all ideology, the economic relations within our society, have changed, are changing. The private ownership of the means of production is the basis of capitalistic society, and therefore of all capitalistic ideology. And by ownership is not meant merely the derivation of revenue, but real ownership, that is, control. A capitalistic class not owning any capital, as the so-called "new" middle class, is a contradiction in terms, an anomaly. But no less anomalous is the position of a capitalist who owns but does not control his property. That wonderful artist, Gorky, with the true insight of genius, has divined this truth and has expressed it when he made one of his characters say that the true importance of wealth is the power of control that it gives one over other people. But this power of control does not lie in the revenue which one derives from wealth, but in the control of this wealth itself, which in our society is synonymous with means of production.

#### "MIDDLE CLASS IDEOLOGY."

The truth is that the "new" property-less middle class is not a capitalistic class. It is no middle class at all. It is true that it stands in the middle between the capitalist class and the working class, and in this sense it is more of a "middle" than the old middle class which was nothing but the lower strata of the capitalist class. But it is no class. A class is not merely an aggregation of individuals having a more or less similar income obtained in a more or less similar way. In order that any aggregation of individuals should really form a social class they must perform some social-economic function. The existence of the "new middle class" is entirely too aerial to give them posi-

tion as a social class. They are either merely "hangers on" of some other class, or hang in the air entirely where they obtain their income from "wind." This "class" has none of the characteristics and none of the ideas of the bourgeoisie which we have described. It not only has no love for property as such, because it does not possess any, but it has not even that love of economic independence and individual enterprise which is the characteristic of the true bourgeois. It has no veneration for property or property-rights, no love of economic independence, and consequently no constitutional abhorrence of "paternalism" or of socialism. All this "class" cares for is its *income*, and that is why its ideologists, the social reformers of all grades and shades put so much stock in the question of income and always push it to the foreground. To the old bourgeois, in control of his property, it was a question of freedom and independence; he looked upon socialism as upon the coming slavery, he abhorred it for its very comforts which everybody shared alike. Not so with the new middle class. Any one of them is ready at any moment to change his windy existence for a governmental job, service of some corporation or any other occupation, provided his *income* will not be diminished, or even if it is diminished to a certain extent, provided it is assured to him for any length of time. For it must be remembered that this new middle class suffers just as much from insecurity of income as the working class, if not more, to which must be added insecurity of position. It is very natural that a "class" so all up in the air should not form any firmly rooted ideology of its own, that it should be drifting all the time, and should, therefore, be almost worthless as a social force either for or against the introduction of a new order. But, on the other hand, it is because of the very nature of its social existence, extremely restless, ever ready to change, and ever longing for a change which would finally do away, or at least alleviate, its unsettledness, give it a rest. "Governmental interference" has no terrors for it. It feels the need of a stronger hand than that of the individual in arranging the field of battle for the struggle for existence. If such a make-shift may be dignified into an ideology, its ideology is State Socialism.

But it is not only the property-less, only-in-name, middle class that has lost its old bourgeois ideology. The remnants of the old middle-class, the stockholding small capitalists, have lost their ideology with the control of their property. For it was that control, the individual enterprise, that was at the basis of it. Furthermore, with this class as with the "new" middle class, it has become merely a question of income. For property without control is again a contradiction in terms. These people really have no property, although they and others imagine differently.



What they have is a right to a certain income. They are nothing but rentiers, annuitants, either of public or private corporations. They are ready at any time to, and do, exchange their supposed property for more formal annuities and other *rentés*.

Robbed of its economic independence, deprived of the control of its property and of the opportunity of individual enterprise, it has no other aspirations except to preserve its comforts, its incomes. If it has any ideals at all, its ideals may be said to be just the reverse of the old bourgeois middle class. By the very nature of its way of managing its affairs the propriety, effectiveness, and, above all, the necessity of socialization, is brought home to it. Furthermore, being minority stockholders, the members of this class naturally look upon the general government, the social organization as a whole, as the protector of its rights against the unscrupulous methods and the rapaciousness of the big capitalistic sharks. It is true their ideas in this respect are not those of the revolutionary proletariat, it is not the social organization of work that they dream of, but the social organization of the distribution of gain. By a curious mental process they fill the old forms of their ideology, according to which the State was merely a policeman, with an entirely new substance by extending the police powers to fields which would have horrified their fathers had they lived to see the thing. The ideology of this class, like that of the new middle class, is a curious mixture of old and new ideas, but one thing is clear in the midst of all this confusion, that its antagonism to socialism is not a matter of principle but of convenience.

Hence the "breaking up of ideals," the great changes in the ideology of capitalistic society which we have already noted. Hence, also, the so many different forms of "socialism" with which we are blessed. Hence, lastly, the "social unrest" in capitalistic quarters.

#### THE SOCIAL UNREST.

For it is a mistake to think that the "social unrest" comes wholly, or even mostly, from below. Of course there are moments of unrest in the working-class. But it will be found, upon close examination, that a good deal of it is merely the reflection of the unrest of the higher layers of society. Furthermore, it will be found that the more the working-class emancipates itself from the mental and moral domination of the upper class, the more it develops an ideology of its own, as we shall see in the next article. The less the "unrest" in its midst, the more steady its thoughts and actions become. Before the working-class ideology is full-grown, however, and while it is yet under the tutelage of the middle classes, the changes in the ideology of those classes which we have described are of great importance,

and the very restlessness of that ideology and psychology is of importance. For it first creates restlessness below, thus calling out nervous activity, and when that nervous activity has resulted in a firm and clear ideology it cannot offer any effective resistance.

Whatever, therefore, has been saved of the middle class by the corporation with regard to *numbers*, has been destroyed, and very largely by this very agency, as to *character*. What was saved from the fire has been destroyed by water. The result is the same: *the middle class*, that middle class which Marx had in view, the middle class which was a factor obstructing the way towards socialism, *is doomed*.

#### THE CORPORATION ABOLISHING PRIVATE PROPERTY.

This is not all, however. The corporation has not merely failed to save the middle class. It is performing a positive and great service in the work of transformation of our society from capitalism to socialism. That work is nothing less than the *abolition of private property* and the substitution of collective property in the means of production; the demolition of the basis of capitalism and the rearing of the ground work of a socialist system of society. It is hard to think of our capitalists as doing this work, but that is what they are doing nevertheless. In their frantic efforts to save themselves, the capitalist class is doing nothing less than undermining its very existence, cutting out the ground from under its own feet, abolishing, not only the basis of capitalism, but the basis of all class-society—private property. This fact has not been noticed hitherto and given the attention which it deserves, because, again, of the question of income which has obstructed our vision. Because our big capitalists get the benefits, the income of our corporations, it has not been noticed that they don't own the property from which these incomes and benefits are derived. In looking with rapturous gaze or hateful abhorrence at the enormous fortunes of our kings, barons and lesser gentry, the startling fact has been lost sight of that these fortunes are mere titles to revenue and not to property. The law recognizes this fact clearly. The great John D. Rockefeller, ruler of the great Standard Oil and all its domain, has no more title to any part of the property of the great corporation of which he is the master than the poorest elevator boy employed in one of its buildings, and should he attempt to appropriate a dollar's worth of it by using it for himself, the law will treat it as a case of conversion, or larceny of somebody else's property.

And let no one say that this is mere legal formality. *Legal forms always express economic realities*. Sometimes they survive their substance and become mere *empty forms*. In such

cases they are records of past economic realities. When they are not records of the past they always express *present reality*. In this case the form is full of substance. It not only expresses a present reality, but, as it happens, presages the future. As yet the collective form substituted by the capitalists is crude and undeveloped as to form, and the collective bodies are still "private," that is, the benefits derived therefrom are enjoyed by private individuals. The proper distribution of the benefits, that distribution which is suited to the new form of ownership, which in itself is only an expression of the new form of production, will follow as surely as harvest follows the planting of the seed. This work of readjustment of the mode of distribution to the new mode of production and ownership and the full development of all the three processes to the limit of their capacities for the benefit of all members of society will remain for the fully developed, organized and educated working class. But in the preparatory work of transition, particularly in the ruthless destroying of all the elements of the old social system, our friends the enemy have rendered, and are rendering, signal service. In their mad effort to escape their fate the capitalists are only *cheating the gallows* by committing suicide.

L. B. BOUDIN.

(*To be Continued*).

## The Elections in Belgium.

CERTAINLY most socialists expected a more favorable result. However, a whole series of deep-rooted causes acting together explain sufficiently both the success of the government and the slight gain for socialism. It should be said in the first place that in Belgium the parliamentary elections are held every two years for half of the country, the term of a deputy being four years. Before the election the strength of the parties in parliament was as follows:

Clericals.....	93
Socialists.....	28,
Liberals and Radicals .....	43
Christian Democrats.....	2

The total opposed to the government was 73. The strength of the parties today is:

Clericals .....	89
Socialists .....	30
Liberals and Radicals.....	46
Christian Democrats .....	1

The total opposed to the government is 77. The seats are distributed according to a system of proportional representation. This is applied, however, in a very defective fashion, since the electoral divisions are too numerous, and are very unequal in size: some elect 18 deputies, others but two.

Of the deep-rooted causes, the principal one is the constantly increasing intensity of class antagonism. As was the case in France from 1860 to 1870, we have today in Belgium arrived nearly or quite at the maximum egoism on the part of the possessing class. The government may much better be called a government of business men than a Catholic government. They are Catholic only for the reason that to be a perfect business man in Belgium, it is also necessary to be a religious Catholic.

This is the epoch of business, of speculation, of great public works, of expositions, of colonial expansion. The Belgian has lost all his ideals but one, getting rich. It is especially the Congoish and corrupt policy of Leopold, Monarch of Congo, which has impelled the whole Belgian bourgeoisie to accentuate to the last degree its ferocious and unmoral egoism. You will thus understand that the best political results do not fall to a party, which like ourselves, is struggling for great principles.

A second profound cause is the ignorance and physical exhaustion of a great part of the working population, prostrated absolutely by the very fact of its material and intellectual poverty under the rule of the Roman Catholic clergy. Can you believe that in many places male adults earn in our country wages of but \$2.40 to \$3.00 a week by working twelve and thirteen hours a day, the women from \$2.00 to \$2.20 a week, and these laborers are assisted by their children from six to eleven years of age, or even five or four? Can you believe that of our 541,000 working men and working women engaged in manufacturing, as ascertained by the government figures for Belgium for the year 1896, 178,000, or about one-third, earn less than 50c a day; and that out of 600,000 working men and working women of all ages only 70,000 work less than ten hours, and 225,000 work eleven hours and more? Is it surprising if under these conditions the educational work of socialism is slow?

There are also causes of a more superficial kind. The system of plural voting, which gives a second vote to education and a third vote to property is naturally in its essence unfavorable to us. Moreover the system of proportional representation is nothing but a sham, from the fact that by cutting up the country into a great number of districts it comes about that in many of these districts in which we do not reach the number of votes which elects a candidate, the votes which we obtain in such districts are totally lost. For illustration, look at the combined figures for 1904 and 1906, which show the vote for the whole country.

*For the Government.*

In 1904 .....	504,000
In 1906 .....	636,000
<hr/>	
Total .....	1,140,000

*Against the Government.*

In 1904 .....	598,000
In 1906 .....	524,000
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Total .....	1,122,000

This ought to give 84 seats to the government and 82 to the opposition, while as we have seen the government has 89 and the opposition but 77.

Again, the Liberal Party was completely "demonetized" after 1884 and lost all of its vitality at least fifteen years ago. The business men (in industry, commerce and finance) passed over little by little into the clerical party, which defends their interests so well and lets them act as they like. For a considerable

time all the really democratic elements of the bourgeoisie have been voting the socialist ticket, but now a liberal organization has taken shape, and a few months before the elections the moderate wing of this organization declared for three great reforms: universal suffrage, compulsory education and personal military service. After all deductions are made, it must still be said that this declaration was far-reaching in its effects. It was a triumph for our immediate demands and the liberals appeared from that time as a possible democratic government. The inevitable thing happened: all those liberal democrats who for fifteen years had been voting for us without being socialists, returned to their first love and voted, especially at Brussels, for the liberals.

These are some of the reasons explaining why our progress has not been greater.

However, we have nothing to be ashamed of. We are in Belgium at a difficult moment and the party is at present making a thorough study of the question of method. Our penetration into certain quarters is too slow. It is true that the facts I have given above explain how poor is the land we are cultivating and how great and long-continued our efforts must be. Happily we are positivists. Our politics and our doctrines are alike scientific. We shall therefore find a way of adapting ourselves to our environment, which we are studying methodically from day to day.

EMILE VINCK.

*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*

## An Endless Task.

THE series of articles published by Comrade Boudin in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW contains much that is good, much that is excellent, and much that deserves to be preserved in a permanent form. It also contains much that is shallow, much that is the fruit of hasty reading, and much that is false.

So long as Comrade Boudin deals merely with the simple problems of the first volume of Marx's *Capital*, or with the funny antics of bourgeois critics or semi-bourgeois revisionists, he is entertaining, brilliant, witty, and shows himself generally well posted. Little inaccurate statements, here and there, and slips such as may happen to any one when working under high pressure, are readily excused in view of the ludicrous misconceptions and gross falsifications of the Marxian theories on the part of the Neo-Marxists, whom Comrade Boudin is compelled to hold up to scorn and ridicule. I enjoyed that portion of his articles thoroughly and agree that he gave to those straddlers in political economy and metaphysical history all that was coming to them.

But when Comrade Boudin ventures into the deep waters of the more abstruse and complicated Marxian analyses, especially those of *Capital*, volume III, he gives evidence of insufficient preparation and hasty reading. Here true and false are almost inextricably mixed up by him, and the confusion created by the critics whom he scourges is worse confounded by his own attempts to straighten it out. What Boudin in reality presents on this subject, is a theory of his own, not that applied by Marx in volume III to the theory of competition.

It is an endless task, this struggle against the confusion created by friend and foe in the realms of Marxian ideas, this critique of the critical critique of critics of latter-day Marxian critics, this sailing over an ever-swelling ocean of literature good for nothing but the waste basket, but which we are nevertheless compelled to read and refute on account of the flourish of trumpets with which such handiwork is announced and the pretensions with which it stalks about. And it is so much more disagreeable, when the author of such a confusion has the ability to do better and is young enough to do a little more studying before he ventures into the lime-light. But it is a task which must not be shirked, however tedious and thankless it may be, for it is not the literary fame of a few authors that is at stake, but the theoretical education of the membership of the Socialist party.

Luckily I can be brief, at least brief compared to the amount of ground covered by Boudin which requires new ploughing. My purpose is not to give an exhaustive review of Comrade Boudin's articles — at least not yet — but merely to prevent the spread of false notions concerning the crowning outcome of Marx's great work. And if I can show to the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW that Boudin is untrustworthy in this one respect, they will be forewarned and will take his future work with a pinch of salt.

A few simple comparisons will show at a glance the deep chasm which yawns between Marx's own position and Boudin's conception and interpretation of it. Let us take a dive into that "system of economic contradictions," which Boudin has spread out before us, and let us try to untie some of his knotted webs.

In the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, February, 1906, Boudin undertakes to discuss the "Great Contradiction in the Marxian Theory of Value," namely, the contradiction between the labor-theory of value expounded by Marx in volume I of his *Capital* and the fact of an average rate of profit for all capitals engaged in the process of capitalist production. Boudin assures us that he will "present the Marxian theory as stated by Marx," but that he has in store, for publication at a later time, "some matters which will, in his opinion, put the whole matter in a new light."

While waiting for the "new light," let us examine whether Boudin really presents the Marxian theory "as stated by Marx."

On page 481, I. S. R., Boudin takes issue with those "learned critics," who have been misled by the similarity of the terms *cost of production* and *price of production*. "Has the price of production anything to do with the cost of production?" he asks. And he proceeds to tell us that these two things look so much alike at first sight that the uninitiated may easily be deceived into believing that they are really alike; that Marx's price of production is, indeed, based on the cost of production, but that his cost of production is "determined by its value according to the labor-value theory, whereas the 'ordinary' cost of production has no such determining element." So far so good. But now, instead of giving us a further explanation of the difference between Marx's cost of production, the capitalist's cost-price, and Marx's price of production, instead of telling us whether Marx ever makes use of the capitalist's cost-price as well as of his own cost of production, Boudin rambles off into a vague lot of generalities about the formation of an average rate of profit, a question which is indeed very relevant to the question of the price of production, but about which Boudin has nothing very definite to tell until he gets back to the price of production on page 484 and informs us that it is a mistake to



assume that "the category of the price of production is an innovation introduced by Marx in the third volume in an effort to solve the contradiction between the law of value and the law of equal return." It is true, he says, that "the *term* price of production is first used in the third volume," but "the principle itself is contained in the earlier volumes and has absolutely nothing to do with the particular problem presented by the question of the equal rate of profits. When Marx came to treat of that problem he simply applied to it a category which already was part of his system as expounded by him in the first and second volumes. The only difference between the category of price of production as used in the first and second volumes and as used in the third volume is this: The conditions for the formation of this price discussed in the first two volumes were such as made it always below the value of commodities, whereas the conditions for its formation discussed in the third volume make it possible for the price of production to be either below or above the value of the commodity. But whether above or below the value, whether formed by reason of the average rate of profit, or under the conditions described in the first and second volumes, or both, the price of production is governed by the value of the commodity, and exists by reason thereof and in conformity thereto."

In other words, this is Boudin's position: The price of production as used in the third volume, and the cost of production, or price of production, alleged to have been used in the earlier volumes, means essentially the same thing, only applied to different conditions. The price of production has nothing to do with the formation of the average rate of profit, for it can be formed without this rate. So far as the price of production differs from the "ordinary" cost of production, or cost price, it is merely a difference between Marx's cost of production based on labor-value and capitalist cost based on heaven knows what. That is all. And this is presenting the Marxian theory "as stated by Marx," according to Boudin.

Let us first see what Marx says.

"In volume I and II we were dealing only with the *values* of commodities. Now there has become detached from this value on the one hand, as one of its part, *the cost-price*, and on the other hand there has developed, as a changed form of value, the *price of production* of commodities." (Volume III, book I, p. 142.)

Are this cost-price, and this price of production, so little different from the principles mentioned in the first two volumes, and from the capitalist idea of these things, as Boudin asserts in his above presentation "as stated by Marx"? Has the particular problem presented by the question of the equal rate of profits nothing to do with the formation of the price of production, or

the price of production nothing to do with the problem of the average rate of profit? Does Marx state that?

"What a commodity costs the capitalist, and what the production of a commodity actually costs, are indeed two entirely different things.... Since on the basis of capitalist production the laborer himself, after his entry into the process of production, becomes an ingredient of the productive capital performing its function and belonging to the capitalist, so that the capitalist is the actual producer of commodities, the cost-price of commodities assumes for the capitalist the aspect of the actual cost of the commodity itself.....The capitalist cost of a commodity is measured by the expenditure of *capital*, the actual cost of a commodity by the expenditure of *labor*" (*Volume III, book I, p. 2.*)..... "the category of *cost-price* has nothing to do with the formation of the value of commodities, or with the self-expansion of capital.....But the analysis will show that the *cost-price* in capitalist economy assumes the false aspect of a category in the very production of values." (*Ibidem, p. 3.*) "In the *cost-price* the distinction between variable and constant capital is obliterated for the capitalist." (*Ibidem, p. 132.*) "Originally it had been assumed that the *cost-price* of a commodity is equal to the *value* of the commodities consumed in its production. But the *price of production* of a certain commodity constitutes its *cost-price* for its buyer, and so it may pass as a *cost-price* into the formation of the price of some other commodity. Since the *price of production* may vary from the *value* of a commodity, it follows that the *cost-price* of a commodity containing the price of production may stand above or below that portion of its total value, which is formed by the value of the means of production entering into it. It is necessary to remember this modified meaning of the *cost-price* and to keep in mind that there is always the possibility of a mistake, if in any particular sphere of production the *cost-price* of a commodity is assumed to be equal to the value of the means of production consumed in its production. But for the exigencies of the present analysis it is not necessary to enlarge on this point. Here the statement always remains correct that the *cost-price of commodities is always smaller than their value*. For no matter how much the *cost-price* of a commodity may differ from the value of the means of production consumed by it, the error of the past is immaterial for the capitalist. The *cost-price of a commodity is given, it is a premise independent of the production of that particular capitalist*, while the result of his production is a commodity containing a surplus-value, that is an excess in value over the cost-price. For the rest the rule that the *cost-price is smaller than the value of a commodity has now become transformed into the practical rule that the cost-price is smaller than the price of production*. So far as the total social capital is concerned, where the price of production is equal to the value, this rule is identical with the former one that the *cost-price is smaller than the value*. Although this rule is departed from in the individual spheres of production, it is still based on the fact that from the point of view of the total social capital, the *cost-price of the commodities produced by this total capital is smaller than their value, or smaller than the price of production, which, in the case of the total social capital, is identical with their value*. The *cost-price of a commodity refers only to the quantity of paid labor contained in it, the value refers to the total quantity of paid and unpaid labor contained in it, and the price of production refers to the quantity of the paid labor plus a certain quantity of unpaid labor determined independently of any individual sphere.*" (*Ibidem, p. 143-144.*)

So much is already evident from this presentation of the

case "as stated by Marx," that Marx makes a very careful distinction in terms and definitions, while Boudin applies a term, purposely introduced by Marx for reasons of his own in volume III, to a category in volume I and II. Marx uses no category of *price of production* in volume I and II, while Boudin applies this term to what he claims is the same principle in all three volumes. A very peculiar way of presenting Marxian theories "as stated by Marx"! It is furthermore evident, from Marx's own statements, that not only the *price of production* may be based on the *cost-price*, but also the *cost-price* on the *price of production*. This principle, which Marx, according to Boudin, carried over from the earlier volumes and applied to different conditions discussed in the third volume, is not the *price of production*, as Boudin says, but the *cost-price*, as Marx says. Marx states that in the earlier volumes (and, as a matter of fact, up to and including chapter VIII, volume III) he had always assumed that the *cost-price* was equal to the value of the *paid labor*, in other words, was *below* the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor*, while now, in the third volume, it may eventually be *above* or *below* the value of the *paid labor* in the case that the price of production of one commodity enters as a *cost-price* into the value of another. But nevertheless, says Marx, it still remains true, that the *cost-price* will always be *below* the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor*, or at least *below* the *price of production* where value assumes this changed form, and the *price of production* will be *equal* to the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor* in the case of the total social capital and in spheres of production with the same organic composition of capitals as the total social capital. Boudin, disagreeing with Marx, tells us that in the third volume, the *price of production*, the thing which Marx calls *cost-price* and carried over from the earlier volumes, may be either *above* or *below* the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor*. Marx says distinctly, that the *cost-price* always remains *below* the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor*, or at least *below* the *price of production*, and that the *price of production* fluctuates around the value of the *paid plus unpaid labor* in spheres with other than an average composition of capital, whereas Boudin confounds cost-price and price of production and hopelessly muddles Marx's clear statement of the case. Marx shows that the price of production is not only a new term, but also a new category, and Boudin says it is simply a new name for an old thing.

We shall presently see that Marx did not introduce merely this new *price of production* in volume III, but also a *market-value* and a *market-price*, and that all three have a very important role to play in connection with the average rate of profit.

True, Marx did not introduce the price of production as a makeshift in his embarrassment over the so-called great contra-

diction between his theory of labor-value and the fact of an average rate of profit, nor to explain by means of it the genesis of the average rate of profit, but because the average rate of profit is the *principal cause* of the price of production.

Boudin is quite right, the price of production is not necessary for the explanation of the rise of an average rate of profit except in a secondary way. But the average rate of profit has everything to do with the formation of the price of production. On the other hand, the *cost-price*, this principle which Marx carries over into the third volume, and which Boudin persists in calling price of production, has a whole lot to do with the formation of an average rate of profit, Boudin's contrary assertion notwithstanding. But it has nothing to do with the formation of value and surplus-value. At least Marx says so. *Boudin's presentation does not present the matter as stated by Marx.* That is the first result of our comparison.

Boudin has not scorn enough in his dictionary for the "careless use of terms for which *all* Marx critics are well noted." (*I. S. R.*, p. 415.) And these critics surely deserve all that is coming to them. But it would be still better, especially for the reputation of the Marx defenders, if *some* of these would first see the beam in their own eye before bothering about the mote in the eye of another. Incidentally we begin to feel a vague interest at this point in the promised "new light," and we wonder whether it will be akin to that shed by Boudin above.

Boudin, in his alleged presentation of the Marxian theory "as stated by Marx," asserts that the price of production may be formed under the conditions discussed in volumes I and II, that is, without the existence of an average rate of profit. Marx, speaking for himself, says:

"The prices which arise by drawing the average of the different rates of profit in the different spheres of production and adding this average to the cost-price of different spheres of production, are the *prices of production*. They are based on the existence of an average rate of profit, and this again, requires that the rates of profit in each individual sphere of production should have been reduced to so many average rates." (*Volume III*, book I, p. 135.). "Competition first brings about, in a certain individual sphere, the establishment of an *equal market-value* and *market-price* by averaging the *individual values* of commodities. The competition of capitals in the different spheres then results in the *price of production* which regulates the rates of profit between the different spheres." (*Ibidem*, p. 159.)

In other words, first an average rate of profit in the individual spheres, which leads to an average rate of profit in society by competition, establishes the prices of production, and leads to a mutual regulation of the one by the other.

Not only is the price of production a different theoretical category from the cost-price, and from the labor-cost, but it also

requires a different development of capitalist production. "The values of commodities must be considered theoretically as well as historically as prior to the prices of production." (Ibidem, p 156.) The prices of production imply a deviation from the labor-value to the extent that capitalist development advances. (Ibidem.)

It is true, Marx did not invent the price of production. He says himself that "it is actually the same thing which Adam Smith calls natural price, Ricardo price of production or cost of production, the physiocrats *prix nécessaire*. But not one of them revealed the difference between price of production and value," any more, let us add, than Boudin revealed the difference between labor-cost, price of production, and cost-price. There is at least some excuse for Adam Smith, Ricardo, and the physiocrats. Nobody showed it to them. But Boudin could not even explain it after it had been shown to him. He was very close to it, almost hot, for instance on pages 473 and 474 of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, where he almost explained it to the Marx critics. But only almost, not quite. And aside from this, there is always the essential difference between Marx and him, that Marx considers the price of production as a final effect, while Boudin talks as though it were the cause. Marx shows it to be a final effect, which becomes a reacting cause only in a secondary way, while Boudin talks as though the price of production were prior to the average rate of profit and at the same time denies that the two are fundamentally related.

Boudin consequently gets inextricably entangled in his own contradictions. Instead of explaining the formation of the price of production, he denies that the Marxian theory of value can explain, or be even "a guide to the actual prices paid for commodities. But a theory of value need not show that, and, as a matter of fact, could not. It would not be a theory of value if it did." (P. 421, I. S. R.) When I read that I naturally looked for some other explanation, or at least some quibble about theory of value, theory of surplus-value, theory of prices, or theory of competition, by which he would try to escape out of this *cul de sac*. But no. So I could only say: "Good-bye, Marx, with your theory of value which explains the formation of the actual prices paid for commodities!" For it does, even if Boudin's presentation "as stated by Marx" denies it. In volume III, book I, Marx wrote the following title of chapter IX. Let me whisper it into your ear: "*The Formation of an Average Rate of Profit and the Transformation of the Value of Commodities Into Prices of Production.*" (P. 132.)

In this chapter, and in chapter X, Marx tells us plainly what I have in part quoted above, namely, the relation between the value of commodities, the average rate of profit, and the forma-

tion of prices of production. And in carrying this out logically, Marx merely adhered to his original plan as outlined in his *Critique of Political Economy*, in 1859, and even there he indicates in a general way that labor-value, if taken from the sphere of production to the sphere of circulation, turns from a *time-measure of value* into a *money-standard of price*.

However, Boudin will have nothing to do with this explanation. According to him, always presenting the Marxian theories "as stated by Marx," value is determined by social conditions, while price is determined by individual valuation. "Value being the cause of price, the chief motive of the individual making the price will, of course, be the value of the thing priced. This does not mean, however, the actual value of the thing, but his idea of its value." (*I. S. R.*, p. 169.) At the same time he quotes with approval the statement of Marx that capitals in spheres of higher than average composition sell their commodities above their value, and capitals in spheres of lower composition below their value, supremely unconscious of the fact that his "idea" of price of production cannot explain this, and that this statement contradicts his determination of prices "by individual valuation," as opposed to the determination of values "by social conditions." As though one of Marx's great accomplishments had not been to do away with the clash between individual and social interpretation!

Marx shows throughout his three volumes that price is quite as much determined by social conditions as value, and that value is as much an individual product as price. He repeats again and again, that the actual condition of things appears inverted through the capitalist point of view. And Boudin repeats it after him, but quickly forgets all about it, after he has instructed the Marx critics. Marx dwells again and again on the fact that the capitalist does not care a snap about the use-value of his commodities, and does not know a thing about the nature and quantity of the value (paid and unpaid) contained in them, and Boudin repeats that. But that does not prevent Boudin from forgetting all about it and asserting that the "merchant pays his price to the manufacturer *knowing that the full surplus-value contained in the commodity has not yet been realized* and expecting to realize a further share thereof for his own benefit upon the resale of the commodity to the retailer or the consumer." (*I. S. R.*, p. 224.)

Marx emphasizes repeatedly, that the capitalist thinks he is selling his commodities *above* their value by adding his profit to what he considers their cost-price, and almost the whole third volume is devoted to an explanation of the way in which this capitalist illusion plays its pranks. The entire second volume of *Capital* is devoted to an analysis of the role of money in the cir-

culatation, in other words, to the role of a social commodity in the transformation of other commodities, as a preparation for the final illustration in volume III showing the transformation of value into price. And Boudin himself, in spite of his assertion that the theory of value cannot explain this, makes some desultory attempts to explain it by means of statements of Marx based on that theory. But of course Boudin cannot explain it, for the only theory that *does* explain it is Marx's theory of value. He has not understood Marx's price of production, and so he escapes by the easy expedient of repudiating the Marxian theory of value as a means of explanation and leaving it to the individual opinion of persons knowing nothing whatever of the nature or amount of the social labor-value contained in the commodities to fix prices according to the "individual estimation" of their "idea" of what that value may be. And that in the name of Marx!

I should like to have an explanation from Boudin, how a theory of surplus-value which "must explain the development of profits" (*I. S. R.*, p. 466) can do so without explaining the genesis of value and prices, and how a theory which is to "attain the principal object of political economy, the discovery of the laws governing the production and distribution of profits in the capitalist system," (*I. S. R.*, p. 482), and which "has to record its greatest triumph" (*I. S. R.*, p. 466) in that field, can accomplish this without explaining the transformation of value and surplus-value into prices. Will the "new light" explain that?

Boudin finally loses all patience and repudiates not only the Marxian theory of value and surplus-value, but also the Marxian historical materialism, in the following brilliant passage, which might have been written by the most frenzied champion of *absolute freedom*:

"The profit sharing of the capitalists is.....*absolutely* impersonal. It also requires *absolute freedom of movement* for the different elements which go into the progress of production and distribution. Wherever there is no *absolute freedom of movement*, the laws governing the division of surplus-value among the different capitalists are interfered with *arbitrarily* and may even be *abrogated*. This is a necessary corollary to the observation already made that all the laws of value and consequently the production and realization of surplus-value require *absolute freedom of movement*." (*I. S. R.*, p. 224.)

What a muddle! The laws of value and surplus-value, which, remember, do *not* explain the formation of prices, according to Boudin, must have *absolute freedom* of movement, if the capitalists are to share *impersonally* in profits through prices which they fix themselves by *individual estimation* of a value that has nothing to do with the *actual prices paid for commodities*! Make that into a rhyme, will you! And such a hash is served

up to us in the name of greater clearness of thought, and in the name of a theory which teaches the relativity of all things!

So far as there is any meaning in this gem of Boudin's mind, it says just the reverse of what Marx states. For Marx says that the profit sharing of the capitalists by means of an average rate of profit takes place to the extent that the law of value is abrogated, and Boudin says that it takes place only so long as the laws of value and surplus-value have *absolute freedom of movement*. What Boudin probably had in mind was the simple truth that the Marxian analyses apply strictly to a stage of capitalist production in which "free" competition is still in full swing, unimpaired by any "monopoly."

Let us see what Marx thinks of the "individual estimation" of prices, of *the absolute freedom*, and the relation of the average rate of profit to value and prices.

"The particular rates of profit in each sphere of production..... must be developed out of the value of commodities. Without such a development the average rate of profit (and consequently the price of production of commodities) *remains a concept without sense and meaning*. The price of production of commodities, then, is equal to their cost-price plus that percentage of profit which is added by means of the average rate of profit, or equal to the cost-price plus the average profit." (*Volume III, book I, p. 136.*) "If a capitalist sells his commodities at their prices of production, he recovers money in proportion to the value of the capital *consumed* by him in production and realizes profits in proportion to the capital *invested* by him in its capacity as a mere aliquot part of the total social capital. His cost-prices are specific. The addition of profit to these cost-prices is independent of his particular sphere of production, is a simple average per 100 of the invested capital." (*Ibidem, p. 137.*) "Since the total value of commodities regulates the total surplus-value, and this in turn regulates the level of the average profit and consequently that of the average rate of profit—considering this rate as a general law, or as the controlling element of fluctuations—it follows that the law of value regulates the prices of production." (*Ibidem, p. 139.*) "Under the entire capitalist system of production, it is always but in a very complicated and approximative way, as a never ascertainable average of incessant fluctuations, that the general law is enforced as the controlling tendency." (*Ibidem, p. 140.*)....."That side of competition, which is momentarily the weaker, is also that in which the individual acts independently of the mass of his competitors and often works against them.....While the strongest side always acts more or less unitedly against its antagonist..... If one side has the advantage, every one belonging to it gains. It is as though they had exerted their common monopoly. If one side is the weaker, then every one may try on his own hook to be the stronger, ..... or at least to get off as easily as possible, and in that case he does not care in the least for his neighbor, although his actions affect not only himself, but also all his fellow strugglers." (*Ibidem, p. 173-74.*)

Compare these simple, clear, and direct statements of Marx with the involved, muddled, and gushing phraseology of Boudin, and you will agree with me that at this point we should again feel vaguely interested in Boudin's promised "new light." I fear that it will be "the light that failed."



I said that the above passage of Boudin was a repudiation of Marx's historical materialism. For it is quite in line with Boudin's assertion that this is "not a theory explaining the motives which actuate individuals to act, but a historical theory explaining the motive powers which bring about those actions of the masses, the aggregate of which make up what we call history."

As a matter of fact, individual actions can be, and must be, explained by historical materialism in the same way as mass actions. Every individual action is more or less of a mass action, and every mass action is the action of individuals. There is no clash between these two. That is one of the first things which historical materialism teaches. True, in its strict form as a theory of human history it does not explain *all* individual actions, and it cannot explain any actions at all *by itself* and must call in the help of Dietzgen's elaborated theory, which Marx and Engels both endorsed. But Boudin is simply shirking an issue by denying that individual actions cannot be explained by historical materialism. It is simply another case of *not* representing the Marxian theory as stated by Marx.

Marx himself showed beautifully in volume III how individual and mass action blend in bringing about a reconciliation of his theory of value with the apparently contradictory fact of an average rate of profit and a tendency of this rate to fall. Boudin fills a whole volume of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW with his meditations on so-called great contradictions of Marx invented by Marx critics, but he does not explain matters "as stated by Marx," and as a result of his failure to so state the case, we have as the only palpable fact of his efforts the "great contradiction in Boudin's theory of value and surplus-value" and a promise for "new light."

Boudin started out to "restate the Marxian theory in the light of this new criticism, examining the objections raised with a view to determining whether and how far this criticism has led, or must needs lead, to a revision, modification, or abandonment of any of the subsidiary or tributary theories of Karl Marx; and whether such revision, modification, or abandonment, if any be necessary, affects the Marxian system as a whole."

A noble task indeed. A task too great for any one man, even with a lifetime of study and experience. A task which must be the work of evolution itself, not that of any one philosopher. A task that is as endless as the history of Marxism itself. A task toward which one man may contribute here and there, but which will never be completed, until Marxism shall be a thing of the past.

Boudin tells us that the Marx critics "are not a bit abashed when they are shown by quotations from Marx that he thought

just the other way." (I. S. R., p. 13.) Let us hope that he will not be like them, and that the first "new light" that comes to him will be used for his own enlightenment on a theory about which he is still very much in the dark. **ERNEST UNTERMANN.**

[A reply from Comrade Boudin will appear in the September REVIEW.—*Editor.*]

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### POOR MAN'S EUCHRE.

Every man has a hand in the game;  
 Every man has a chance, so they say;  
 The poor and the humble oft rise into fame; —  
 Why, fortunes are made in a day!

Aye, fortunes of millions are made;  
 But if you will watch and keep check,  
 You will see that more aces are played  
 Than the aces there are in the deck.

Something's wrong with a game that is played  
 So that luck runs only one way.  
 That's the reason that millions are made,  
 And millions are lost in the play.

Poor men's savings all go in the pot;  
 There's a wink and a nudge, or a beck;  
 There's something not right there, I wot, —  
 Some dealing from under the deck.

The poor cannot quite understand  
 The cards that are marked on the back,  
 Or know how to deal slight o' hand,  
 Or to cut and shuffle the pack.

Of this game they do not understand  
 The poor will grow weary some day;  
 They'll make a rough house, and demand  
 That there be a fair deal in the play.

P. Q.

Author of "The World Was Made That Way," and other things.

## Sympathizin' of Mrs. Deacon Smith.

The new schoolmarm an' Rose Merrill had come over to spend the afternoon. Now I like the new schoolmarm and I like Rose Merrill (and so does Noah) an' I enjoyed visitin' with 'em (an' so would Noah, if he'd bin at home, which he wasn't, havin' gone off right soon after dinner to take a load of turnips to Nanceville). An' we wus gettin' right confidential an' havin' heart to heart talks, as you might say, when we heard the front gate click, an', surmisin' in my mind that some one wus comin', I looked out at the winder an' see Mrs. Deacon Smith a-comin' up the walk. I see she wus come fer a formal call, fer she wus dressed elegant in her meetin' bunnit an' umbrell' an' her secon' best black alpacky. It's a good piece of goods, that alpacky is, an' havin' bin wore only five year an' turned onct it's good as new, an' it would be her meeting' dress till now only her brother that's out West sent her a new one fer Christmas this year back.

Wal, as I wus sayin' when I see Mrs. Deacon Smith comin' up the walk, I felt in my bones that she wus a comin' on bizness of some sort — onpleasant bizness. An' they wus right — my bones wus.

She rustled into the settin' room an' sot down in the best rocker. Mrs. Deacon Smith don't wear silk petticoats, but ever since the Deacon kep' store over to Nanceville an' she lived in town a spell she rustles powerful. They do say she bastes newspapers into her skirt linin's, but I don't know as it's so, an' ortn't to repeat hearsay. She has a different air, too, since she lived in Nanceville — a sort of stiff an' starched air. There is them that admires it.

Wal, after we hed discussed the weather an' the crops an' the state of health of our respective families, she opened her mouth an' shet it agin, an' coffered a little, an' opened it again. An' I felt in my bones it wus comin'.

An' sez she, "I've been a thinkin' I'll have my name took off of that club that wus organized a Sat'dy." Sez she, "As the wife of a Deacon, a pillar in the church an' a respektable member of the community, I have my position in society to maintain."

An' I sez, "Wal, what uv that?" Sez I, "What has that got to do with the club that was organized a Sat'dy?"

An' sez she, "I don't believe in agitatatin' sech questions." Sez she, "When the Deacon use to keep store in Nanceville I

hed a opportunity to observe the lower orders, an' they are gettin' all they earn, an' ortn't to be agitated."

An' sez I, "Ef they're gettin' all they earn, how comes it that other folks that never did a lick of work in their lives is rollin' in luxury an' has money to throw at birds?" Sez I, "Ef one man has got a dollar he hain't earnt, some other man has earnt a dollar he hain't got. There ain't no way of gettin' around that," sez I.

An' sez she, "Them wage workin' folks would all be fixed comfortable ef they would pay their debts an' save their money. When the Deacon kep' store at Nanceville," sez she, "there was folks owin' him year in an' year out" (the Deacon kep' store jest eighteen months to my certain knowledge) "an' they didn't try to pay him." Sez she, "They'd go in debt fer pink hair ribbon an' Christmas presents."

An' sez I, "If there's any reason why poor men's children ortn't to have Christmas presents, then," sez I, "nobody ort to have 'em." Sez I, "The children that's born in a manger or hovel has the best claim to Christmas joys." An' sez I, "When we who build costly churches to honor the lowly carpenter's son while his little ones is shelterless, when we," sez I, "learn to fol-ler His teachin's there won't be any little disinherited children whose folks have to go in debt fer Christmas presents fer 'em."

An' sez she, "They wouldn't need to go in debt ef they'd work an' economize. They're jest shiftless," sez she, "an' lazy, too."

Now I believe in economy, but I don't believe in stintin' an' skimpin' an' wearin' all the gray matter out'n your brain tryin' to save fifteen cents. I do skimp, good land, yes, but I do it from necessity, not from principle. Mrs. Deacon Smith skimps, too, but she don't know it. She's done it so long it's secon' natur'.

But I sez, real calm an' peacefyin', sez I, "Of course there is shiftless folks, piles of 'em, an' there is lazy folks who don't want to do nothin', but," sez I "is that any reason why folks that's willin' to work ortn't to have the chance to work an' to get all they produce?"

An' sez she, "There's chances for everybody that wants 'em. It's a free country," sez she, "an' there's ekal opportunities fer all." Sez she, "When Deacon kep' store in Nanceville I see lots of young folks come in from the country an' work their way through the Nanceville Academy. Young folks that hed nothin' but their two hands an' grit. Anybody that wants a eddycation can get it. An'," sez she, warmin' to the subjeck as she proceeded farther away from it, "I took a girl myself right into my home an' let her work for her board. She done the housework nights an' mornin's, an' come back from the

Academy at eleven every day an' got dinner. She never fooled away no time on parties an' beaux an' pink hair ribbons. An' she did the family washin' a Sat'dys. An' she stood head of her classes, too, every one on 'em."

"Where is she now," asked the schoolmarm.

"Oh, she's dead now," sez Mrs. Deacon Smith. "She went to college an' took nervous prostration."

An' sez I, "When my little Grace Keziah an' Belle Almedy goes to Nanceville Academy they shall not work theirselves to death an' they shall have all the innocent pleasures other young folks has, if I have to work my fingers to the bone to get 'em fer 'em." Sez I, "When you rob a child of its play time, you rob it of its life."

An sez Mrs. Deacon Smith, "It's wrong fer parents to sacrifice theirselves that away fer their children."

An' sez I, "It's wrong, root an' branch, the *system* is, that demands the slaughter of the innosents or the sacrifice of the parents an'," sez I, "it won't be my innosents that's slaughtered — not while I'm a-livin'."

An' Mrs. Deacon Smith sez, "It's a well-known fack," sez she, "I've often read it in the papers, an' my observations in Nanceville, when the Deacon kep' store there, confirms it, that the young folks that works their own way through school gets higher marks and stands head more than them that takes life easier."

An' sez I, "It is a well-known fack that them that's heads of school classes don't make their mark in the world after leavin' school nigh so often as them below 'em."

But sez she, "Poverty is a incentive. You can't deny it. Poverty is a great incentive."

"A incentive to what?" sez I. "A incentive to work till you drop in' the harness or leastways till you drop out'n the race and let them that's hed a better opportunity go on an' win?"

An' sez she, "Poverty is a incentive to strugglin'. It devel-ops folks." Sez she, "Our grate statesmen an' jinerals an' sech grow from poor country boys."

"They do," sez I, "a poven on 'em does, but it ain't poverty that makes 'em grate. It's pure country air an' outdoor exercise while they're a growin'. It's good, wholesome vittles an' plenty of 'em." An, sez I, "for I'd thought on that subjeck, bein' the mother of a country boy myself," sez I, "the reason why country boys win in the race for statesmanships, jineralships, flagships, an' sech things, is that they've got good, healthy, stout brains in healthy bodies." Sez I, "Ef it's poverty that makes folks grate why hain't grate men riz up out of the slums of big cities? Ef you can find poverty anywhere it's in them slums," sez I, "an' it don't develop 'em; it degrades 'em."

An' I looked at the schoolmarm an' sez I, "Ain't that true?" An' she sez, "It is." An' she quoted Henry George, who was a good man, an' he'd studied these things. (He wasn't quite a Socialist, Henry George wusn't, but from all I can hear, he was not far from the kingdom). An' the schoolmarm sez Henry George says that in one class of slum folks in New York "the birth of a boy an' a girl means another man for the penitentiary, and another girl for the brothel."

An' sez I, "Think on't, innozent, unborn babies condemned to such lives beforehand; think on't."

An' sez Mrs. Deacon Smith, "It's foreordination."

An' sez I, "Foreordination, fiddlesticks."

It was not a perlitte thing to say, but it does rile me so to hear folks layin' all the meanness of men onto the Lord. All the shortsightedness of 'em an' the ignorance of 'em an' the general cussedness of 'em. So I jest said to Mrs. Deacon Smith, sez I, "Foreordination, fiddlesticks."

An' Mrs. Deacon Smith riz up to go, an' she helt out her hand to me to say goodby. An' she sez in the lofty an' patronizin' manner born of the fack that the Deacon use to keep store at Nanceville, sez she, "I know your intentions is good," an' sez she, "I myself hev a great deal of sympathy fer the workin' class." An' I meanwhile an' mechanikally hed put out my hand and grasped her'n, an' the hard callus spots in her palm rubbed agin the hard callus spots in mine, an' sez I, "Workin' class," sez I, "Ef you an' me ain't workin' class what in the livin' earth be we?"

An' she flushed up real resentful an' she drew her hand back an' begun a puttin' on her gloves. They wus her meetin' gloves, lisle thread, an' they wus darned. Mrs. Deacon Smith is a master hand at darnin'; ef she wusn't them gloves wouldn't a helt together as they hev.

An' sez she, "I wus speakin' of wage workers," sez she, "who hev nothin'."

She brought out the last words real contemptuous. Funny, ain't it, how folks who hev nothin' is allus objects of contempt, especially to some that hev mighty little.

But sez I, real calm an' peacefyin', sez I, "There wus a wage worker, an' he wus a revolutionary wage worker, too — a stirrin' up of the people," an' sez I, "he chose his most bosom friends from the workin' class — fisher men an' sech."

An' sez she, "That wus diffrunt. In them days the people wus conquered by the Romans and couldn't help theirselves."

An' sez I, "In these days the people is conquered by the capitalists an' can't help theirselves." ("Except," sez the school-

marm soty vocey, "at the ballot box. They can help themselves to the earth and the fullness thereof at the ballot box.")

An' Mrs. Deacon Smith went on an', sez she, "There ain't no manner of use fer their bein' conquered by no capitalist. Why don't they move out into the country," sez she, "an' hev peace an' plenty?" She spoke them words real lofty, especially the last word "plenty." You'd a thought she never in her life had a-skimped and squeezed on a dollar to make it do the work of two. An' she made a gestur, a real lofty gestur, but in makin' it she dropped one of her gloves an' the schoolmarm picked it up an' handed it to her. An', the schoolmarm's face wus real sober. It wus the worst darned glove of the two, but the schoolmarm turned it over as she picked it up so the biggest darns wus on the under side as she handed it back, which wus real considerate, too. The schoolmarm has a pink an' white face, like a peach blossom in the spring, an' the corners of her mouth has dimples tucked in all around when she smiles. An' as she stooped over to get the glove I ketched a glimpse of her dimples appearin' on the side of her face thet wus next to me, but when she riz up an' give back the glove her face wus sober as a judge. You couldn't a-told there hed ever been any dimples within a mile of her.

An' Mrs. Deacon Smith went on, an' sez she, "Ef they'd move out into the country, where they could work nights an' mornin's, instid of workin' ten hours a day an' idlin' away the rest of their time in the saloons, they could live like WE do."

An' she rustled out of the sittin' room an' down the walk a trailin' her alpacky skirt. When I shet to the door behind her, an' turned an' looked at the schoolmarm the dimples all broke loose an', bless her heart, I took her in my arms an' kissed them dimples like I kiss my own baby's dimples when I tickle his little pink toes to make him laugh. It's only bin a month sense I first saw the schoolmarm, but, land sakes, there's some folks you get acquainted with the first time you see 'em, an' you feel as ef you'd knowed 'em ever sense the foundations of the earth wus laid, if not sooner. The schoolmarm affected me that a-way. So, as I wus a-sayin', I kissed the schoolmarm's dimples an' I patted her on the shoulder, an' sez I to her, "Now, will you be good?" I don't use slang fer common, but that's a sayin' my Benjy picked up at school an' it struck me as kind of pat. So I sez to her, sez I, "Now, will you be good?"

An' the schoolmarm set down in a chair an' laughed. She laughed till the tears wus playin' hide an' seek in her dimples.

An' sez she, "It is'n't funny, oh DEAR!" an' then she  
 laughed some more. "It isn't funny," sez she, "it's TRAGIC,  
 but, oh Aunt Betty, I can't help laughing."  
 An' no more could I.

*From "The Rebel at Large," by May Beals.*

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## How Much Longer ?

Did you hear the babies crying—  
 Crying for the want of bread?  
 Did you hear the women sighing  
 For the plenteous days long dead?  
 Bitter, bitter, are the tear drops  
 That the hungry children shed,—  
 And they strike our hearts like lead!

Did you see the workmen tramping  
 Past the fast-locked fact'ry door,  
 While the yellow sun-rays, slanting,  
 Glide along the dusty floor?  
 Heavy, heavy, are their footsteps,—  
 Heavy are their hearts and sore!  
 Must they tramp forever more?

How much longer, O ye rulers,  
 Can you let the children cry?  
 How much longer, O ye masters,  
 Will you hear the women sigh?  
 How much longer, O ye *People*,  
 Must we watch the workers die?

GEO. E. WINKLER.



# EDITORIAL

## The Coming Campaign.

The congressional and state campaigns upon which the Socialist Party is just entering seem in many ways likely to duplicate the presidential campaign of two years ago in the great increase of socialist sentiment. It is scarcely necessary to point out how within the last year and a half socialism has invaded every field of thought and action,—has not only broken the “conspiracy of silence,” but has made itself the principal topic in much of the literature of even its worst enemies.

The recent move of Gompers in the Trade Unions, his demand that organized labor should now enter politics, and his call for a “campaign fund,” are all indications that the socialist sentiment is making itself felt. These indications also, especially when taken in connection with the literature of the Civic Federation and the emanations of William Randolph Hearst, show part of what has all the appearance of a wide-spread plot to side-track socialist sentiment. Gompers and Hearst have made an alliance, as shown by the recent editorials in the “Federationist” and the sudden cessation of the attacks on Gompers in the Hearst papers. The next step will undoubtedly be the attempt to place in the field “labor tickets” wherever there is any possibility of disrupting the socialist party.

Meantime Hearst keeps up a continuous campaign of lying against prominent socialists in the hope of bringing to his aid the anti-socialist Catholic church, or at least such portion of its membership as are inclined toward radicalism.

All this, however, must be extremely temporary in its effect. The great forces which are giving rise to the present socialist movement are too powerful and extensive to bear manipulation in this sort of ward-politics style.

If the Socialist Party is to meet this emergency and rise to the opportunity which present conditions are offering, the first necessity is a strong party organization. This is being steadily developed. The national office has more organizers in the field and a greater income from dues than it had in the midst of the last presidential campaign. It is for the socialists to decide whether the income for the campaign fund will reach an amount adequate to the tremendous demands that are being made upon the national organization. The National Committee has decided to employ a campaign manager who shall devote his entire time to the organization of the work of agitation.

After all the main work of the campaign will be done in the state

and local organizations. There are some states where the fight is of special significance. Colorado and Idaho at once come to mind in this connection. In nominating Comrade Haywood for governor, the socialists of Colorado have done one of those splendid striking things that sound the bugle call for action.

The national office is prepared to send several organizers into each of these two states during the campaign. From various other directions the activity in these states is receiving national support.

The socialists of Illinois are preparing to run a daily paper during the last two weeks of the campaign, which should mean much for the movement in that state. The trade unionists of several states have already replied to Gompers call for political action by declaring that the Socialist Party is a good enough labor party for them.

This general survey shows how encouraging is the outlook. With a proper effort the socialist vote this fall should place the United States well up in the foremost ranks of the International Socialist Army.

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Seldom does a parliamentary speech rise to the importance of an international event, yet from the tributes which have been paid to it by both friend and foe there can be no doubt that the speech of Comrade Jaures in the French Chamber of Deputies a few weeks ago partakes of this character. The speech was delivered in response to a challenge to do something besides criticise. He sets forth the socialist position with a fullness and accuracy that makes it a valuable propaganda document even aside from the wonderful eloquence of form in which he closed his arguments.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, in accordance with its custom, to present to its readers in the best possible form the events of international socialism, at once communicated with Comrade Jaures, asking him for a complete and accurate copy of his speech. This has just come to hand and will appear in our next number. This will make the September issue of special value for propaganda purposes as well as of more than ordinary interest to socialists. Those desiring extra copies must order them in advance as but few additional copies to those demanded by our subscribers are printed each month.

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Comrade Hayes calls attention to one phase of the Gompers' political policy which deserves a further thought. This is the effect which the attempt to hang on to the tails of both political dogs, must have in disrupting the A. F. of L. It is perfectly true that "politics in the union" is a disrupting force, if "politics" is taken in the sense in which Gompers and Co. always use the word, i. e. capitalist politics.

This recent phase is but one additional sign of the process of disintegration, which those who founded the I. W. W. saw, or at least thought they saw, in the A. F. of L. If the I. W. W. at its coming convention proceeds to clear out the crowd of jaw-fighting disruptionists that followed De Leon into that organization, and becomes a bona-fide labor organization, such as is constituted by the Western Federation of Miners and some other branches of the organization, it will play the part which its founders intended it to play in the American labor movement. We believe that this will be done and that subsequent events will justify the foresight and judgment of those who have recently been so roundly denounced for their I. W. W. affiliations.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## RUSSIA.

The labor group in the Douma has issued the following manifesto:  
"On the 28th of May the government has sent its reply to the address of the Douma. You know comrades, laborers, what the Douma demanded. You know now how the government has answered.

"The Douma demanded amnesty—the government has refused it. The Douma demanded freedom of speech, of press, the right of strike, union and assembly, the inviolability of person, the abolition of the death penalty, of the state of war and siege—the government has rejected all of these.

"The Douma demanded universal suffrage—the government refused it.

"The Douma demanded that the crown lands and the lands of the cabinet, church, cloister and the great landlords should be transferred to the hands of the peasants—the government refused this. The government declared that it would not be permitted to interfere with private possession of land. The government promised no law for the benefit of the working class, that would better their miserable condition.

"After this reply to their demands the Douma unanimously voted its lack of confidence in the present ministry and demanded that a new ministry should be created of persons favorable to the program set forth in the reply of the Douma.

"Comrades, Workers! We, the labor representatives in the Douma have voted together with the whole Douma against the present government. Naturally the working class would add much to the demands which the Douma has made. Nevertheless there was much in the Douma address that is indispensable to the whole people and to the working class. Therefore we thought it to be our duty to protest with them.

"A conflict has arisen between the imperial Douma and the government, which sooner or later must end with the downfall of the government. But the cause of the people can only conquer when the whole people unite in the battle which the Douma has begun.

"Comrades, Workers! You now see that the Douma cannot help the people so long as the government robs it of all the rights of true popular representation. You see now that every good beginning of the Douma will be shattered on the personal domination of the government. This government is controlled by the great possessing classes of the country and these same people utilize our entire helplessness and all these exceptional laws (state of war and siege) in order to maintain the peasants and the laborers in slavery and subjection.

"These people, nobility, officials and higher clericals hold in their

hand the absolute domination of the country and prevent Russia from taking a single step on the road to freedom. A powerless Douma along side of a bureaucracy is not capable of meeting the demands of the people, but only a powerful constitutional government, based upon universal, direct and equal suffrage without distinction of religion, race, or sex can meet the problem. The surrender of all power to these representatives for the purpose of fighting is a duty at the present time of every citizen, and we, representatives of the working class, will energetically strive to prepare the Douma for the calling of such a constituent assembly.

"And you, comrades, workers, must also prepare yourselves to support the Douma in its conflict with the government and to defend your interests. Close up your ranks! Explain to the unconscious masses the conflict between the Douma and the government.

"Organize yourselves! Unite! Gather your powers, you will need them!

"Organize and unite without giving any provocation, without unnecessary conflict with the powers that be. Do not permit any proletarian blood to be shed unnecessarily.

"The most essential thing now is that all Russia, little and great, thoroughly understand the meaning of this conflict between the Douma and the government.

"At the same time express your innermost feelings, comrades, laborers. Adopt resolutions at your meetings and assemblies and send them to your representatives. We labor representatives need these as a support in our struggle against the government.

"Long live the union of the working class!

"Long live the power and the freedom of the people!"

Signed by the labor representatives of the Douma.

The dissolution of the Douma and the consequent momentary reaction has thrown matters in such confusion in Russia that it is impossible for us to give any news that would not be rendered ancient by the daily press almost as soon as the REVIEW would reach its readers. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the present is an extremely unstable stage. Yet socialists must be on their guard against expecting too quick action. About a year ago it was stated in these columns that it would probably be fully eighteen months before there would even be any definite lining up of the contending forces, and the present news brings no reason to shorten this period. The great size and composite population and the backward industrial conditions in Russia render any sudden action improbable, if not impossible. The most probable outlook at the present time would seem to be that there would be over six months to a year of skirmishing with terrorism on one side and judicial murders on the other, but with a steady growth of revolutionary sentiment and a steady weakening of the defences of bureaucracy.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland seems to be the only country in Europe that is in the full grasp of reaction. Nearly every proposal of radical action has been rejected, and recently the police of the city government of Zurich have lent their assistance to the Russian agents in the capture of Russian revo-

lutionists residing in that city. This violation of the traditional right of asylum, which has been so long maintained in Switzerland, may possibly prove the last straw that shall rouse the working class of Switzerland to what is being done. These events are especially interesting in view of the statements that are being circulated by some pseudo socialists in the United States to the effect that Switzerland is on the high road to socialism.

#### ENGLAND.

The work of educating the workers and especially the younger ones, is something with which the socialists of all countries are more and more occupying themselves. In England Ruskin College, located at Oxford, is receiving the support of the trade unions for this purpose. Engineers, railroad workers, weavers and some other trade unions contributed to its maintenance, as well as endowing one or more scholarships. In 1906 there were forty students in attendance, of which 35 were members of trade unions.

The principal subjects taught are sociology, evolution, logic, ethics, elocution, history of industry and social movements, administration, etc. Each student supported by the trade union is required to send a weekly report of his work to his union. The whole spirit of Ruskin College is socialistic, although it is not directly controlled by any socialist organization. A correspondence department has reached 6,500 students since its establishment.

#### GERMANY.

Steadily the German socialist movement grows in strength. This is shown by the elections, in the growth of party membership and the circulation of the press. For instance, at a recent election in Hamburg, the socialists elected their candidate by 31,000 votes against 30,596 for all the other candidates combined.

In the various municipal elections socialist gains are reported. In Hanover the first socialist has been sent to the municipal council. In Baden the socialists were successful in municipal elections in several cities. The congress of Schleswig-Holstein, which has just been held, reported that the membership had increased from 8,500 to 16,000 during the year past. This gain was in face of the fact that police prosecution had been much more rigorous than heretofore.

#### POLAND.

The Polish congress which met during the last of May at Lemburg showed a steady increase in all phases of activity. The party press has made great progress in spite of the fact that the total imprisonment of socialist editors during the year amounted to nearly forty years.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The new (or rather, the played-out and resurrected) political policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies" is to be given a practical test this and next month. Congressman Littlefield, of Maine, is to be made to feel the displeasure of President Gompers and his advisors in the A. F. of L. who subscribe to his methods of freeing the working class from the yoke of capitalism. Mr. Gompers has announced his intention of visiting Littlefield's district in person and taking charge of the campaign against that worthy. Not only will he make ten or twelve speeches, but it is reported that a score or more of A. F. of L. organizers will invade such industrial centers as Lewiston, Bath, Rockland, Vinal Haven and other places to appeal to the laboring people to turn down Littlefield. Stuart Reid, the A. F. of L.'s crack organizer, who has been up in Maine for several months ostensibly to unionize the clam diggers and lobster trappers, has been putting in some hard knocks against Littlefield. The notorious F. G. R. Gordon has also loomed up at Lewiston, although it is not quite clear who is paying him. Gordon was formerly a member of the Socialist Party, and when he knew not where to lay his head or secure the next meal the Haverhill comrades took him in, and "Jim" Carey housed, fed and clothed him. He displayed his gratitude by attempting to sow seeds of dissension in the party and even went so far as to butt into family relations. When the true character of the fellow was understood the atmosphere in and about Haverhill became very chilly for Mr. Gordon and he packed his box of collars and departed. Then he joined the Avery-Goldstein combine of "Childrenless Parents" fame and lined up with anybody and everybody who antagonized socialism and had a sandwich to give out. One day Gordon bobbed up in Haverhill and started a paper called the *Million*, which was said to have been subsidized by the late lamented Economic League, an organization into which a select few plutocrats were coaxed to furnish the graft to "smash socialism." Gordon did his share to defeat "Jim" Carey, the only man who fought in the Massachusetts Legislature for every bill introduced by the labor organizations of that state. He played the ingrate, the Judas, but without the decency to hang himself. When boodle ceased to be forthcoming the *Million* disappeared and Gordon dropped out of sight. Now he turns up in Maine and is attempting to disrupt the socialist movement in the interest of Gillicuddy, the democratic candidate.

To support republicans in Massachusetts and democrats in Maine may be the true Gompersian policy, but how any self-respecting citizen can hope to preserve a decent reputation by pursuing such tactics is past comprehension. That Littlefield is a cold-blooded plutocrat and deserves to be defeated no socialist will dispute, but there is nothing gained by jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. Political history of this country

proves that whenever democrats were needed to assist the privileged few whose interests are usually safeguarded by the republicans they were forthcoming. If the democrats in Congress were sincere friends of labor, as they have pretended to be for lo, these many years — even when the southern element claimed the right to own as well as rob human beings — why did they not demand from the floor of the House and Senate that the labor bill be reported. They could have blocked legislation every day in the week and kicked up such disturbances that the old fossilized Cannon, Littlefield, Grosvenor & Co. would have been forced to yield or go before the country unmasked as labor's inveterate enemies, which they are secretly. I wish to repeat what I have said before, and which must be patent to every trade unionist who stops to think, and that is, if we are to support republicans in one district and democrats in another as "friends of labor," ignoring the self-evident fact that both old parties uphold and defend capitalism and enforce rules of caucus, we shall not only continue to meet with disappointments, but, worse still, dissension and disruption is bound to spread through the ranks. The Knights of Labor disintegrated because they wasted time and effort in attempting to decide whether the pot was blacker than the kettle. Cheap skate boodlers and ward-healers crept in everywhere and for a time they fairly reveled in clover as they picked out this "good man" and that "enemy." Bitter debates were followed by physical encounters, and in more than one city that might be mentioned rival leagues and associations were formed to deliver the so-called labor vote. Certainly the non-political or neutral policy that has been pursued by the A. F. of L. ever since its inception was much more safe and sane than the present confusion that is becoming manifest in various parts of the country where capitalistic politics is being played by unionists. If Gompers and his lieutenants did not want to form a distinct labor party or join the socialist movement they should have kept their hands out of politics altogether. Gompers points to the success of the British trade unionist and tries to twist the methods they pursued as a sort of endorsement of his present policy. He overlooks the fact that as a rule the leading labor men in Great Britain refused to take the platform in favor of the capitalistic politicians of the Conservative and Liberal parties. Furthermore those laborites who were elected on the Liberal ticket are by no means the beau ideals of the British working class. As a matter of fact it is the independent group, the men of the Labor Representation Committee, the Independent Labor Party and Social Democratic Federation, whose chairman is J. Keir Hardie — that is most popular with the working people and wields the greatest influence in Parliament.

But to return to the Maine fight. When it was announced that the American Federation of Labor would flood the district with organizers and speakers, Littlefield declared in an interview that he welcomed their opposition, and that his constituents knew him and were not likely to be stampeded. It is further reported that Cannon and other big and little guns of the G. O. P. were to be imported to make speeches and that the National Association of Manufacturers and other labor-hating organizations and individuals stood ready to contribute unlimited funds "to teach the labor agitators a lesson." One of the best informed labor men in New England, who is a national executive and no socialist, by the way, said to me, in discussing the Maine situation a few days ago: "I am sincerely sorry that Gompers was so shortsighted as to go up into Maine to make a test with his political scheme. Littlefield owns his district outright. He has a majority behind him that is almost invulnerable, and then again he will attract the sympathy and support of every anti-unionist in his district and the whole country. If he is re-elected in September the present policy of labor in politics will be ridiculed from the Atlantic

to the Pacific and our people will become proportionately discouraged Gompers should have made his experiment in several close districts this fall, and where organized labor is stronger than in the little middle class towns of Maine. Even if he had unofficially spoken a few favorable words for your socialists, who seem to be increasing in numbers everywhere, he wouldn't have lost anything, for your party appears to be making gains in the face of all obstacles and is bound to make a big stride forward this year if signs of the times count for anything."

In addition to the fight that is to be waged against Littlefield many other prominent members of Congress are singled out for attack by Gompers and his friends. Among them are Speaker Cannon, Payne, the republican floor leader; Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; Charles Landis, of Indiana; Jenkins, of Wisconsin; Parker, of New Jersey. All of these gents were particularly conspicuous in sinking their knives into the eight-hour and anti-injunction bills. Old Grosvenor, of Ohio, who also did his share to block favorable legislation, after having posed as a "friend of labor" for a quarter of a century, being returned term after term from a mining district, has been retired by his own party, and now some other "friend" will do the humbugging as long as the miners stick to the grand old party. The political experiment will, of course, cost a pretty good bunch of money, but 'twill be worth it. Along in November Mr. Gompers and those who believe as he does, will know just about where they stand.

Meantime the socialist party will move along the even tenor of its way. The comrades in Maine intend to fight their battle against the field as they have always done. The same condition will exist in all districts throughout the country. The socialists are not monkeying around with capitalistic politicians, who are all alike, differing perhaps only in degree. The socialists don't intend to allow their party organization to go by the board just because some would-be Moses suddenly bobs up somewhere with some hair-brained scheme to prolong capitalistic exploitation for a mess of pottage. No labor political movement amounts to a hill of beans that does not accept the principles of socialism. This fact has been proven over and over again and only lately in California, where the so-called Union Labor party in San Francisco is in disintegration. Schmitz, Reuf & Co. were merely republicans in disguise and are handing out franchises and special privileges to their capitalistic masters just like other boodle politicians have done before them.

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Judging from the manner in which union people throughout the country are discussing politics and taking action in favor of one plan or another the claims of the socialists, who have declared all along that the problems of labor must be solved ultimately at the ballot-box, are being vindicated. It is immaterial just at this juncture whether the great majority of the trade unionists affiliate with the socialist movement or strike out independently, or reward our friends and punish our enemies through the old parties. The point is that the old cry, "keep politics out of the union," has been muzzled, perhaps forever, thanks to the action of the A. F. of L. executive board, whether it was good, bad or indifferent. For years the socialists have been handicapped in their attempts to point out to their fellow-workers in local unions and national conventions the necessity of capturing the powers of government to overthrow capitalism, but now the bars are being leveled, politics is the order of the day and already overshadows industrial issues, locally at least. Now when the indifferent or former reactionary member rises in his seat and opines that we ought to stick together politically, carry our grievances to the ballot-box, question candidates, reward our friends and punish our enemies, the "red-but-



ton" brother can follow with his philosophy, and the one who has the logic, the information and plans that appeals to the common sense of the members will receive the sympathy and support sooner or later. The republican and democratic brethren may split hairs relating to the alleged friendliness or antagonism of their respective parties and candidates as much as they please, but it will be the socialist who will have plenty of ammunition to shoot both old parties to pieces and by appealing to reason will make excellent propaganda for the world's working class movement. Indeed, it will be the socialists alone who will, in reality, be able to save the trade unions from disruption, when the republican and democratic brethren start "rough house" as they did a generation ago, by uttering a plague upon both their houses. It will be the socialist party member, too, who will hold up to the ridicule and scorn of people possessing common sense the fallacy of workmen pulling hair over the alleged merits of the A. F. of L. and I. W. W. in the purely industrial field endeavors. But the most encouraging feature of all is the fact, which is already being demonstrated and will become plainer in the future, that the political movement will get ahead of its leaders. The rank and file may go into the rewarding and punishing business for a campaign or two, they may even dally with so-called labor parties for a time, but the open shop fanatics and the widespread agitation started by "muck-rakers," as well as other political, economic and social developments of more or less importance, will cause the masses of organized men to gravitate toward the only political party that has a program and a goal that cannot be misunderstood. This is a golden opportunity for the socialists who are members of trade unions to arm themselves with bundles of literature and to break in as speakers and proselyte for their cause. Already in a number of places organized laboring men have made official announcements that show the drift and what has been accomplished. In St. Louis, for example, the central body discussed Gompers' call to go into politics at a representative special meeting and wound up by advising the membership to support the socialist party rather than play with the capitalistic parties or start a new movement. It is pretty certain that Milwaukee will stand pat for socialism, and it is likewise probable that no capitalistic politicians will be endorsed or a new party launched in Cleveland. In Chicago and New York independent movements have been endorsed by the central bodies, but strong minority factions are laboring to convert the workers to the socialist view of conditions. In many smaller places labor parties have been started or the socialist party was endorsed, and doubtless during the next couple of months the political pot will boil in every part of the country so far as the labor element is concerned. This is an interesting epoch in American working class history. No socialist can afford to regard the coming political upheaval with indifference. With but slight effort on the part of the 25,000 members of the Socialist Party we can double and treble the membership, and it wouldn't require a hundred thousand enrolled members to put the Gompsonian pure and simple capitalistic political scheme out of business forever. It's up to socialist everywhere to get busy!

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN, by John Spargo. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 337 pages, \$1.50.

"The burden and blight of poverty fall most heavily upon the children." This opening sentence of Comrade Spargo's work is expanded throughout the pages which follow. This poverty of which he complains is not the poverty which now and then gives rise to a sensational case of starvation: "It is the chronic underfeeding day after day, month after month, year after year. . . . There may be food sufficient as to quantity but qualitatively poor and almost wholly lacking in nutritive value."

Under these conditions "Poverty and Death are grim companions. . . . As we ascend the social scale, the span of life lengthens and the death rate greatly diminishes. The death rate of the poorest class of workers being three and one-half times as great as that of the well-to-do." "Harmless diseases," which are only jokes among those for whom an adequate income provides proper care, are death-dealing scourges amidst the poor. Poverty curses the babe unborn and begins at birth to slowly strangle its chance of life. Yet in spite of parental poverty the children come into the world well nigh equal. This fact is one which has been generally overlooked and one which it is fortunate that the author emphasizes, since it effectually does away with the argument founded upon a sort of predestination.

After an examination of the much discussed figures of Robert Hunter, supplemented by extensive original investigation in which it was discovered that many of the children in New York were actually too hungry to eat wholesome food, he finally comes to the conclusion that "all the data available tend to show that no less than two million children of school age in the United States are the victims of poverty which denies them common necessities, particularly adequate nourishment."

From the school child he proceeds to a consideration of the "Working Child." "Children have always worked, but it is only since the reign of the machine that their work has been synonymous with slavery." The co-operative family handicraft of a century and more ago was educative, helpful and subject to the parental interest and affection.

Once more an examination of official statistics, supplemented by a study at first hand, shows that previous estimates of child labor have almost uniformly been too low and the author finally concludes that "it would I think be quite within the mark to say that the number of child-workers under fifteen years is at least 2,250,000." Several of various industries in which this quota of child-slaves toil are examined. The lot of the working child in the textile industries, north and south, the glass factories and the Pennsylvania coal breakers are sketched, as well as that

of the little toilers in the canning factories of the open country and the sweat shops of the great city.

The physical defects of child labor are almost invariably injurious. "It is a certain and indisputable fact that where children are employed, the most unhealthy work is given them." Their lungs are choked with powder blasts and clouds of lint dust, or devoured with the alkaline powder of soap factories; they are stifled in the artificial moisture of spinning and weaving rooms, or dyed like cloth, in the great color vats of the dye factories. They inhale the poisonous fumes from varnish, or die with the "phossy-jaw" of the match factory. Thus modern industry, like a great cannibal, devours the children of the workers.

The moral atmosphere of the factory reeks with a rottenness only comparable to the physical fumes which some of these industries give forth.

Yet the working child is wholly unnecessary in modern society and only exists because "cheap production is the maxim of success in industry and a plentiful supply of cheap labor is a powerful contributor to that end. Even under capitalism, machinery can be substituted for children in many cases. "There is no need of human street sweepers, . . . any more than there is need of little boys working in the glass factories. . . . In each case machinery has been invented to do the work." But it is a question of profits and when profits run contrary to human life, lives must give way. It is not the parents who are to blame for child labor, as some of our bourgeois philanthropists would have us believe, but rather the "poverty of the poor." In many cases the trifling earnings of the child mean just the difference between passing over the margin of physical suffering and the maintenance of a fairly healthy animal existence.

The chapter on "Remedial Measures" is apologized for by the author, and we cannot but feel that the criticism which he anticipates from the socialists is deserved, and that a few pages given to show the fundamental changes necessary to meet the problems he has posited would have added much value to the book. However the remedies which he suggests would certainly accomplish much to blunt the edge of the suffering of the children of the poor while capitalism lasts. Beginning at birth, he would insist on competently trained midwives, the establishment of municipal crèches with a publicly controlled milk supply and systematic education of mothers. For the school child he refers us to the school kitchens established by the socialists of Europe; while for the general problem of child labor, he outlines a plan of more stringent and effective legislation.

The book as a whole will rank along side of Hunter's "Poverty" as a store house of facts for socialist workers.

THE COST OF COMPETITION, by Sidney A. Reeve. McClure, Phillips & Co. Cloth, 617 pp. \$2.00.

Had the author of this work frankly admitted the Marxian foundation for most of his premises, and accepted the already established phraseology for the subject-matter of his treatise the result would have been much more intelligible to the average reader, and a greater contribution to political economy. Laying aside these defects, which after all are superficial, even if of considerable importance, the book is a valuable analysis of some phases of the present economic system. Never has the waste that accompanies the production and distribution of commodities under capitalism been as fully stated. Although there is a conscious effort to avoid definite statement it is plain that the writer is a socialist in all fundamental theoretical points. It is almost impossible to summarize the book because of its condensed character and its free use of diagrams.

He concludes that "the average cost of competition is at least twice that of production," and from the data presented this seems like an over-modest estimate.

*MAKING OF THE WORLD*, by Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer, translated by Ernest Untermann. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth 150 pages, 50 cents.

This companion volume to "The End of the World," is a survey of the astronomical and geological processes, which according to scientific hypotheses contribute to the origin of the earth. Beginning with a study of existing nebulae, the structure of which is made clear by some excellent photographs, the author proceeds to a discussion of the processes of gaseous condensation from which a solid body was to finally evolve. The various geological stages with their more striking characteristics are swiftly sketched.

As a small entertaining sketch of some phases of geology, this book cannot but be of great value. That the theory of La Place is adhered to throughout and no mention is made of the Planetesimal Theory is perhaps the only criticism that could be made. The translation, as are all those of Comrade Untermann, is thoroughly well done.

*LOOKING FORWARD, A Treatise on the Status of Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State*, by Philip Rappaport. In the *International Library of Social Science*. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 234 pages, \$1.00.

One impression will be certainly gained by every reader of this work and that is that all institutions are in the process of change and that that change is governed by evolutionary laws. The chapters on "The Status of Woman" and "The Family" are largely based on the work of Morgan and Engels, although considerable new matter is introduced, especially with regard to present conditions and American history. The discussion of divorce on the other hand is almost exclusively an examination of existing conditions and seems to be almost the only chapter in which the evolutionary idea is not developed. His discussion on the state supplies a much needed condensation of the history of the evolution of that institution. Hitherto discussions of this subject have either been fragmentary or too voluminous for the ordinary reader. The final chapters on the "Modern Economic System" and "Conclusion" gives the orthodox socialist treatment of industrial life and its probable outcome.

The author has succeeded in condensing a great amount of valuable information into a comparatively small compass and the book must long continue to be a reference work for the every-day socialist agitator who has not the time to go to original resources.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### Socialist Books in Press or Lately Published.

#### MARX'S "CAPITAL."

During the last four years our co-operative publishing house has been circulating an increasing number of copies of the London edition of the first volume of Marx's "Capital." The demand for this book is now so large that it becomes possible for us to issue an edition of our own. Moreover, through the generosity of Comrade Eugene Dietzgen, Comrade Ernest Untermann has been enabled to give most of his time for more than a year to the translation of the second and third volumes of Marx's work, which as yet have never appeared in the English language.

We have already closed our contract for the printing of the first volume and the work will be completed within a few weeks. Just what this volume contains and does not contain is clearly explained in the following "Editorial Note" by Comrade Untermann, which will be pre-fixed to the volume when it appears.

#### EDITOR'S NOTE TO THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

The original plan of Marx, as outlined in his preface to the first German edition of "Capital" in 1867, was to divide his work into three volumes. Volume I was to contain Book I, "The Process of Capitalist Production." Volume II was scheduled to comprise both Book II, "The Process of Capitalist Circulation" and Book III, "The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole." The work was to close with volume III, containing Book IV, "A History of Theories of Surplus-Value."

When Marx proceeded to elaborate his work for publication, he had the essential portions of all three volumes, with a few exceptions, worked out in their main analyses and conclusions, but in a very loose and unfinished form. Owing to ill health, he completed only Volume I. He died on March 14, 1883, just when a third German edition of this volume was being prepared for the printer.

Frederick Engels, the intimate friend and co-operator of Marx, stepped into the place of his dead comrade and proceeded to complete the work. In the course of the elaboration of Volume II it was found that it would be wholly taken up with Book II, "The Process of Capitalist Circulation." Its first German edition did not appear until May, 1885, almost 18 years after the first volume.

The publication of the third volume was delayed still longer. When the second German edition of Volume II appeared in July, 1893, Engels was still working on Volume III. It was not until October, 1894, that

the first German edition of Volume III was published, in two separate parts, containing the subject matter of what had been originally planned as Book III of Volume II and treating of the "Capitalist Process of Production as a Whole."

The reasons for the delay in the publication of Volumes II and III, and the difficulties encountered in solving the problem of elaborating the copious notes of Marx into a finished and connected presentation of his theories, have been fully explained by Engels in his various prefaces to these two volumes. His great modesty led him to belittle his own share in this fundamental work. As a matter of fact a large portion of the contents of "Capital" is as much a creation of Engels as though he had written it independently of Marx.

Engels intended to issue the contents of the manuscripts for Book IV, originally planned as Volume III, in the form of a fourth volume of "Capital." But on the 6th of August, 1895, less than one year after the publication of Volume III, he followed his co-worker into the grave, still leaving this work incomplete.

However, some years previous to his demise, and in anticipation of such an eventuality, he had appointed Karl Kautsky, the editor of "Die Neue Zeit," the scientific organ of the German Socialist Party, as his successor and familiarized him personally with the subject matter intended for Volume IV of this work. The material proved to be so voluminous, that Kautsky, instead of making a fourth Volume of "Capital" out of it, abandoned the original plan and issued his elaboration as a separate work in two volumes under the title "Theories of Surplus-Value."

The first English translation of the first volume of "Capital" was edited by Engels and published in 1886. Marx had in the meantime made some changes in the text of the second German edition and of the French translation, both of which appeared in 1873, and he had intended to superintend personally the edition of an English version. But the state of his health interfered with this plan. Engels utilized his notes and the text of the French translation.

Owing to the fact that the title page of this English translation (published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) did not distinctly specify that this was but Volume I, it has often been mistaken for the complete work, in spite of the fact that the prefaces of Marx and Engels clearly pointed to the actual condition of the matter.

In 1890, four years after the publication of the first English edition, Engels edited the proofs for a fourth German edition of Volume I and enlarged it still more after a repeated comparison with the French edition and with manuscript notes of Marx. But the Swan Sonnenschein edition did not adopt this new version in its subsequent English issues.

This first American edition will be the first complete English edition of the entire Marxian theories of Capitalist Production. It will contain all three volumes of "Capital" in full. The present Volume I, deals with "The Process of Capitalist Production in the strict meaning of the term 'production.'" Volume II will treat of The process of Capitalist Circulation in the strict meaning of the term "circulation." Volume III will contain the final analysis of The process of Capitalist Production as a Whole, that is of Production and Circulation in their mutual interrelations.

The "Theories of Surplus-Value," Kautsky's elaboration of the posthumous notes of Marx and Engels, will in due time be published in an English translation as a separate work.

This first American edition of Volume I is based on the revised fourth German edition. The text of the English version of the Swan Sonnenschein edition has been compared page for page with this improved German edition, and about ten pages of new text hitherto not rendered in

English are thus presented to American readers. All the footnotes have likewise been revised and brought up to date.

For all further information concerning the technical particulars of this work I refer the reader to the prefaces of Marx and Engels.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

*Orlando, Fla., July 18, 1906.*

This first volume, now in press, will make, including a new topical index, nearly 900 pages, and its publication will involve an immediate outlay of about \$1250. We have until now made no special effort to obtain advance orders for the book, since we prefer not to keep comrades waiting too long for their copies. The work of typesetting is now however so nearly completed that we must face the question of obtaining the large sum of money necessary to pay for the electrotype plates. A large proportion of this sum ought to be raised from the first sales of the book. The retail price will be \$2.00, while the price to stockholders in our co-operative publishing house will be \$1.00 unless the postage or expressage is prepaid by us, in which case it will be \$1.20. The book is one which should be in every socialist library however small and we hope to receive enough advance orders within a very short time to cover nearly, if not quite, the cost of the work.

#### MORGAN'S ANCIENT SOCIETY.

We have to make another announcement only less important than that of our edition of Marx's "Capital". The great work of Lewis H. Morgan, entitled "Ancient Society, or Researches in The Lines of Human Progress From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization," was published nearly thirty years ago and has had a tremendous influence on the social theories of European and American students ever since. Frederick Engels in his little work entitled "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" has summarized the work of Morgan and pointed out the importance of his researches in affording proofs of the socialist theories of the development of society. Morgan's work itself has, however, remained little known, except to special students, and is especially unfamiliar to members of the working class, for the reason that it has always been sold at an extremely high price.

The copyright has now expired and we have closed a contract for the publication of our edition of this great work. We shall reduce the price from \$4.00 to \$1.50, and it will be subject to our usual discount to stockholders, so that by subscribing for stock in this publishing house one can obtain the book at 75c, unless we prepay postage or expressage, in which case it will cost 90c.

#### NEW VOLUMES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

This new library of sociological books in handsome binding retailing at \$1.00 a copy was started at the beginning of 1906, the initial volume being "The Changing Order," by Dr. Oscar Lovell Triggs. Eight volumes have thus far been issued and three more are in preparation. The ninth volume is by Joseph Dietzgen, a writer who was long ago recognized by European socialists as a worthy co-worker of Marx and Engels. His

volume of "Philosophical Essays," which we published in this library a few weeks ago, contains for the most part his shorter and more fragmentary writings. His new volume, which we expect to issue during August, will be entitled "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy" and will contain in addition to the work from which it takes its name, his "Nature of Human Brain Work" and "Letters on Logic." These three books constitute a volume which is by far the best statement yet offered of Materialist Monism, which most international socialists believe to be a logical and necessary part of the socialist philosophy. It is certainly a work that every thoughtful socialist would enjoy studying no matter whether his predisposition may be in favor of or opposed to materialist monism.

The tenth volume of the International Library of Social Science will be "Socialism and Philosophy" by Antonio Labriola, already well known by American socialists from his "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." Labriola's new work is in the form of letters to Sorel, a prominent French socialist who was originally instrumental in bringing Labriola's works to the attention of his countrymen, but who has since then executed several fantastic changes of front. The familiar style of these letters makes them far easier reading than the "Essays."

The eleventh volume will be "The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals" by M. H. Fitch. This work is a critical study of the evolution theory and its applications to social science and ethics. The author reviews the work of Darwin and Spencer, and shows how theology reappears under another form in many who think themselves evolutionists. What we call mind is produced by brain tissue, and morality, like life itself, is a correspondence of the individual with this environment. The author develops and applies this thought in a series of interesting chapters.

### NEW VOLUMES IN THE STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES.

Fourteen volumes in this popular series, retailing at 50 cents, have already been published and three more are in preparation.

The fifteenth will be entitled "Social and Philosophical Studies," by Paul Lafargue of Paris, one of the foremost socialists of Europe and already well known to American readers through his books, "The Evolution of Property," "The Sale of an Appetite" and "Socialism and the Intellectuals" and numerous articles that have appeared in the International Socialist Review. Our original plan was to include in this book a number of these articles, but after the work of translation was under way, comrade Lafargue sent us a book containing a series of studies on the "Origin of Abstract Ideas," which with the "Causes of Belief in God" with which the volume opens, will make a book of the usual size in this series without including any material which has heretofore appeared in the English language. In these studies Lafargue takes as his text Marx's statement: "The mode of production of the physical means of life dominates as a rule the development of the social, political and intellectual life." This guiding principle enables him to show clearly why the capitalist class in civilized countries is usually religious, while the wage workers are irreligious. He also traces the remote origins of the ideas of Justice and Goodness, which serve so useful a purpose in maintaining the capitalist order of things.

The sixteenth volume will be a revised and enlarged edition of "What's So and What Isn't," by John M. Work, which has heretofore been published in pamphlet form by the *Appeal to Reason*. This is distinctively a propaganda book, for those who have thus far read little or nothing on the subject of socialism. The author in his preface disclaims any knowledge of literary style, but he has nevertheless a style which is



remarkably clear and forceful. We know no other book so well adapted to remove certain current misconceptions of socialism.

The seventeenth volume will be Karl Kautsky's latest work, entitled "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," translated by John B. Askew. This work unlike the one just mentioned will deal largely with the questions on which socialists differ to some extent among themselves, and it will be welcomed by every student who desires to keep abreast with the best socialist thought. The author reviews ancient and Christian ethics, the ethics of the Renaissance, the ethic of Kant and the ethic of Darwinism, and devotes the latter half of his book to a comprehensive study of the ethics of Marxism. This work is undoubtedly the most important contribution to the development of the theory of historical materialism that has appeared for several years.

### SOCIALIST FICTION.

The volume of stories by May Beals, entitled, "The Rebel at Large," already announced in these pages, is now ready. These are charming stories, which will at first sight interest readers who know nothing of socialism, while their effect will inevitably be to create a decided interest in the subject on the part of any who are not hopelessly committed to the party of the ruling class. Mechanically, the volume is in the same shape as the Standard Socialist Series, or the Library of Science for the Workers, but is bound in the same cloth used in the International Library of Social Science, and has a new and distinctive cover design.

The same design is used in the second edition of "God's Children" by James Allman, which has just been published. This "Modern Allegory" is one of the most vigorous arguments against capitalism ever written and the continued demand has made a new edition necessary. Both of these volumes retail at 50c, with the usual terms to stockholders.

### AS TO FINANCES.

The book sales for July did not quite reach the phenomenal figure for June, but they amount to \$1,278.14, as compared with \$787.62 for July 1905. The receipts from the sale of stock last month were \$277.62, as compared with \$153.15 in July 1905. The receipts of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW last month were \$148.45, a slight gain over the figures of a year ago, which were \$142.82. It will be thus seen that the problem of ways and means for continuing the REVIEW has yet to be solved, since its publication costs \$200 a month.

Just at present, however, the immediate problem is the raising of about \$3,000, which will be required within the next few weeks, for the publication of the new books which are in press. Nearly the whole of this sum can readily be raised from the sale of the books themselves, if every reader of this announcement will send promptly for such books as interest him. Those who are not already subscribers for stock will find that their book money will go much further in the long run by subscribing for a share and thus getting the special discounts to which shareholders are entitled. The money received for stock is all used for the purpose of making electrotypes of new books, and each new stockholder at once gets the privilege of buying at a discount the books which had previously been published with the capital subscribed by others. The number of stockholders now stands at 1428.

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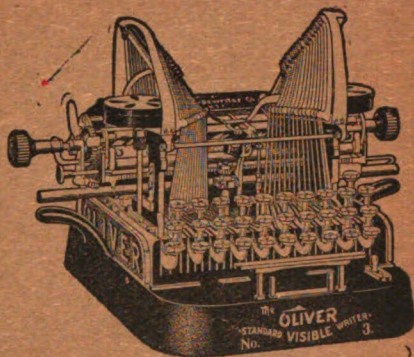
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# The International Socialist Review

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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NO. 3

## The Program of Socialism. \*

**M.** RANC recalled this morning the words uttered by Blanqui in 1869: "Socialist thought is still in the critical period."

Very well, it cannot abandon its role of critic of the evils of existing society, but I think that to the degree that the theoretical investigation of the Socialist Party is extended, to the degree that the political representation of the working-class increases in Parliament, and its economic organization outside, socialism should also function as an organic force.

And this is why I have tried in a few words to sketch now and here a complete solution. In order to do this with any effect and with any dignity it is necessary that I have the complete attention of the Chamber and I ask you therefore not to interrupt me with continuous questions, anticipating my thought and thereby preventing an explanation which is only possible if it is produced in some sequence and with some liberty. (*"Good, good, speak, speak."*)

If then, gentlemen, I have declared that it is impossible to say with certainty how in the midst of a social transformation, in the midst of a social revolution, general expropriation of capitalist property may be brought about; whether it shall be with compensation or without compensation, this is not due to any

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\* In response to a challenge from the Minister of the Interior, Clemenceau, to supplement destructive criticism of the Ministry with a constructive plan Comrade Jaures proceeded to set forth the entire socialist position in one of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered in a legislative body. The first half of the speech is largely confined to a criticism of the measures of the ministry in crushing the recent miners' strike, and in showing the concentration of wealth in France. As this matter is of less interest to American readers, we have taken the liberty of omitting it, thereby shortening the speech nearly one-half.—Ed.

underlying uncertainty of my thought, or to my own doubts. It is because in these matters programs, even the most clear, the most complete and the most deliberate, are subject to the force of events. (*"Good, good," from the extreme Left.*)

You have had a proof of this in the great French Revolution, which commenced by decreeing expropriation with compensation, the purchase of most of the feudal rights, and which at last, drawn on and exasperated by battle, proceeded to this expropriation without compensation.

And you are seeing, gentlemen, at this very moment in which I speak an analogous crisis at the other end of Europe. There is there a great assemblage, the first national assemblage of the Russian people, which is considering methods of giving the earth to the peasants through great expropriations. The directing parties of this assemblage propose to give the earth to the peasants through the expropriation, with compensation, of the great private estates. Gentlemen, it is not for them to tie the future to this formula: they will accomplish their aim if liberty is established upon a base of legal evolution; but if the blind resistance to power brings about uprisings and *jacqueries*, it is probable that expropriation will take other forms.

This is the reservation which I have made for myself. I have neither the foolishness nor the wickedness to pretend to determine in advance the conditions of the working-class in the world of labor. I know and I proclaim that the right to work is sovereign and I will associate myself in whatever hour that the world of labor wishes to formulate this new society,—I will join myself with all my heart and all my mind to any effort necessary to the transformation. (*Applause from the extreme Left.*) But I have the right, before parliament, before the proletariat, to set forth as a hypothesis a legal transformation and a regular and peaceful evolution, because I maintain passionately that this hypothesis may be realized, and I shall work for it, we will always work for it, my friends and I.... (*from the extreme Left, "All of us, all of us"*), and all of our forces will associate themselves with the policy of democracy and the reforms which increase the legal power and the definite means of action of the working-class. It is with this thought, it is with this hope, that I invoke the authority, freely, endorsed by our own reason, of all the socialist theoreticians who have under the most diverse conditions and in the interest of the social revolution, advised expropriation with compensation. Marx, himself, according to Engels, spoke these strong words: "Even if we may proceed by compensation, the revolution will be cheap." It was his opinion that it might be possible to carry on these transactions without suspending for a single moment the productive activity of the country. What Marx has thus formulated, Kautsky has inter-

preted in his commentary upon the socialist platform of Erfurt, in saying, "Expropriation does not necessarily signify spoliation." In the same sense our friend Vandervelde has expressed himself, and I ask permission of the Chamber to put before your eyes the striking and powerful page which has been bequeathed to international socialism by Liebknecht:

"Social Democracy is the party of all the people, with the exception of 200,000 great capitalists, country lords, bourgeois and priests. It is then toward the whole people that we ought to turn, whenever an occasion is offered to furnish them practical propositions and projects of law of general interest, as a proof of the fact that the good of the people is our only end, and the will of the people our only law. Without violence to anyone, but with firm purpose and unchangeable will, we ought to go forward on the road of legislation. Even those who are to-day enjoying privileges and monopolies ought to be made to understand that we do not propose any violence or sudden measure against the situation sanctioned by law, and that we are resolved in the interest of a quiet and peaceful revolution to bring about the transition from legal injustice to legal justice, with the greatest possible care for the persons and the conditions of the privileged and the monopolists. We recognize that there would be an injustice in rendering those, who are placed in a privileged situation, supported by bad legislation, personally responsible for this bad legislation and to punish them for it. We expressly declare that it is in our opinion a duty of the state to give to those who may be injured in their interests by the necessary abolition of laws hurtful to the common interests as much of a compensation as is possible and is reconcilable with the interests of the whole. We have a higher conception of the duty of the state to individuals than our adversaries and we ought not to deviate from it, even when we have our adversaries in front of us."

Gentlemen, it is in this spirit that we approach the problem, and it is in this spirit that we demand of you, "How are you going to proceed to the social transformation?"

How are you going to take away from the privileged class the means of production which they control and which are in fact instruments of domination and exploitation over the mass of the proletariat?

How are you going to do it, gentlemen? You may do it without disorder, without violence, without spoliation, without confusion; you may do it by legal and social means which are now at your disposal. You have the power now, if you wish to make an end of the regime of classes, of exploitation of labor by capital, of man by man, if you wish now to apply to all capitalist property the law which is in your codes, the law of expropriation in the interest of the public welfare, by means of a just and rea-



sonable compensation. (*Applause at the extreme Left, disorder in the Center and the Right, and in several seats at the Left.*)

It is for the public welfare that the mines, the forests, the great estates should no longer be the exclusive property of a minority; it is for the public good that society should no longer be divided into two classes: one class possessing all the means of production, and the other permitted to use the strength of its arms only by accepting conditions the first of which is paying tribute; it is for the public welfare that labor should no longer be a perpetual matter of struggle between capitalists and wage workers.

The other day M. Millerand, when he laid his proposal concerning compulsory arbitration and collective bargaining before this body, said that it was necessary as much as possible to put an end to strikes, which are an economic civil war. But economic civil war does not find its only expression in the superficial phenomena of the strike. It is at the very foundation of society, (*"That's right, that's right," from the extreme Left*) it is at the very bottom of the system of property, which gives power to one class and compels obedience by the other. (*Applause at extreme Left.*) Economic civil war, social war, will continue, sometimes open, sometimes concealed, sometimes violent, sometimes quiet, but always with the same sufferings, the same exasperations, the same evils, so long as the world of production is disputed over by two antagonistic forces. There are no means, (you are listening to me, gentlemen), of definitely reconciling these forces. You may palliate the conflicts, you may deaden the shocks, yet you cannot remove the fundamental permanent antagonisms resulting from just these privileges of property. There is only one way to abolish this antagonism, and that is to re-absorb capital into labor; it is so to arrange things that there will be only one possessing and directing force, and that the creative force of labor. (*Applause at extreme Left.*)

If ever there was an object of the public welfare, it is certainly this. If ever there was an object and interest which justified the intervention of law in the transformation of property, it is this object, it is this interest. It is we who were in the right when we said to you: after having used the law of expropriation in the interest of public welfare to the profit of capital, after having made this law serve the purpose of permitting capital to throw its railroads across the fields of the peasants and to permit capital to erect vast structures in your great cities; after having made use of this law for the profit and power of capitalists, the hour has come when you must make use of it for the advantage of labor which now demands its rights.

M. de Baudry d'Asson.—Go say this to the peasants, they will respond.

*Jaures.*—Gentlemen, there are only two alternatives, whether you are blind to it or not. This transformation is inevitable. You cannot maintain the society of today, it is perishable, it is condemned, and it can disappear either by the brutal force of blind violence, or by the regulating and conciliating force of law; and when I tell you that it is by making use of this law of expropriation in the interest of the public welfare, which is in your codes, that you may transform society; I am trying on my part to remove even the possibility and even the attempt at spoliation and at solutions through violence.

The compensation which may be given by society to the holders of capital, expropriated for the profit of the collectivity of the workers, this compensation will be logically determined by the nature of the new society.

Today these values may be used by their holders for the purpose of purchasing the means of production and profit,—factories, land to be rented, titles to income; or they may be used to purchase the products. In the transformed society, when the private capital of production and exploitation will have been socialized, when the social community will have put at the disposition of the workers the means of production, then the values which have been received as compensation by the capitalists of the old order cannot be used to purchase the means of production, for rent and profit; they can be used only to purchase the products of the transformed social activity. Gentlemen, after the establishment of the law abolishing slavery, the owners of the slaves were no longer able on the morrow to use the compensation to purchase slaves. Very well, when capitalist property will have been socialized, the holders of the compensation will no longer be able to purchase either the means of production or the producers: they can purchase only the products. (*Applause at the extreme Left, disorder at the Center and Right.*)

You are astonished, gentlemen.

*M. Anyard.*—Not at all.

*M. Jules Dansette.*—We are not astonished, we are listening attentively.

*Jaures.*—You are astonished and you have moved about as if you were scandalized at the idea that man could no longer purchase man. (*Applause at extreme Left.*)

(*Interruptions from the Center*)

Thus, gentlemen, I reply to those who have raised the objection, "If in the expropriation of capitalism, you do not give compensation it will be brutal exploitation, and if you do give compensation, it will be the re-establishment of capital." I reply to them that between the values of the socialist society and the values of the capitalist society, there is, as I have shown you, this fundamental difference, that the first are the values of domina-

tion and exploitation, which are reproduced indefinitely at the expense of human labor, by rent, interest and profits, and that these others are values only for consumption and are exhausted in proportion and in degree of their consumption, thereby quickly relieving liberated and organized labor from all burdens. (*Applause at extreme Left.*)

By that time, gentlemen, society will have been transformed, and labor will have been freed without any violence having been done to the habits even of the privileged class. They will have before them a surplus of time which the heirs of the bourgeois revolution did not always give to the clergy and nobility, in order to enable them to adapt themselves to the new regime. Time will be given to the great possessors themselves, to the privileged themselves, to accommodate themselves to the new order, to accommodate their descendants to the new society, founded upon the equality of labor.

Very well, gentlemen, with the resources, with the social values, which will be immediately placed at the disposal of the community, by the suppression of all this which at the present time goes as interest to capital, as dividends, rents and incomes—with these social values which at the present hour exceed seven or eight billion francs a year—what will the social community do? It will undertake three great immediate reforms for amelioration of the condition of men: it will at first devote a portion of the resources placed at its disposal by the expropriation of capital to great works which will be truly of social and public interest; the multiplication of healthful and spacious lodgings, through which to draw out the multitude of mankind from the foul and dingy lodgings where capital and the tyranny of rent compel them to vegetate today. (*Applause at the extreme Left.*) It will carry to the little peasant proprietors the means of bettering their culture and of developing the fertility of the soil.

In the second place, gentlemen, by the large amounts at the disposition of society, the community will fully insure against all the risks of life, against old age and sickness, and this not alone to those who are wage workers today, but those who belong to this middle class, which only purchases at times a little of wellbeing, by infinite insecurity and anguish. (*"That's right, that's right," at extreme Left.*)

Finally all the remunerations of labor will be immediately increased according to the demand which the workers make of capital today.

What other changes will it demand? It will demand that in the mines, in the glass works and in the factories that the total of unequal wages paid to the various categories of workers be raised, but that the wages be raised proportionately, and that the least, the most humble be raised most of all.

Thus, gentlemen, the social community on the morrow of capitalist expropriation will apply itself to increasing the totality of the wages of the workers and peasants, (I use the word wages for brevity), not by a leveling down of all wages to a common level; there need not be a single worker who will lose. In the great transformation which will free labor the same rule will be applied which the workers apply today when they formulate their demands in strikes: increase all the wages, but increase the lowest proportionately the most, and continue thus to the degree and the extent that the social productivity increases, until at last all the remuneration of labor will merge, not on the level of the low, but on the level of the high, in an indefinite progress. (*Applause at extreme Left.*)

Gentlemen, how will the social property and social production be officered and administered?

If there were no other machinery than the present state, (although to my mind there is too much underrating of this state), we might think it would be called upon to assume a task disproportionate to its strength.

I am not of those who,—whatever form the state of today may take and whatever it may have formerly done in the service of the privileged class—I am not of those who underrate the part taken by it and I do not associate myself in the interested attacks which are too frequently directed against the great benefits which redound from the substitution of collective action for the power of private egoism, but in the administration of the vast social domain created by capitalist expropriation, it will no longer be the bureaucratic state of today, but the democratic state assisted directly by the whole people, which will control the administration, and which will be aided in this great and difficult task by the professional groups which are formed today in all the departments of human labor. (*"That's right, that's right," from the extreme Left.*)

Gentlemen, there is a double law evident, a double tendency manifest in the society of today. On the one side there is a tendency to unity, to centralization. All the forms of labor are tending to co-ordinate themselves: chambers of commerce, and industrial and agricultural bureaus, you, yourself, in this united parliament, who are affected every day by the laws of taxation, by the octroi laws, by the customs laws are compelled to interfere in all the economic machinery. But at the same time that our societies are dominated by this law of unity, by this tendency to centralize, there is also manifest by a just and happy equilibrium a tendency to the formation of autonomous groups; municipalities which have obtained their independence to a certain degree, professional societies, trade unions, employers' associations, whose functions are extending, whose activity is develop-

ing. Very well, gentlemen, when it is necessary to take up the work of administering property, it will not be necessary to create new forces; it will only be necessary to apply, to harmonize for this purpose these two forces, these two tendencies which are combining more and more in human society. General organs of administration will be created, which will co-ordinate these professional efforts and will at the same time leave in each department of labor, under the reserve of general rules of equity, a great amount of independence and autonomy to the co-operative and local groups in such a way that the activity and initiative of each one will be stimulated under the general rule of sovereign labor. (*Applause at the extreme Left.*)

Gentlemen, whatever may be your judgment today or tomorrow upon the details of the socialist order which I have set forth and which I have attempted to define to this tribunal you cannot deny you are here face to face with a doctrine that you may judge as daring, that you may judge as utopian, vain — —

*M. de Baudry d'Asson.* O, yes.

"Yes," I hear. You may judge it vain, even judge it utopian; very well, other doctrines have been judged vain and denounced as utopian by the privileged classes of past times in the day when they were going to make their appearance in history. (*Applause to the extreme Left.*)

But in any case, there is before you a definite and debatable solution; you are confronted with a statement which you can understand and denounce if you wish. Then whatever you may think of our doctrines, whatever you may think of a system which declares that liberty for wage-workers and mankind is only possible through the social appropriation of private capital, I repeat, that it is nevertheless a definite doctrine which is before you: and when we speak to the proletaires, when we speak to the laborers, when we describe things to them, when we recall the evils which they endure: we shall not confine ourselves, gentlemen, to pointing out the abuses and the wounds, but we shall say to the proletaires, even at the risk of calling down upon us the animosity of the tremendous power of the privileged, which holds beneath its hand the minds of a portion even of the proletariat—we shall at least say to them: here is the explanation of your suffering, here are the roots of your evils. And it is for you to prove, gentlemen, that we are not seeking simply to irritate these suffering ones, but to heal them. Knowing well the antagonism and the irony by which any attempt to explain the new society in such an assemblage as this would be injured, I have nevertheless made this attempt, and we have been making such attempts, outside of here, every since there has been a socialist party. But because we have done this, because we have taken this responsibility, we have the right, after having endured this ridicule, to turn ourselves, not

toward the parties of reaction, but towards the parties which claim to represent democracy and progress, and we have the right to demand of them, what is your doctrine and what do you propose to do. (*Loud applause at the extreme Left.*)

Yes, what do you propose to do for the liberation and organization of labor? Gentlemen, you who are listening to me from the Left of this chamber, all you radicals and republicans, I call upon you to think, I address you, not in any spirit of provocation or defiance; I speak to you as a republican to other republicans; we have together done great things when we saved the Republic from the threat of militarism, when we freed civil society from the debris of theocracy. (*Applause at the extreme Left.*) But now that this grand work is accomplished, now that the hour has come for both of us to give all our strength, or at least our principle strength to what we both call the work of social reform, it is necessary, after the socialists have set forth their philosophy and tactics, that you explain what you mean by social evolution.

Ah! You have already done this, but in terms which call for further explanation. I have previously quoted, and I now wish to bring again before this tribune the appeal which all the radical and socialistic radical papers,—the *Radical*, *Justice*, *Rappel*..... (*Exclamations from various parts of the Chamber.*) Gentlemen, you have made a mistake in the date; I am speaking of 1885. (*Applause and laughter.*) In 1885 when the Socialist Party was composed of a bare handful of propagandists, and a few fighters just returned from exile, having but the slightest influence upon universal suffrage, even in the great cities; at this time when the radicals, wishing to tear the opportunists from power, called upon the working class, all the great organs of radicalism, *Rappel*, *Radical*, *Justice*, of which M. Clemenceau, as you know, was then the editor.....

*M. Aynard.* Where were you then, M. Jaures?

*M. Jules Dansette.* You were then in the Center, M. Jaures.

*Jaures.* Where you now are, M. Aynard, and you are still young enough to travel the same road that I have.

All these papers published a manifesto to the citizens of Paris, from which I now quote two sentences: "Our spirit is the spirit of revolution. At home there is no other aim than complete social justice.

"Whoever is not a socialist today is not a republican. It is necessary that credit be put at the disposal of the workers to permit them to escape from wage-labor."

And then, gentlemen, follows period after period, declaration after declaration, in which the radicals and the socialistic-radicals continue this same condemnation against the wage system. They have declared that there was a contradiction between an economic system, which made the wage worker a serf, a de-

pendent individual, and the republican system, which made him a citizen and a free man, a part of the government. You have all said to the producers, to the workers, industrial or peasant: The wage system is only a stopping place, the wage system can be only a transitory system. They were not the only ones to say this, and the *Debats* was scandalized, not long ago, when M. Siegfried himself denounced wages as a transitory form.

Very well, gentlemen, you owe the Republic a clear explanation. If you do not know how the working-class can escape from the wage system, if you are not sure of the means by which it can free itself, if you do not have within your minds, the idea, the type of a new society it was a great imprudence, a great mistake, for you to succeed in discrediting among the working-class a system which you are not sure of being able to abolish. (*Applause at the extreme Left.*)

Thereby you have only aroused the miserv. and aroused the hopes of the working-class to deceive them with an illusion.

We have a right to say to you: How do you expect to abolish wages? What new society do you propose to introduce? How do you wish to prepare the way? This universal credit, by means of which, in 1885, all proletarians were to be freed from capital—how do you expect to extend it? How do you wish to organize, to prepare the way?

To be sure in 1885, on the morrow of the October elections, you could not have been reproached for not remembering this statement. The Radical party then had but 150 or 160; there was a *bloc* of 200 opportunists who denounced and hindered you, and there was a strong monarchical opposition which controlled the Republican party by exploiting its divisions. Now all this is ended. The monarchical and clerical opposition is reduced by the clear will of the people to a negligible quantity. (*Applause on extreme Left, and Left.*)

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In 1885 the radical and socialistic radicals, having only a minority, and held in check by the Center and Right, could not be held to account for all their social engagements. But now, through the common effort of all republicans, the Right, whether, monarchical, or nationalist or clerical, has been reduced to a negligible quantity, while on the other hand the Left, if you include those who have returned to the radicals and socialistic radicals, has a majority for the passage of any plan of social radicalism. And you, Monsieur Minister of the Interior, you, who in 1885 signed this grand promise to free the proletariat from wages, you whose friends, followers and companions in arms—many of whom, as you know, and I am proud of it, are my personal friends—have repeated this statement and this promise, you are

now not only of the party in power, but as the leader of the radical party, which for thirty years you have led to battle, you have behind you a majority which has promised the country the passage of these great social reforms. You are now in power—you are now in power, not merely nominally, no longer simply in appearance, no longer partially, no longer through a sort of weak participation, but by the combination of the accession of a radical government, of which a majority are socialistic radicals, you have power in abundance, and consequently responsibility. (*Applause at the extreme Left.*)

And therefore it is now that I ask you, for the purpose of leading the proletariat out of wage slavery, for the purpose of breaking their fetters, for the purpose of freeing the producers after having freed the citizens, for the purpose of realizing the economic and social republic, as you have realized the political republic—I ask what are you going to do?

Do not tell me that the mind of man is uncertain finding its way only by difficulties and gropings. You have said at Lyons in most beautiful language: "I am only a fallible man, who searches and gropes his way through difficulties." Oh yes, we are all fallible men, but there are hours in history where men are compelled to take sides. Such a time was that a hundred years ago, when the great revolution, of which you are the mental and physical heir; to be sure all those men, Mirabeau, and Vergniaud, and Robespierre, and Condorcet, were also subject to uncertainties and to errors; they opposed system to system and conception to conception, but also, even at the risk of injuring themselves, they decided, they dared to do. They knew that the old world was ended, was decomposing, that it was necessary to clear away the debris and install a new society, and at the risk of destroying themselves and of injuring themselves, they set forth, all of them, plans, schemes and systems. And it was not by the gropings of a superb modesty, but by the generosity and audacity which these statements reflected that the old world was abolished and the new created.

JEAN JAURES.

*Translated by A. M. Simons.*



## What of the Democratic Party?

I BELIEVE the answer to the above question can be correctly given in the language of the only successful presidential candidate of that party which calls itself Democratic. It has sunk into "innocuous desuetude." The strenuous times incident to the civil war effected an entirely new alignment of political parties and, in speaking of the Democratic party I mean, which is all that properly can be meant, that definite political organization which has borne the title Democratic since the civil war. Whether or not it is truly democratic and entitled to the name is beside the question.

The Republican party, under the leadership of Lincoln, freed the chattel slave. After the civil war, all the rancor it had engendered found expression, politically, through one of the two great parties. On the one hand was the Republican, or administrative, party, leaders and followers gathered under one banner and arbitrarily named. Under another banner, arbitrarily named Democratic, were grouped all the opposition forces, including state's rights people, disgruntled ex-slave holders, political leaders not *en rapport* with the administration, etc. That the names were purely arbitrary is proved by the fact that Jefferson, the patron saint of a large part of the present Democratic party, was called Republican in his own day, and recent years have developed men who call themselves "Lincoln Democrats" and "Lincoln Republicans" as opposed to some other kind of democracy or republicanism. In other words, Lincoln could have freed the slaves by either name without doing violence to its inherent meaning.

Now properly there may be at any given time two main political parties which might be called generically conservative,\* consisting of those who are mainly satisfied with existing conditions, and non-conservatives, consisting of those desirous of a more or less radical change in existing conditions. Prior to the civil war, the Republican party was the non-conservative party

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\* Throughout this article the words conservative and non-conservative and their derivatives are used in the meaning here used, i. e., as indicating the attitude of men, parties etc., toward existing statutory laws and political institutions. For instance, the Socialists are extremely non-conservative as to present institutions and just as extremely conservative of their own principles. The Democratic party is fundamentally weak in that it is conservative in respect only of its organization and non-conservative in respect of other parties no matter what they stand for.

desiring a radical change in the abolition of chattel slavery. At the same time the Democratic party was the conservative party unwilling to interfere with the institution of slavery. But with the fulfillment of its mission, the Republican party became intensely conservative, while the Democratic party became a non-descript, desiring nothing in particular and expressing negation in general. Nor was it hardly possible, so soon after a great crisis, for an opposition party to be closely knitted together. The chief issue of a quarter of a century was definitely settled. New issues had not crystallized. Mere details of reconstruction and rehabilitation occupied the public mind.

The Republican party was formed at a time when chattel slavery, having ceased to be profitable, was about to fall. With Lincoln at its head, it became the heir of years of anti-slavery agitation. It was not, however, avowedly for the abolition of slavery. Its name was purely arbitrary and avowedly so; anti-slavery parties had existed under other names. It was temporarily bound more closely together by the fortunes of war and the conclusion of peace favorable to union. The Democratic party was in existence for a long time before the civil war, when it, too, had more or less definite principles of a conservative character. But the event that solidified the Republican party disorganized the Democratic party, leaving it a heterogeneous, conglomerate mass, single only in its opposition to the administration. And so it remained and so it is now, but of course there were during this time issues of more or less importance, and in 1884 the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, was the victor in a campaign in which the tariff issue played the leading role. For the first time since the civil war, the party had apparently appealed to the people successfully on a live, radical issue. But with no attempt here to fix the blame, the fact remains that practically nothing was accomplished during Cleveland's term and he was defeated for re-election.

About this time, a phenomenon entirely new to the post-slavery, or reconstruction, period appeared. Before the war, formidable third parties were quite common; but, after the war, it was not until the years prior to 1892 that a third party worthy of the name, the Populist party, entered the lists. New issues were germinating. A large and growing number of people believed that neither the Democratic nor the Republican party either represented the people or could be induced to represent them, and the people gathered around an incoherent series of principles, calling for radical changes, forming a political party to which they gave the name Populist. In 1892, the Populist candidate received 1,200,000 votes, more than enough to attract careful consideration from the political leaders of both the other parties, and as a direct result the Democratic party thought it

saw victory in incorporating many of the doctrines of the Populists into its own platform. So thoroughly was this done that the Populist organization was satisfied to endorse the Democratic candidate. Such in brief is the story of the suicide of the Populist party.

The story of the '96 campaign is still fresh in our minds. Many believe that Mr. Bryan was really elected. But the fact remains that he was not seated, and cold-blooded history must record it as a defeat for the Democratic party. The '96 campaign left us therefore with only two political parties. The Republican party became more conservative than ever, avowedly so in fact with its "stand pat" slogan. The Democratic party seemed to have taken on new life, but it was still a nondescript. Its nucleus, to which the shrewd and calculating leaders and politicians cringed, was the "solid south," a collection of political leaders and voters living in the past and trying to sustain life on the decayed and musty corpse of several decades. Before any action could be taken the solid south must be considered and, if necessary, live issues must take a back seat for dead ones.

The 1900 campaign came on and found two distinct and widely differing factions struggling for the control of the organization of the Democratic party. Those who had left the party as "gold democrats" four years previous, having become convinced of the futility of their course, now returned with professions of undying loyalty and attempted to destroy from within rather than from without. The Bryan element stood, but only half-heartedly, for the position of '96. The solid south, always inclined to anything that gave hope of victory and feeling that one try-out was enough for the free silver issue, were induced to believe that the Spanish war had provided an issue by which the Republican party's tendon of Achilles could be reached, and accordingly anti-imperialism was made the paramount issue. Thus again was the battered and bandied, view-with-alarm platform amended and patched and offered for sacrifice. It was still considered non-conservative: but, more in spirit perhaps than in word, it was a distinct withdrawal from the '96 position.

But if the Democratic party stepped back in 1900, 1904 found it in full retreat. "Safe, sane and conservative" was boastfully made its slogan. Two chief reasons contributed to this complete change of front. First, two defeats on a so-called radical platform had left the impatient, office-hungry leaders, north and south, in despair. And, second, through the unforeseen death of President McKinley and the consequent advancement to leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, popularly considered a non-conservative, it was believed that the Republican party was in a fair way to forsake its pristine conservatism, leaving not only room but glorious opportunity for victory for a party conservative

in leadership and battle-cry. And so the poor old platform was pulled apart and pieced together once more. And once more it met with failure, more dismal than ever. The water-logged craft with motley sails was nearly submerged. The Republican party retained its conservative support and gained much of the non-conservative element, Bryan's efforts to the contrary notwithstanding.

But Roosevelt came a long way from getting all the non-conservatives. Nearly a half million voters supported neither ticket, which brings us to the consideration of the second important third party movement since the civil war. The suicide of the Populist party simply dissolved a particular political organization. It removed no issue; it crushed no truth! it changed no law of nature; it disproved no theories; nor did it change any man's opinion. It was thought merely as a matter of expediency that fusion with the Democratic party would more quickly and more surely establish those principles contended for by the Populists. The Populists had begun by attaching a name to a given set of principles; they had ended by attaching the same set of principles to a name. In the meantime, however, the spirit of radical non-conservatism had found a new vehicle. The Socialist party, prior to 1900, was an inconsiderable political factor in this country, and in that year it polled less than 100,000 votes. But though its numbers were small, in the absolute, they were large in view of the fact that they showed a two hundred per cent increase since 1896. Then, when in the four years following, they jumped to nearly half a million, a gain of almost five hundred per cent, the Socialist party was no longer simply a political theory but a tangible reality as well.

The last campaign left us therefore with a strongly intrenched conservative party with a slight admixture of non-conservatism, the Republican party; a large but divided nondescript party neither conservative nor non-conservative, the Democratic party; and a relatively small but well-organized and rapidly growing non-conservative party, the Socialist.

In 1904 the Democratic party was the only one that lost ground. In that year, things were so bad that the solid south was dissolved by the overturning of Missouri. The only prominent local Democratic victories the same year were the election of the three governors, Douglas, Folk and Johnson of Massachusetts, Missouri and Minnesota respectively. The first was on the tariff issue, the second on the graft issue, and the third was a purely personal victory. Massachusetts has since elected a Republican governor.

Since then the only notable success of the Democratic party was the election of a Democratic governor in Ohio, but the importance of this is more apparent than real. Governor Herrick,

Republican, a protege of the redoubtable Hanna and a notoriously poor politician and diplomat, had grievously offended the church and temperance element of Ohio and was standing for re-election. To capitalize the bitterness against him, the Democratic party nominated a man known to be radically opposed to the liquor traffic and a prominent church man, John M. Pattison. But it was a matter of comment at the time of his nomination that he did not mention the Democratic party and he was afterwards at pains to emphasize the non-partisan character of his election.

Almost everywhere else, lassitude concerning things bearing the name Democratic is found. The literature of exposure has besmirched the Democratic party fully as much in proportion to the number of offices it holds as it has the Republican. Tammany, the largest single Democratic organization in the country, is a stench in the nostrils of everyone. In many places, the Democratic organization has been shown to be but the graft-partner of the Republican party or vice versa. A wave of protest finds expression through "Independent," "Good Government," "Citizens'" and other similarly named organizations. An avowed Democrat must explain what kind of Democrat he is, whether a Bryan, or a Parker, or a Jefferson, or a Hearst Democrat. He must tell whether he believes in free silver or the gold standard; whether he stands for free trade or tariff for revenue only; or a mere revision designed to curtail the profits of only the most flagrant beneficiaries of the tariff; and he might have to explain whether he was a "democratic Democrat" or a "plutocratic Democrat" or a Democrat for revenue only. For of such a collection of divergently opinionated people is the Democratic party made up.

As such it approaches the campaign and as such it must enter the convention of 1908, which is but two short years away and for which the stringing of wires has long since commenced. What will the Democratic party do in that convention? The answer is obvious. It will haul out the old platform, put a few patches on it and offer it to the people. It cannot do otherwise than continue to be a compromise. The conservative faction controls the organization. The non-conservative faction will not fail to be conciliatory. And the solid south (with one state gone) is always loath to do anything that might drive away a few votes. Hearst may lead the ticket and may lead it to victory. Bryan may lead it to victory, lured by some popular issue and leader.

Both Bryan and Hearst are ambitious. If Bryan is nominated it is not unlikely that Hearst may become an independent or a "public ownership" candidate, as in the New York municipal election, with a considerable following behind him. Such an event would but further disorganize the Democratic party.

But while these men and their associate politicians are sparring for personal and party supremacy, the inexorable laws of capitalistic production are continuously drawing more distinctly the line that separates society into two classes, the "haves" and the "have-nots," the capitalists and the laborers, the privileged and the exploited, the captains of industry and the wage slave. The middle class, the small dealer, is rapidly disappearing. In rare cases, he becomes identified with the ruling powers of the trusts, but more often he is forced into the working class, receiving wages either directly or as a stipulated commission, mislabeled profits, on sales.

Thus, as the middle class disappears, the party of the middle class, the Democratic party, must disappear when the political arena will be occupied by two parties, the Republican and the Socialist, representing respectively the two above-mentioned classes.

Nor is it possible for the Democratic party to avert this impending dissolution. We have already seen the disastrous results consequent upon its attempt in 1904 to usurp the functions of the Republican party. That will not be tried again. If it attempts to occupy a middle ground, as is most likely and as it has done in the past, facing Janus-like, toward both capitalists and laborers, it will fail to satisfy either class, and, though under such a policy it might once more be victorious, its very victory would only serve the better to show the impotency of such a policy. But if, which is almost beyond the range of possibilities, a majority of the Democratic party should favor and adopt the complete Socialist platform, it could not but drive a large minority of its membership into the Republican party, while the people who sympathize with Socialism would be more likely to vote the regular Socialist ticket than for a lot of sudden, half-baked converts.

In the meantime the Socialist party grows apace. The chief tenet of its platform, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, is the same to-day as it was fifty years ago and it will be the same in years to come.

The Socialist party offers no nourishment to the capitalist. Both the Democratic and Republican parties recognize him as an eternal necessity. When it is realized that the fundamental and therefore the only political issue is between capitalist and laborer, and the hosts of those two inherently inimical forces are deployed upon the political arena, the Republican party will represent the capitalist class, the Socialist party will represent the

working class and these two will contain all that once composed the Democratic party in proportion as its membership interpreted their material interests.

This time is at hand. The Democratic party will play an important role in one more national campaign and only one.

ELLIS O. JONES.

## A Cry of Warning.

COMRADE Untermann has uttered a cry of warning to the readers of the REVIEW in order to put them on their guard against the false doctrines which I have been inculcating into them for the past year or so. This he does in the name of true Marxism, which he claims I misrepresent. For, says he, while the series of articles published by me in this REVIEW "contains much that is good, much that is excellent, and much that deserves to be preserved in permanent form, it also contains much that is shallow, much that is the fruit of hasty reading, and much that is false." In explanation of these peculiarities of my writings he states in his kind schoolmasterly tone that: "So long as Comrade Boudin deals merely with the simple problems of the first volume of Marx's Capital, or with the funny antics of bourgeois critics or semi-bourgeois revisionists, he is entertaining, brilliant, witty, and shows himself generally well posted.... I enjoyed that portion of his articles thoroughly, and agree that he gave to those straddlers in political economy and metaphysical history all that was coming to them. But when Comrade Boudin ventures into the deep waters of the more obtruse and complicated Marxian analyses, especially those of Capital, volume III, he gives evidence of insufficient preparation and hasty reading. Here true and false are almost inextricably mixed up by him, and the confusion created by the critics whom he scourges is worse confounded by his own attempts to straighten it out. What Boudin in reality presents on this subject is a theory of his own, not that applied by Marx in Volume III to the theory of competition."

I must confess that I was quite nonplussed on seeing this announcement coming from such a quarter. I have been working all this time to prove that the Marx critics and so-called Marxists who draw a line of division between the first and third volumes of Capital understand neither the first nor the third. That Marx's theoretical structure, embracing not only all parts of his theory of political economy but also his historico-philosophic views, forms one harmonious whole, no part of which can be properly understood without a complete mastery of the whole system, at least in its fundamental and decisive points. And all this only to be authoritatively informed at the end that I myself know only the first volume and do not know the third! My memory naturally leaped back to my boyhood days, when instead of Marx's great life-work the text-book in geography was under discussion, and my old schoolmaster informed me that I had mas-



tered Asia all-right, but was woefully deficient on Europe. And I almost instinctively asked: "And how about Africa? How about the *second* volume. Oh, dear old schoolmaster! do I or do I not know *that*?"

But just then something happened which gave my thoughts an entirely different trend. My glance fell on *The Worker*, issue of July 28, 1906, where Comrade Untermann also touches on the relation in which the third volume of *Capital* stands to the first. There, after stating that I was wrong in demanding from him that he should write a scientific analysis of a certain question there under discussion, because it would require the writing of a "monograph" like *Capital*, he makes the following statement:

"Of course, I can also write a newspaper article....setting forth more precisely why I hold this position and why I take it as scientific. But that would not be a scientific analysis. It would be an application of the results of my own personal experience to certain social conditions. It would be the difference between the third volume of *Capital* and the first two volumes. And it would in my opinion have very little influence on the actual development of minds. It would not reach far enough. So that after all, it would be more scientific to write the monograph or leave the proof to history."

Here was a knocker! Comrade Untermann who is so scientific that not only what he writes is scientific but even the fact itself that he writes something or does not write it is scientific, does not consider the third volume of *Capital* a "scientific analysis," but merely an application of the results of Marx's personal experience to certain social conditions! That sounds awfully bad for Marx. But, having my own troubles, I must leave Marx to his fate. What is of importance to me is this: How does this estimate of the third volume tally with the assertion that this very third volume is the "deep waters" of the Marxian theory, in comparison with which the matters treated in the first volume are "merely simple problems?" How is the third volume at the same time not a scientific analysis at all, but merely the comparatively negligible application of Marx's "personal experience" to certain social conditions, and the "more abstruse" and complicated Marxian analyses?"

Is it possible, thought I, that Comrade Untermann should have gotten things twisted somewhere? Of course, that was hardly likely, with the strict scientific method which he observes not only in writing but even in deciding the question what to write and what not to write. Yet, we are all only human, and none of us are infallible. I made a close examination, and from indications I am led to believe that he has matters hopelessly twisted all along the line. All the knots and bends cannot now be pointed out owing to the peculiar method which he has adopted

in his article, and will only become apparent after he has given us the exhaustive review of my articles, the profit and pleasure of perusing which he denied us for the present. I call his method peculiar, for the reason that to my mind the reasons given by him for not writing the exhaustive review now are quite inadequate. I certainly appreciate the fact that his writings proceed not only from scientific reasons but also from very high motives, and cannot be dictated by such ordinary considerations as the proper literature or scientific appreciation of the work "of a few authors," not to say one author, and that the only thing that could move him to write is the desire "to prevent the spread of false notions concerning the crowning outcome of Marx's great work," or some such similar motives. But the method adopted by him of giving the reader a few pickings instead of the entire review cannot possibly accomplish the desired purpose. He says that if he "can show to the reader of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW that Boudin is untrustworthy in this one (?) respect, they will be forewarned and will take his future work with a pinch of salt." Assuming that he will succeed in his laudable ambition, and that the readers will take all my future writings with the proper dose of salt, what good will it do to the poor readers? Since he does not advise them not to "take" my articles at all, presumably because of the good there is in them which ought to be preserved, what good will the salt do them? It would not help them to separate the true from the false, which, as he himself says, are so inextricably connected? Without his guiding hand the readers may do just the reverse of what is expected from them, and salt what ought to be preserved and preserve what ought to be salted. You really never can tell what poor misguided readers may do. . . . . We therefore earnestly pray and hope that he will soon favor us and the readers of the REVIEW with the exhaustive review which he vaguely promised to give us in the future. Meanwhile and in the fond hope that he will heed our prayer, and will not demand as a condition precedent that we support him and his family for some forty years, as he did on another memorable occasion, we will proceed to take up the points which he makes in the present article.

First in point of precedence and in space occupied in Comrade Untermann's article is the question of the Price of Production. On this point Comrade Untermann cites a few phrases from one page of the article on the "Great Contradiction in the Marxian Theory of Value," skips the rest of that page and a couple more with the remark that they contain merely a vague lot of generalities, stops at another page for another citation, and then winds up with his own resume, as follows:—"In other words, this is Boudin's position: The price of production, as used in the third volume, and the costs of production, or price

of production, alleged to have been used in the earlier volumes, means essentially the same thing, only applied to different conditions. The price of production has nothing to do with the formation of the average rate of profits, for it can be formed without this rate. So far as the price of production differs from the 'ordinary' costs of production, or cost price, it is *merely* a difference between Marx's cost of production based on labor-value and capitalist cost based on heaven knows what. That is all." Heaven only knows how Comrade Untermann got to his resumé, and we will inquire into this question no further. But I must say to Comrade Untermann that he is quite wrong: his "other words" do not state my position, but merely furnish him the basis for a lot of talk about a lot of matters which have nothing to do with my position on the question of the Price of Production. My position is stated clearly and circumstantially in my articles. I will summarize it here for his benefit. I would gladly oblige him by putting it into a rhyme, as he requested me to do, but I really cannot do it. I will do the next best thing, however, and put it into the form of a resolution, as follows:

WHEREAS, sundry Marx-critics and alleged Marxists have repeatedly and noisily asserted that Marx has stated in the first and third volumes of *Capital*, respectively, two different theories of value, the theory of value stated in the third volume virtually abrogating, or, at least, substantially modifying, the theory of value stated in the first volume; that according to the theory stated in the first volume the value of a commodity depends on the amount of labor necessary for its (re)production, and that such value is the point about which its price always oscillates, whereas according to the theory stated in the third volume the price of a commodity may be, and usually is, permanently fixed at, or oscillates about, a point which is different from its value as measured by the amount of labor necessary for its (re)production, which is, in effect, an abandonment of the labor theory of value and a return to the "quite ordinary" theory of the cost of production;

IT IS THEREFORE DECLARED: That Marx states only one theory of value, which remains the same and unmodified throughout his entire work; that the category of the Price of Production, discussed for the first time in the third volume, does not introduce any new *principle* into the theory of value stated by Marx in the first volume, but on the contrary that the *principle* upon which it is based, (that is to say, the principle that the prices of commodities do not always, nor even regularly, conform to or oscillate about their value, but may be permanently fixed at or oscillate about a different point, owing to the fact that capitalists do not always retain, nor are they limited to the surplus-value which is created in their own business) is already

contained in the first and second volumes, and is only discussed for the first time in the third volume because here only are for the first time discussed *all* the conditions under which it is formed, notably the average rate of profit.

The reader will see that my position is substantially different from that ascribed to me by Comrade Untermann in his "other words." I will therefore not discuss the long citations from Marx, for, whatever they may or may not prove with reference to Comrade Untermann's "other words," they certainly do not contradict my position. I will however ask Comrade Untermann this plain question, to which I demand a direct and unequivocal answer: *Is my position as stated here by me true or false?* If he says it is true, that settles the question. If he says it is false, I'll take the matter up with him again. Before leaving this point, however, I must call the readers' attention to the fact that in the further discussion of this point Comrade Untermann misstates my position on a number of subsidiary points without even taking the trouble of informing the reader that he is using "other words."

The second point which Comrade Untermann mentions is my statement as to the relation of value to price. This is in my opinion one of the principal questions in the Marxian theory of value, or any theory of value for that matter, and deserves careful attention. I shall therefore go into it at some length. Comrade Untermann tried hard to create the impression that according to my interpretation the Marxian theory of value does not explain the formation of prices, and that prices do not depend on value and are the result of purely individual valuation. He attempts to accomplish this result partly by using a few sentences from my articles torn out from their context, and then by innuendo. In his zeal he goes so far as to make it appear that according to my interpretation of Marx, his theory of value and surplus-value does not explain the genesis of value! and this after his certification that I am "all right" on Asia,—beg pardon, I should say on the first volume.

Because of the importance of the subject I shall be compelled to quote Untermann's and my own articles at some length, much as I dislike to do it. Untermann says:—

"Instead of explaining the formation of the price of production, he (I) denies that the Marxian theory of value can explain, or be even 'a guide to the actual prices paid for commodities. But a theory of value need not show that, and, as a matter of fact, could not. It would not be a theory of value if it did.' When I read that I naturally looked for some other explanation, or at least some quibble about theory of value, theory of surplus-value, theory of prices, or theory of competition, by which he would try to escape out of this *cul de sac*. But no. So I could only say: 'Good-bye, Marx, with your theory of value which explains the formation of the actual prices paid for commodities!' For it does, even if Boudin's presentation 'as stated by Marx' denies it.... According to him,

always presenting the Marxian theories 'as stated by Marx,' value is determined by social conditions, *while price is determined by individual valuation.* 'Value being the cause of price, the chief motive of the individual making the price, will, of course, be the value of the thing priced. This does not mean, however, the actual value of the thing, but his idea of its value.' At the same time he quotes with approval the statement of Marx that capitals in spheres of higher than ordinary composition, sell their commodities above their value, and capitals in spheres with lower composition, below their value, supremely unconscious of the fact that his 'idea' of price of production cannot explain this, (?) and that *this statement contradicts his determination of prices 'by individual valuation,'* as opposed to the determination of values 'by social conditions.' As though one of Marx's great accomplishments had not been to do away with the *clash* between individual and social interpretation! Marx shows throughout his three volumes that price is *quite as much* determined by social conditions as value, and that *value is as much an individual product as price.....* I should like to have an explanation from Boudin, how a theory of surplus-value which must explain the development of profits, can do so without explaining the genesis of *value* and prices, and how a theory which is to 'attain the principal object of political economy, the discovery of the laws governing the production and distribution of profits in the capitalist system' and which 'has to record its greatest triumph' in that field, can accomplish this without explaining the transformation of value and surplus-value into prices."

To which I must again say that Comrade Untermann ascribes to me ideas which are entirely foreign to me, and gives me a position which I never held. Aside from the question of the Price of Production which I did not consider in the passages from which Comrade Untermann took the detached sentences, because I did not want to put the cart before the horses and therefore, following the example of Marx in the first and second volumes, I *assumed* that commodities are sold at their values, the true relation of price to value in the Marxian theory was clearly stated by me in these very passages. I am going to reproduce those passages, so that the reader can judge for himself and answer the questions put to me. I said:

"We must not confuse price with value. Value is something which the commodity possesses when placed on the market and before any price is paid for it, and it is because of this value that the price is paid for it. The value is the cause of the price. But value and price do not always coincide in amount. The price of an article may be greater or less than its value, according to circumstances..... and this notwithstanding the fact that value is the cause of price. The reason for this is easily discovered. Value is a social relation, and is therefore determined by social conditions, whereas price is an individual valuation and is therefore determined by individual motivation. Value being the cause of price, the chief motive of the individual making the price, will, of course, be the value of the thing priced. This does not mean, however, the actual value of the thing, but his idea of its value..... All this produces what is called the 'haggling of the market.' As a result of this "haggling" comes the *price actually paid*, and the *average of the prices paid makes the market price.* This price is purely accidental within certain limits, being the result of individual volitions based on the individual estimation. It is so within certain limits only, for *it is controlled by its primary cause-value*, which sets the standard by which it is measured and to which it naturally tends

to conform, and will conform the more the nearer to the truth are the individual estimates of the social relations and conditions, and the freer the individual motivations and conditions are from purely personal considerations. Value is the norm about which the "haggling" of the market takes place, and the price which results from this "haggling" naturally gravitates towards its norm-value.....

"The different prices at which a commodity is sold at different stages of the circulation process seemed to us inexplicable before, and vexed us not a little. *But they will be readily understood when we know that the sharing up of the surplus-value takes place in this process....* This confusion is only apparent, however, not real. It is due to failure to distinguish between the *value* of commodities and the *prices* which they bring on a *particular* sale in the market."

It was at this point, and with reference to the prices paid on *particular sales*, that I said, after restating substantially what I have stated above at length: "Many opponents of Marx make a point of the fact that Marx's theory of *value* does not show the formation of prices, is no guide to the actual prices paid for commodities. But a theory of value need not show that, and, as a matter of fact, could not. It would not be a theory of value if it did." The introduction of the category of the Price of Production did not change the relation between value and the actual, individual, or particular price paid for a commodity, except that it substituted the price of production for the value as the norm around which the actual price oscillates, wherever a price of production is formed. Therefore, *after explaining the formation of the price of production*, I said: "A careful reading of the first and second volumes of Capital clearly shows that the price of commodities is *governed by their value*, but that it need not conform to it. Quite to the contrary. Under given conditions which are necessary at certain stages of the existence of every commodity, its price will remain constantly away from its value. *Always, however, subject to the general laws of value, and by reason of the laws of value.*"

In short: Value is the cause of the actual price and *governs it*, and is the norm to which it tends to conform, either directly where no price of production is formed or indirectly where a price of production is formed, but it is not identical with it. The norm of price, its general average, is due to social conditions, its individual variations from its norm are the result of individual volitions and valuations. This is what I said in my articles, and this is the exact relation of Value and Price as Marx understood it. And I challenge Comrade Untermann to cite one passage from Marx supporting his statement that value and price (meaning actual price, of course) are in the *same measure* "an individual product", whatever *that* may mean. Comrade Untermann tells me in a stage whisper that "In Volume III, book I, Marx wrote the following title of Chapter IX: 'The Formation of an Average Rate of Profit and the Transformation of the Value

of Commodities into Prices of Production'." To this I will simply say that besides the title Marx has written the whole chapter, which is quite a long one, and that I challenge him to bring a single statement from that whole chapter which would in any way contradict what I said about the relation of Price and Value.

The truth of the matter is that Comrade Untermann is "supremely unconscious" of the fact that he has mixed up Price of Production with the actual price paid in each individual case for a commodity on its sale, and that he has the whole question of the relation of Value to Price twisted entirely out of joint. And yet this is a very important matter. Although I cannot say with certainty whether it belongs to the "simple problems" of the first volume or the "deep waters" of the third, I am certain that it is one of the basic questions of the Marxian economic theory. In fact it is right here where in my opinion the difference begins between the Marxian theory and the so-called Austrian theory of Value, and Comrade Untermann has twisted himself over from the Marxian camp into that of the Austrians.

The third point made by Comrade Untermann against me is with reference to "absolute freedom." In order that the readers may get the full import of this momentous question and may get it from Untermann in all the fullness of thought and beauty of style, I must again quote him at length. Says he:

"Boudin finally loses all patience and repudiates not only the Marxian theory of value and surplus-value, but also the Marxian historical materialism, in the following brilliant passage, which might have been written by the most frenzied champion of *absolute freedom*:

"The profit sharing of the capitalists is ..... *absolutely* impersonal. It also requires *absolute freedom of movement* for the different elements which go into the progress of production and distribution. Wherever there is no *absolute freedom of movement*, the laws governing the division of surplus-value among the different capitalists are interfered with *arbitrarily* and may even be *abrogated*. This is a necessary corollary to the observation already made that all the laws of value and consequently the production and realization of surplus-value require *absolute freedom of movement*." (I. S. R., p. 224.)

"What a muddle! The laws of value and surplus-value, which, remember, do *not* explain the formation of prices, according to Boudin, must have *absolute freedom* of movement, if the capitalists are to share *impersonally* in profits through prices which they fix themselves by *individual estimation* of value that has nothing to do with the *actual prices* paid for commodities! An *arbitrary* interference with, or even abrogation of, *absolutely free* movements! Make that into a rhyme, will you! And such a hash is served up to us in the name of greater clearness of thought, and in the name of a theory which teaches the relativity of all things!

So far as there is any meaning in this gem of Boudin's mind, it says just the reverse of what Marx states. For Marx says that profit sharing of the capitalists by means of an average rate of profit takes place to the extent that the law of value is abrogated, and Boudin says that it takes place only so long as the laws of value and surplus-value have *absolute freedom of movement*!".....

I don't know how the readers will "take" it, but when I read this marvellous passage I "took" it seriously and literally. I immediately ordered the word "absolute" in all its forms banished from my literary household and cut it out from my writings wherever discovered. I soon found, however, that it made an uncomfortable hole, so I decided to "take" the passage with a pinch of salt and restore the offensive word, but to preface it, wherever and whenever used with the words "having in mind the relativity of all things, and in so far as anything can be said to be absolute," so that there be no mistaking the fact that I am an adherent of the "theory which teaches the relativity of all things." But I am still uneasy about the matter, and I am afraid I may have to take another pinch. What bothers me is this: Is Comrade Untermann *absolutely* certain of the relativity of *all* things, and how are we to understand the terrible word in such connection, *absolutely* or only *relatively*? And if only *relatively*, how *absolute* is the *relativity* of all things? Again, how are we to apply this vexing problem of Marxian metaphysics to the practice of daily life? I am, for instance, very much tempted to say that Comrade Untermann is absolutely and unqualifiedly wrong when he makes me speak, in the passage which he quotes from my article, about the "progress of production and distribution." I am quite sure, *absolutely* and without any qualification, that I never used the word "progress" which changes the whole sense of the passage, or, rather, makes it senseless and absurd. I said "*process* of production and distribution," but for some reason, relatively known to Comrade Untermann and absolutely unknown to me he quotes me as saying *progress*. What shall I do about it? Awaiting instructions from Comrade Untermann, and in view of his absolute ban on that terrible word and his relatively great renown as a careful scientist, I shall for the present use the word "absolute" only with the qualification. Therefore, I say:

Having in mind the relativity of all things, and in so far as anything can be said to be absolute, Comrade Untermann is *absolutely* wrong in the points which he makes in the passage quoted, on the whole and in each and every particular. (1) He is wrong on the question of the relation of Value to Price, and my position on that question, as already explained at length. (2) He is wrong in ascribing to me the grand conception or image of the *laws* of value and surplus-value *moving with* or without *absolute freedom*. I never conceived or imagined such an absurdity. The honor of inventing it is absolutely and unqualifiedly *his*. (3) Comrade Untermann is again wrong when he says that "Marx says that the profit sharing of the capitalists by means of an average rate of profit takes place to the extent that the law of value is abrogated." The profit sharing, of the capitalists is effected



by means of the price of production. And according to Marx the Price of production does *not* abrogate the law of value, but on the contrary is governed thereby and is formed by reason thereof. The *abrogation* of the law of value by means of the Price of Production is an anti-Marxian invention which has tripped many a Marxist, and Comrade Untermann has evidently also fallen a victim to it. (4) He is drawing on his imagination or "heavens knows what" when he says that "Boudin says that it (the profit sharing of the capitalists by means of an average rate of profit) takes place only so long as the laws of value and surplus-value have absolute freedom of movement." Aside from the beautiful image of the *moving laws* of value and surplus-value which Boudin could not have conceived, Boudin respectfully submits that there is not even a suggestion of any such position in his writings, and that Comrade Untermann again got things twisted and mixed up the "elements which go into the *process* of production and distribution" of which Boudin spoke with the laws of value and surplus-value, a very careless and reprehensible proceeding. (5) What Boudin did say, and very plainly too, is this: That the different *elements* which go into the process of *production* and distribution, principally Capital and Labor, must have absolute freedom of movement in order that the division of the surplus-value among the capitalists which is governed by the laws of value by means of the formation of the Price of Production should take place. Where there is no freedom of movement of these elements the formation of the Price of production is interfered with and may even not take place at all. And by freedom of movement of the elements of production is not meant merely "free competition, unimpaired by any monopoly," in the ordinary meaning of these words, but a lot of other things, and very important ones at that, besides. Such, for instance, as the absence of private property in land, a highly developed technique of production, and generally a highly developed stage of capitalism. This is so clearly stated by Marx, and forms such an important part of his theory, that a man must have his Marxism twisted out of shape beyond recognition in order to dispute it.

Comrade Untermann also finds fault with the statement made by me in explaining the Materialistic Conception of History that that theory is "not a theory explaining the motives which actuate individuals to act, but a historical theory explaining the motive powers which bring about those actions of the masses, the aggregate of which make up what we call history."

In my discussion of the Materialistic Conception of History, which was published in this REVIEW over a year ago, I stated at great length and with precision, my ideas on the subject, a glimpse of which the reader gets from the single sentence which Comrade Untermann tore out from its context. Comrade Untermann

thinks that in that sentence and in others I *repudiate* the Materialistic Conception of History. And yet he never thought it worth while to give the matter the attention which its importance deserves. Nor does he think it worth his while to do so now. He does not go into any examination of the subject, but simply instructs us off-hand but very categorically thuswise:

"As a matter of fact, individual actions can be, and *must* be, explained by historical materialism in the *same* way as mass actions."

I have already shown above one instance of what my alleged '*repudiation*' and his alleged support of the Marxian theories really amounts to, and I would also gladly take him up at this point if he would only deign to go into particulars and be a little more specific. Meanwhile I just quote briefly an authority although I am not in the habit of so doing, because of a peculiar coincidence. This authority was, so to speak, thrust upon me while writing this article and is the very latest thing on the subject. I have just read in No. 42 of the *Neue Zeit* (the latest issue received here) an article by Karl Kautsky, perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject, in which occurs the following significant passage which I should like the reader to carefully compare with what I said and what Comrade Untermann says on the subject. Says Kautsky: "Here friend Bauer, usually so acute, throws together in peculiar fashion two things which are very different from each other: the *actions* of individuals, and the *views* of whole classes. In so far as the first is concerned, the Materialistic Conception of History *does not always explain to us the necessity of each individual action*, although it recognizes it.

All of which makes us extremely impatient to see the rest of Comrade Untermann's points to be contained in the half-promised exhaustive review, which we do pray that he might publish as soon as possible.

L. B. BOUDIN.

## Socialism in the South.

CERTAINLY no other part of the world furnishes a better field for sociological studies, or is more replete with historical events that make plain the philosophy of historical materialism than the South.

Here we have a large population of negroes, who were living in savagery two or three hundred years ago, and in chattle slavery a little over forty years ago. To note their progress, evolution, and mental development, in so short a period as a result of the various changes in their mode of life, each change bringing with it a new economic environment, better conditions, and opportunities is certainly an interesting phenomenon.

In no other part of the world has the social transformation of society from slavery to capitalism been anything like as rapid and complete as it has been in the South. To interpret the economic development of the South for the last forty years is practically to interpret the industrial progress of society for the last one thousand years.

Forty odd years ago the South was purely an agrarian country. Agriculture and the professions were the only occupations. There were no mills, mines, shops or factories and New Orleans was the only city in the South and its population was small. The southern farmers and slave owners not only controlled the South but feigned supreme in the economic and political life of America from the foundation of the republic until 1861. All this is now changed. A great revolution has taken place. Coal, iron, and gold mining are now important industries. The iron and steel industries having assumed large proportions; manufacturing of all kinds has rapidly developed. The whole country is dotted everywhere with cotton factories, and the small towns and hamlets of a few years ago are now populous industrial cities.

This transformation of the basis of society from agrarian to capitalist, brought with it corresponding changes in the religious and political as well as the economic ideals of the southern people. The ideals of the slave owning class of forty years ago in regard to law, justice, and morality have disappeared forever. The southern farmer is no longer the dictator of national policies, his voice has even been silenced in the South; the rule of the capitalist is now complete, and his ideas and ideals reign supreme.

This capitalist revolution of the South has rapidly converted all other forms of labor into wage labor. The slave owner and

slave alike have thus furnished the material for the making of the southern proletariat, but the capitalistic development of the South has been so rapid, jumping as it did from slavery to capitalism in forty years, that it has been impossible for the proletarian mind to keep pace with or adjust itself to the rapidly changing conditions. Consequently the socialist movement throughout the South is not as strong numerically, nor does it show the same amount of discipline as it does in other sections of the country. However, the economic and intellectual conditions of the working class of the South are improving rapidly.

Ten years ago the wages of a farm laborer in Georgia were seven dollars a month, three pounds of meat, one peck of meal, and a pint of molasses. Today this same farm laborer receives from twelve to fifteen dollars a month with no reduction in the allowance of rations.

The average wages for carpenters, painters, etc., ten years ago, was from a dollar and a half to a dollar and seventy-five cents per day, with scarcely no trade organization. Today the same trades average from two dollars and a half to three dollars per day, and the trade union movement is fairly well developed and everywhere throughout the South can be seen the slow but sure development of the proletarian class-consciousness.

The South is to my mind by all odds the most important field for socialist propaganda and organization. The South today is the bulwark of capitalism, is more conservative and orthodox than any other section of the country.

Native pride and political prejudice are strong characteristics of the southern people, and when our movement grows strong and threatens the supremacy of the ruling class, the strongest and bitterest opposition ever witnessed anywhere in the world will come from the South.

When the French revolutionists had overthrown the ruling class and took possession of the political power these ex-rulers went south and there organized an army, marched back to Paris, and recaptured what they had lost. The same conditions prevail in the United States today and the South is the weak spot in the American socialist movement. Here exists the material that could be used to undermine the success of the socialist movement of the nation. This condition should receive the serious consideration of the entire party membership.

At the close of the present campaign I believe that the national executive committee should take up the thorough and systematic organization of the South. The arranging of an occasional lecture tour, no matter how able the lecturer may be, will not be able to accomplish the necessary work. An organizer will need two or three months in any southern state, and will not be able to make his expenses. Most of the organizational re-

sources at the disposal of the national committee for the next few years should be devoted to the South. The work in the South will not be a pleasant task for the organizer. It is imperative that this work should be done, and that as soon as possible. It can be done best by southerners, and I believe they can be secured.

J. B. OSBORNE.

## Will the Workers Bring Socialism.

WE now come to consider the *active* factor of the revolution from capitalism to socialism, — *the Proletariat*. It may be stated without any fear of contradiction that this question of the role of the proletariat in bringing about the transformation from capitalism to socialism, and how and under what circumstances it will execute this role, in which last is included the question of the so-called breakdown of capitalism, is the real bone of contention between the so-called old-school Marxists and the Revisionists, it being merely the reverse side of the question of the Social Revolution, and that all other questions are merely tributary to it. As was already stated before, the purely theoretical questions of philosophy and political economy are not the proper field of Revisionism, and these theories are drawn into the discussion in so far as they have, or are thought to have, any bearing on the present question. The paramount question of revisionism is: *Who* is going to bring about the transformation from capitalism to socialism, and *how* will it be done? Everything else is only interesting in so far as it throws some light on this subject. We have already shown in the preceding articles the rôle which some of our social elements, those which may be called passive, will play in this transformation and how the ground will be prepared and broken. Now we will consider the active factor, his development and the conditions under which the work can be successfully done by him.

Before proceeding any further, however, attention must be called to a peculiar feature of the discussion on this subject, which is the result of a basic misunderstanding of the Marxian theory.

Almost all of the Revisionists proceed upon the theory, more or less clearly expressed, that Marx expects the transformation from capitalism to socialism to be effected by at least two independent causes: the economic breakdown of the capitalist system, *and* the revolt of the proletariat against capitalism. Some go even so far as to split up the second cause into two: the growing weight of the burden of capitalism on the working class, and the growth of the power of the working class. Each of them therefore attempts to argue against the allowance of that particular cause, the allowance of which he thinks would interfere with the method of fighting for socialism which he thinks is the best. Most of them are vehemently opposed to Marx's supposed prediction of an economic breakdown of capitalism, the so-called *Zusammenbruchstheorie*, and try to prove that socialism will

never be brought about by that "factor" and that we must, therefore, look to other factors if we want socialism. A good many of them are also opposed to the ascribing of any great importance to the increasing burdens of capitalism on the working class, the so-called *Verelendungstheorie*.

It is sometimes really amusing to see how they argue about these "factors" or causes as if these were absolutely independent of each other and could exist one without the other and without reference to each other. One of them, the latest in the field, has even managed to show that these various factors neutralize each other by working in different directions. And none of them has ever stumbled on the fact which is as clear as day-light to those who can see, that Marx presents only *one argument* showing only *one cause* for the transformation from capitalism to socialism — the economic development of society which evolves the economic conditions necessary for the change, and produces the social forces which will bring it about. The cause being one, its separate parts or aspects must be considered with relation to each other and with a view to the whole, and cannot be understood unless so considered. Of course the different points involved may be taken up one by one, but always bearing in mind the rest. So when we will consider here any one of these points it will always be with a view to what we have to say on the points considered before or to be considered later.

In order that we may bring out clearly before our readers the different points made, we will consider them from two points of view: first, as to how far Marx's description of the tendencies of development of capitalist society, in so far as it affects the conditions of the working class, is correct; and, second, as to what conditions of the working class *must* exist, according to Marx, in order to make it a proper vehicle for carrying out the historic mission which Marx ascribes to it. Before going into details, however, we desire to place before our readers the description of the transformation from capitalism to socialism traced by Marx himself in one of the finest passages ever penned by mortal hand:

"As soon as the laborers are turned into proletarians, their means of production into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then the further socialization of labor and the further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into

instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

This passage which describes *one* process, clearly indicates that Marx distinguished three moments of that process which he evidently considers of importance: (1) The technical, and, so to say, purely material side of the process, the concentration and centralization of capital, which furnishes the technical and material (in the more limited sense of the word) basis of the future society; (2) The effect of the technical and material side of the process on the members of the society, particularly the working class, which creates the active force ready and able to make the change from the present system to the future; and (3) The resulting conflict of the technical and material side of the process and the needs of society in general and of the working classes in particular, which necessitates the change.

The first moment was considered by us at length in the preceding articles; the third moment was already touched upon by us in a preceding article, and will be treated at length in the succeeding one; the second moment will be considered here.

Does the mass of "misery, oppression, slavery, degradation and exploitation" grow? The Revisionists say: *No*; the condition of the working class is improving instead of getting worse. And furthermore, say they, Marx is wrong in asserting that the growth of misery, etc., of the working class is necessary for the transition from capitalism to socialism. How,—do they ask—can a miserable, oppressed, enslaved, degraded, and exploited working class fight the battle and win the victory for Socialism? In support of their contention as to the actual condition of the working class they point to the facts, or alleged facts, that the hours of labor have shortened and the wages have increased since the writing of that passage by Marx, that the workingmen are better housed and better fed now than formerly, and that pauperism is on the wane rather than increase. They make those assertions in a manner as if they were stating undisputed facts which require no proof to support them. As a matter of fact, however, these assertions are very far from stating undisputed facts.



It is sufficient to mention some very recent literature on the subject, such as Hunter's "Poverty," Spargo's "The Bitter Cry of the Children," and the articles of Theodor Rothstein, to show that the question of poverty among the working class is as yet a much mooted question. The truth is that appearances, particularly the appearance of statistical figures in certain reports, on which the revisionists mainly base their contentions, are very deceptive.

To begin with, there are intentional deceptions in a good many of our official statistics. As an illustration in point may be taken a statistical report or abstract sent out the other day from the Bureau of Statistics in Washington. It was to the effect that during the financial year just closed wages had increased one and a half per cent in certain leading industries, whereas the cost of living had increased only about one-half per cent. This report is false on its face, and it does not require long research to find its falsity. It is plainly based on false premises. To mention only one point: In estimating the cost of living the learned statistician based his conclusions on the prices of certain staples. It is notorious, however, that these staples form only a small part of the cost of living. In New York, for instance, from one-quarter to one-third of the cost of living is paid as rent. Rent has increased tremendously in New York during that period. And yet the increase of rent is not included by the learned statistician. Yet such intentional deceptions are of little importance when compared with the unintentional deceptions, owing to the deceptiveness of the facts themselves. The comparative welfare of the working population of a country is usually measured by the wages paid, where the cost of living is the same. But the height of his wages are by no means an index to workingman's prosperity.

I shall not go into this question, however, now, for the reason that, as the careful reader has undoubtedly observed, *Marx does not speak* of the growth of the *poverty* of the working class. The omission of any reference to *poverty* is very significant in so careful a writer as Marx. This alone would be sufficient warrant for us in assuming that Marx did not consider the growing poverty of the working class a *necessary* result of the evolution of capitalism, all revisionist assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. But Marx did not leave any room for speculation on the subject, for in another place of Capital he states clearly and explicitly what he summarized here in a short sentence. He says there:

"The law by which a constantly increasing quantity of means of production, thanks to the advance in the productiveness of social labor, may be set in movement by a progressively diminishing expenditure of human power, this law, in a capitalist society — where the laborer does not employ the means of production, but the means of production employ the laborer

—undergoes a complete inversion and is expressed thus: the higher the productiveness of labor, the greater is the pressure of the laborers on the means of employment, the more precarious, therefore, becomes their condition of existence, viz., the sale of their own labor-power for the increasing of another's wealth, or for the self-expansion of capital. The fact that the means of production, and the productiveness of labor, increase more rapidly than the productive population, expresses itself, therefore, capitalistically in the inverse form that the laboring population always increases more rapidly than the conditions under which capital can employ this increase for its own self-expansion."

"We saw in part IV., when analyzing the production of relative surplus value: within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labor are brought about at the cost of the individual laborer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the laborer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into a hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labor-process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor-process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life-time into working-time, and drag his wife and child beneath the wheels of the Juggernaut of capital. But all methods for the production of surplus-value are at the same time methods of accumulation; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means for the development of those methods. It follows therefore that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse. The law, finally, that always equilibrates the relative surplus-population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i. e.*, on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital."

This is perfectly plain: the lot of the laborer, his general condition as a member of society, must grow worse with the accumulation of capital, *no matter whether his wages are high or low*. His *poverty*, in the ordinary sense of that word, depends on the amount of wages he gets, but not his *social condition*. And for two reasons. In the first place, because the social condition of any man or class can only be determined by a comparison with the rest of the members or classes of that society. It is not an absolute but a relative quantity. Even the question of poverty is a relative one and changes from time to time with the change of circumstances. But the question of social condition can never be determined except by a reference to the other classes of society. This is decided not by the absolute amount of worldly goods which the workingmen receive, but by the relative share which they receive in all the worldly goods possessed by society. Thus considered it will be found that the gulf between the capitalist and the workingman is constantly growing wider. This

is admitted by all as an empirical fact, and it has been proven by us in preceding articles as a matter of theory.

This circumstance that the welfare or misery of the working class must be considered and determined with relation to the wealth of society as a whole, and the share of the different classes therein, has been pointed out by Kautsky and Cunow. But Bernstein calls this "explaining away" the Marxian statements in Pickwickian manner, and points to the fact that Marx speaks also of "slavery, degradation, and exploitation." We confess that we cannot see the incongruity which Bernstein seems to see here. But we do see here once more how incapable Marx critics are of grasping even comparatively simple points of Marxian theory. Franz Oppenheimer raises the point of the growing "exploitation" of the working class in a theoretical way. Says he: "Since Marx does not set a limit to the wages which may be paid except the profit of the capitalists, nor the depth to which the rate of profit of the capitalist may fall except that it must permit the capitalist to accumulate, it is quite possible that the wages should rise to such an extent that the rate of profit of the capitalist should fall from say 10 per cent to 0.001 per cent. In such an event — he concludes triumphantly what he evidently considers a great argument — "'exploitation' would, of course, be of no practical importance, and the necessity of an economic revolution would be out of the question." One only marvels how a man of ordinary intelligence, not to speak of such an undoubtedly bright man like Oppenheimer, could have written down such an absurdity. Oppenheimer seems to have been so much impressed with the "fairness" of such a profit as the infinitesimal 0.001 per cent that he forgot the little circumstance that in order that the rate of profit should fall to such an extent and capitalistic accumulation continue with such a rate of profit the amount of capital which a workingman must be able to set in motion, and the surplus value produced by him, must be so enormously large, that the "exploitation," as Mark understands the term, will not only be of "practical" importance but will actually be very much greater than it is with a 10 per cent profit! This, by the way, is an additional illustration of the oft-repeated truth that facts or figures in themselves are absolutely meaningless and get their meaning only from their relation to other things.

The second, and chief reason, however, why the amount of wages received by the workingman does not determine his social condition is that the high level of his wages does not in any way carry with it the security of his employment. And by this is not merely meant the fact that the *weekly* wages which a laborer receives is no index to his yearly earnings by which alone his real income can be measured. Aside from this very important

fact, which must always be borne in mind, there is the still more important fact that, no matter what the yearly income of the laborer is, the fact that he does not earn it by steady employment at ~~the~~ part of his yearly income, but by intermittent employment at irregular and never-to-be-foreseen intervals, has in itself a determining influence on his social condition. It is this fact that makes the means of production in the hands of the capitalist a means of domination over the working class; it is this fact that turns the accumulation of capital into the accumulation of "oppression, slavery and degradation" on the side of the working class. The insecurity of the laborer's employment is the secret of the power of the capitalist class over the "free" workingman, it is the source of the mental and moral degradation of the working class which makes of them willing and obedient slaves, ready to kiss the hand that chastises them. For it gives the capitalist a far greater power over the life and liberty of the "free" workmen than was ever enjoyed either by feudal baron over his serf or by the slave-holder over his chattel-slave.

That is also the secret of the great power of attraction and the great social and cultural importance of the labor-union. It is not the increase in wages which it may bring about that makes it the great factor in the life of the working class which it is. It is not for that that the great modern battles between labor and capital are fought no matter what their ostensible purpose might be. It is the protection from the grosser forms of arbitrariness on the part of the employer which it affords its members, thus increasing their security of employment, that forms the essence of the labor union, and it is for this that the great sacrifices are undergone by the workingman in fighting for the "recognition of the union" or in the "sympathetic strike," the two forms of fight most odious to and least understood by our "ethical" peace-makers between labor and capital, who would secure to each its "proper rights." Going out from the assumption that the workingman is nothing more than the beast of burden into which capitalism strives to convert him, they cannot understand why he should kick when the fodder in his trough is left undiminished. But the workingman knows instinctively the secret power of the chains which keep him in bondage, and he tries to break them, or at least weaken them. He is not content to be converted into, or to remain, a beast of burden; he wants to regain his moral courage, his manhood; and he knows that this can only be gained by organizing a social power which would do away or at least lessen the insecurity of his employment, the source of his slavery. Hence his fight for the union as such, which the good people cannot understand. But the capitalists understand it, hence their savage fight just at this point. They will pay higher wages, and work their men shorter hours, and grant a lot of other

*"Just and reasonable demands,"* but they want no union, or at least the open shop, for they want to remain *"master of their own house."* In other words, they are content to keep their slaves a little better, but they will fight to the last ditch against the tampering with the chains of slavery, against the installing of moral courage, the fostering of the spirit of manhood in their slaves.

This struggle between capital and labor is the other side of the medal which Marx has described. It is the growing revolt of the working class which, as Marx says, is disciplined, united, and organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. This is not an independent process working independently of the so-called "impoverishment" or, rather, increased-exploitation process which we have described before, as some Revisionists seem to think but, on the contrary, accompanies it, and is partly its result. Nor is its effect necessarily or even usually such as to counteract the effects of the first process, as some other revisionists, notably Rudolf Goldscheid, the latest writer on this subject, think. While the growth of the discipline, union and organization may do away with a good deal of the *poverty* of the working class by forcing higher wages and better conditions of labor, and would therefore have the tendency of suspending in whole or in part the "impoverishment" tendency of capitalistic accumulation, as that term is used by the Marx critics, it can have no such effect on the tendencies described by Marx. That is to say, it cannot have the effect of removing the causes of the enslavement process; it cannot secure employment of the working class; it cannot suspend the operation of the economic laws which create an over-population, a reserve army, although it can organize rationally the distribution of the employment that there is, thereby palliating somewhat the sharpness of the economic process. But it can counteract the results of the economic process on the psychology of the working class. In the breast of the slave who is riveted to his master capital there still may develop the spirit of a free man and the courage to fight for freedom. The discipline, union, and organization of the working class cannot give him any freedom under capitalism because the economic conditions enslave him to capital, but they enable him to fight for some liberties while in slavery and for better conditions of servitude. This fight, however, in itself develops the desire for ultimate freedom and educates the workingman to an understanding of the causes and the conditions of the struggle, thus making of him an active and intelligent opponent of the present order. At the same time the struggle must be growing more intense as time passes on. For the fight only affecting the results of the downward tendency, and being powerless to remove its cause, whatever gains are

made cannot be kept unless the fight for them is kept up, and the fight must be intensified as the tendency increases. Hence the *growing revolt* of the working class of which Marx speaks. Hence also the absurdity of the passage quoted below from Rudolf Goldscheid's very recent booklet: "Impoverishment or Amelioration theorie?" which forms a new departure in Revisionism. This latest manifestation of Revisionism is in effect an admission of the fiasco of the old-style Revisionism, and proceeds in different manner. But only the form has changed, the substance, however, remained the same. Particularly, the metaphysical way of looking at things from their formal, stagnant, so to say, separatist, point of view, and the failure to see the inner connection between them while in motion. So says Goldscheid:

"First of all there can be no doubt that, no matter how much alike the purely economic tendencies and the psychological counter-tendencies evoked by them may be in forcing the development toward socialism, there still exists a certain antagonism between them. It is quite possible, for instance, that during long periods of time the psychological counter-tendencies may not be strong enough to exert any considerable influence on the purely economic tendencies, the concentration of industrial undertakings, the accumulation of capital, and the impoverishment of the masses. Where the circumstances have thus shaped themselves the hope for socialism lies principally in the economic tendencies. It is different, however, where the purely economic process has an equally strong psychological process to counterbalance it. There the growing accumulation of capital in the hands of the capitalist class will be accompanied by the growing political and economic power of the working class. And this growing political and economic power of the working class will manifest itself by checking more or less effectively the purely economic process of concentration and especially the process of impoverishment. Whoever, therefore, desires to uphold the Marxian theory of concentration and accumulation to its full extent in the face of the daily power of the organized proletariat, does not realize that he has undertaken a quite hopeless task: For he asserts that the purely economic tendency of the capitalistic mode of production necessarily produces psychological counter-tendencies, and at the same time denies to these psychological counter-tendencies any real influence. It is therefore evidently very unwise in the socialist theoreticians to continue to expect the expropriation of the capitalists through the independent action of the inherent laws of capitalist production. On the contrary, the psychological counter-tendencies must paralyze the purely economic process with increased vigor and with the force of a natural law; that is to say, the breakdown of the capitalist system by its own weight must be steadily removed further and further from the realms of possibility."

The question of the breakdown of capitalism will be treated later, as already stated. But we want to point out here in addition to what we have already said, the dualism of the conception which regards the economic conditions and the psychological effects which these conditions produce upon the workman as two independent motive powers, working not only without each other but neutralizing each other; the inability to grasp the process in its entirety and in its oneness, to see the monism of the process.

We also want to call attention here to the fact that the learned Marx critics who insist that by accumulation of misery as one of the tendencies of capitalistic accumulation, Marx meant the accumulation of poverty, and then try to disprove such tendency by pointing to the supposed ameliorated condition of the working class, fail to take into account the fact that whatever amelioration there is was brought about by the struggles of organized labor which Marx also predicted. The present condition of the working class is not merely the result of the *tendencies* of capitalistic accumulation, but of the tendencies of capitalist accumulation *as modified by the struggle of organized labor against them*. So much for Marx's proper prognosis of the tendencies of capitalism. As to the effect of amelioration on the evolution to socialism, such amelioration, if any there be, would only be significant if Marx had expected the advent of socialism from a net result of poverty; that is, if there were something in poverty itself which were favorable to socialism, an idea which no Revisionist has so far ascribed to Marx. But as we have seen it is this very struggle for amelioration, no matter what its immediate result during the progress of the struggle, that is the most important factor from the Marxian point of view in the final overthrow of capitalism, in so far as the active force which is to do the work is concerned.

While the spirit of revolt is growing and maturing in the working class this class evolves a new ideology. Living in constant struggle with the capitalist class and capitalist institutions which must array themselves in the struggle on the part of the capitalist class, he learns to hate these institutions and the whole ideology of the capitalist class. Being thrown on his own resources he begins to think for himself, to form his own ideology. But every ideology must have its base in the material conditions under which it is formed. The new ideology is based on and is the reflection of the new economic forces, the socialized means, modes and methods of production and distribution, and the growing collective control over them. His ideology is collectivism. In forming his ideology he is aided, on the one hand, by the very form of his struggle against the old order which is the collective mass struggle, and the benefits derived therefrom which can only be enjoyed while acting collectively and when organized in accordance with collective principles, and the well organized and developed democratic forms of government and activity; and on the other hand, by the dissolution of the old ideology in general, and in particular by its abandonment by the middle class, the class with which the working class comes into closest contact.

At the same time the working class is steadily advancing in economic power and independence in the sense that it takes possession of more and more responsible positions in the economic

life of the nation, diverts to itself, by means of the corporation and otherwise, all the growth of the concentration and centralization of capital, and particularly with the development of the corporate form of economic activity, the capitalist class abdicates its functions, the proper functions of a ruling class, those of economic management, into the hands of the working class. *The working class thus not only becomes revolutionary in its ideas, desires and aspirations, but it has the organized power to carry the revolution into effect, and is fully equipped to take hold of all social and economic activities and functions the day after the revolution, and carry them on successfully.*

L. B. BOUDIN.



## Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau

To the Laborers of All Countries:—

In despite of his pledged word, Nicholas II, the doubly perjured Czar, has dissolved the Douma as he violated the constitution of Finland. After concentrating troops at St. Petersburg, and dispersing the deputies by force, he has tried to deceive Europe by issuing a manifesto of which every word is a lie. He accuses the Douma of illegal acts, after himself imposing fundamental regulations upon it, contrary to his promises of October 30th. He accuses it of impotence after refusing it any power, after reducing it to a mere platform, which at least has served for denouncing the crimes of the bureaucracy. He reproaches it for having done nothing, after placing it where it could not accomplish a single parliamentary act.

International Socialism will waste no time in vain protests. Its appeal, now as before, is for action.

This new outrage from the man who caused the massacre of January 22 did not come as a surprise to the Socialist Party nor finds it unprepared. The crushing of the Douma was inevitable when once the coterie of functionaries and Grand Dukes perceived the weakness of the majority of the assembly, which in spite of the efforts of the Social-Democratic and Labor groups, followed tactics which could only enfeeble it.

A voting system with detestable restrictions, the most shameless administrative pressure brought to bear on the voters, an official distrust of the people which drove from the voting-urns such few proletarians as had access to them,—all this had created a factitious majority which in no way voiced the aspirations of the majority of the people. The deputies chosen by the liberal bourgeoisie have themselves proven by their attitude since the dissolution that they were wrong in acting in a vacillating fashion toward the government, hesitating as they did over the most urgent reforms. Have they not lost the confidence of the peasants by promising nothing but an inadequate agrarian reform, the adoption of which would not have restored the land to the country people? Have they not awakened the discontent of the laborers by offering them miserable palliatives in the place of thorough going reform? Have they not deceived all those who aspire ardently for liberty by their failure to take any virile resolution on the subject of amnesty, of pogroms, of the death penalty? And in spite of their repeated declarations of loyalty the czar has had for them nothing but contempt. At the opening of

the parliament he apologized to them for his fundamental regulations, and during the whole session he refused everything to them. Finally when by their own fault they found themselves without support and without strength, they were scattered passively like dead leaves before the autumn wind.

The czar's *coup d'état* will result in compelling the liberal bourgeoisie to leave the stage of discourses and to choose between absolutism and revolution. Henceforth we are done with compromises and delays. After the experience we have had, even the most artlessly optimistic must be convinced that their wishes have no power to conciliate things that are opposite. The establishment of the douma without the power to carry out what it wants could not prevent the bureaucracy from plundering the treasury, from starving the peasants or from organizing, with the pecuniary assistance of the capitalists of western Europe, murders and outrages against the liberties of the laborers. But the revolution is not wrecked with the douma. On the contrary it is entering into a new and more decisive stage. Before putting an end to the parliamentary comedy, Nicholas II completed the economic and financial ruin of his empire. He destroyed among the conservative classes the idea of constitutional czarism. He opened the eyes of the peasants by refusing them the land. He rallied to the cause of the people a part of the navy and army. The sailors and soldiers after having proved the impotence of the liberal bourgeoisie returned to the stage, marshalled under the socialist flag. As at the beginning of the struggle, it is the proletariat which stands in the front rank against absolutism. To the laborers and the citizens are joined not only the peasants, who understand better each day that this union alone can give them this land, but also the intellectuals, more deeply imbued with our doctrines than in any other country. The liberal bourgeoisie, itself, if it does not wish to be condemned to absolute impotence will in many cases be forced to follow the current.

Two armies thus confront each other from this time on: the army of the czar and the army of the people, and between these two hosts the crash is inevitable. Victory will be ours, and so much the more decisive in proportion as the revolution shall better have centralized its strength, realized a unity of action and utilized its more abundant resources.

The revolution began by the strike, will continue as occasion requires by the strike, by the refusal of taxes and military services, by the occupation of the lands of the crown, the church and the nobility, by armed revolt with the co-operation of the sailors and soldiers whom socialist propaganda is winning every day to the new ideas. It will go on unfettered and without weakness until the day when czarism, without army, without money,

without credit, without power of any sort, shall find the people enthroned over their own destinies.

The history of Russian socialists answers for their future. They know how to compel the calling of a constitution and to do their duty to the end. It is our part to do ours. We can aid in the common work by two methods: *By preventing the Autocracy from obtaining money and by sending money to the socialists of Russia.*

The radical government of France, the reactionary government of Germany, the capitalist class of all countries are accomplices of the czar by lending him at heavy interest the pay for his soldiers, his executioners and his black bands. Let us find ways of warning the owning class that the Russian Republic of tomorrow will not pay the infamous debts which the czar incurs to pay assassins. Let us find ways of rallying to the cause of liberty all possible allies, in order to deliver millions of men from the implacable tyranny, and if after all we can do, the Holy Alliance of international reaction attempts to intervene in the conflict to crush the revolutionary uprising and to save the czar's tyranny, let us consort the necessary efforts for effective help to the people of Russia, who united still more closely at this juncture, will no longer draw any distinction between czarism, already near to death, and the invading foreigner guilty of planning an outrage against the self-government of a nation conscious of its rights. Give then and give generously. Let the mass of small sums heap up and be the power to decide the victory.

Let the watchword be, money for the victims of czarism.

Let every socialist, every class-conscious worker send his mite either to the central organization of his party or to the delegates' commission by our Russian comrades, or to the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau.

*Translated by Chas. H. Kerr.*

# EDITORIAL

## A. F. of L. Politics.

The most significant feature of the present campaign is undoubtedly the tactical somersault of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

For a score of years the cardinal principle of these men has been "no politics in the trade union." Under the influence of this policy many national unions went so far as to incorporate clauses in their constitutions forbidding even a discussion of political questions in trade union meetings. In vain did the socialists point out that this was a good deal like tying up one hand before beginning a life and death fight with a powerful antagonist.

The officials were blind to all arguments. Frequently, to be sure, that blindness was produced by the greenbacks pasted over their eyes by capitalist politicians.

Never did this policy seem more firmly established than at the time of the last national convention of the A. F. of L. There the astonishing ruling was finally made by President Gompers that even to discuss the question whether the policy should be changed was "out of order." But just as it appeared as if this question was forever settled, and settled wrong, things began to happen.

The A. F. of L. lobby at Washington was snubbed a little harder than usual. Its measures were kicked into the waste basket instead of being softly dropped in as heretofore. Perhaps one of the reasons for this may be found in the result of the investigation by Mr. Job of the Employers' Association into the reality of the "labor vote" controlled by these leaders. He proved that the "goods delivered" were mostly green goods and gold bricks.

Consequently both old parties were refusing longer to grease the wheels on which the fakery were riding into power. This removed the before-mentioned bandages and at once they began to see things.

Furthermore the socialist vote was steadily growing and was beginning to make it unpleasant for these traders in working-class votes. The I. W. W. showed that this disaffection was spreading to the economic field, where the stationary condition of the A. F. of L. during a time of

rising prices and increasing employment was proving it out of adjustment to industrial conditions.

The Civic Federation racket was also beginning to play out. The class struggle was insisting on asserting itself in spite of scab banquets and juxtaposed pictures of capitalists and labor leaders. Indeed it is now reported that this precious organization is about to fall to pieces. Labor leaders and capitalists are alike sneaking away like rats from a sinking ship. We should think that the Civic Federation ship had pretty nearly touched bottom when it began to exploit the Avery-Goldstein combination, as it did in the last issue of the *Civic Federation Review*.

A climax to this series of events was reached by the result of Gompers' attempt at a grand-stand play and demonstration at Washington in support of the measures on which he had especially set his heart. This gave just the opportunity some of the politicians had been wanting, and they promptly called his bluff. Gompers was plainly told to do his worst or best. With a great flourish of trumpets he announced he was about to set in motion the two million votes of the A. F. of L. He did not hint that by this he meant to follow the successful and sensible example of the organized laborers of almost every other country in the world, from Australia to Russia and Japan, and start out on independent socialist lines. On the contrary he only announced that after the bosses had picked two men that he was going to decide which of them was the worst and punish him accordingly.

An elaborate list of questions was sent out to the congressional candidates. On their replies depended the decision whether they are "friends" to be "rewarded" or "enemies" to be "punished." The naive assumption that pre-election promises ever had anything to do with ante-election performances is worthy of comic opera. Indeed any discussion of the alleged merits of the plan would be an insult to the intelligence of our readers. What does capitalism care which candidate is elected so long as it makes the nomination?

Gompers has claimed that he was following the English example in this policy. This is a flat-footed lie. The English labor group that is really doing things is the one elected on socialist lines independently of the Liberals and Conservatives.

Nevertheless this move is not without important effects. It is already tearing the A. F. of L. in a dozen different directions. The power to confer the "favor of the union" is the largest political asset that has been within the grasp of the faker these many years. Hence there are more "conflicts of jurisdiction" on the political field than were ever dreamed of on the economic. The national executive council, the state federations, the various national unions, the city federated bodies are all disputing over the possession of this valuable asset and claim to control and be using it. In Chicago, for example, there is a still further split. There are three bodies which claim to have the only official stamp with which to O. K. political candidates in the name of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Meanwhile every local meeting is torn by rival camps or camp followers of capitalist politicians.

In several instances this forcing of the faker into the open and thereby leading to discussion in the union has resulted in the endorsement of the Socialist Party. This was true in Milwaukee and St. Louis, as might have been expected from the strong socialist sentiment in the unions there. This has also happened with the brewers in Rhode Island, with many of the Vermont unions and some of the local unions of Chicago and probably many others of which we have not yet heard.

One of the results of this campaign is going to be the biggest cat and dog fight ever seen in the American labor movement. The next national convention of the American Federation of Labor ought to rival the Don-egal Fair as a scene of harmony and solidarity. This fight will be transferred to the floor of the unions and thousands of workers will be forced to discuss the relation of labor to political action. This cannot but bring about a tremendous growth in socialist sentiment and a weakening in the power of the present ruling clique, and in short such a general breaking up and realignment as always follows the entrance of the class struggle into any institution.

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Our next issue will be a particularly strong one. Among the articles of especial importance will be one by Comrade Sinclair, discussing a new contribution to socialist literature, and a splendid analysis by Comrade Wentworth of the present political situation.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The powerful Brotherhood of Teamsters appears to be in a bad way. What the combined capitalists of Chicago were unable to do has been done by a small bunch of quarreling leaders. They have disrupted the union and sent thrills of joy into the hearts of the Jobs and Parrys and Posts. At the national convention in Chicago last month the long-threatened fight between the Shea and Young forces broke forth in all its fury, and, although disinterested third parties attempted to compromise the differences or secure the recognition of a flag of truce for a short period until efforts could be made to restore peace, they met with failure at every turn. Former President Young was determined to oust Shea and the latter was just as firm in his decision to hang on to office. There was no principle worthy of the name at stake—it was just a plain, disgusting fight for spoils, and the rule or ruin policy was the controlling force in both factions. Both sides did all in their power to pack the convention with their friends, howled at each other like a pack of hungry ward-healers, and behaved generally in a manner that brought disgrace upon the whole labor movement. Finally the split came and two conventions proceeded to show the world how to save the workingman, while incidentally two sets of office-seekers were made happy. It is unnecessary to relate any details of the dual conventions other than to mention that the prevailing thought of each faction was to develop the most effective means to smash the opposition in the latest and most approved fashion. The brotherhood had about 80,000 members. The fight seems to have split the organization squarely in two, and the principal work in the future will be for both factions to strain every nerve to triumph over the enemy—not the capitalists, but the rival body. I am glad of one thing. Not a single Socialist was mixed up in this family row. There are not many Socialists among the teamsters for obvious reasons; there are none who hold influential positions. When George Innes, of Detroit, was boss of the brotherhood during a former factional fight he never hesitated to proclaim his hatred for socialism. He was forced down and out by Shea and then hollered around for a year or two for secession and disruption, while the latter also kicked out some of the New York locals because of alleged disloyalty in lining up with Young, who gained more or less notoriety as the pal of "Commissioner" Driscoll, who had an original and highly profitable way of inciting and settling strikes and boycotts. Of course, neither Shea or Young or Emmett Flood or any other so-called leader have the slightest sympathy for socialism. They are pure and simplers of the ultra-conservative stripe, and most of them delight to pick out "labor's friends" in the Republican and Democratic parties and punish "enemies" according to the rules prescribed by the Federation Executive Council. Gompers and his tribe of traducers, who are always telling each other that the Socialists are union-smashers and disturbers, will please take note of the fact that this latest

secession movement, like nearly all others, was not engineered by Socialists, but by their own kind of people, pure and simplers, so-called.

The national struggles of the printers and the bridge and structural iron workers are still in progress, both organizations having battled just about a year against overwhelming odds. It is well understood that when the printers' movement for the eight-hour day began to make headway Parry's Manufacturers' Association, Post's Citizens' Alliance, Penton's Foundrymen's Association and employers' associations in the various building trades and machinery trades combined for the purpose of destroying the International Typographical Union. They regarded the latter body as one of the best equipped organizations in the country, and realized that if the eight-hour day was won without much opposition other unions would immediately imitate the example of the printers and enforce the shorter workday and gain additional strength and prestige. On the other hand if the printers' union could be defeated and disrupted it would discourage the other organizations and make them tractable and easily dismembered. Consequently millions of dollars have been poured into this fight by both sides and the bitterest feelings have been engendered. During the past month the employers (known as the United Typothetæ of America) held a convention in Buffalo, while the printers met in Colorado Springs. "No compromise!" was the slogan issued by both gatherings, and the indications are that the struggle will continue indefinitely in some places—so long as there is a local union in existence or employers are in the business who refuse to concede the printers' demands. The history of the Typographical Union shows that, as a rule, the printers never give up a fight. They have been engaged in contests with corporations that lasted a quarter of a century, having fought the heirs after their ancestors had disappeared. During the present struggle the printers have spent, up to date, about \$2,000,000, receiving little financial aid from other organizations. The A. F. of L. levied the constitutional assessment, which brought in less than \$50,000, and the printers have been depending upon their own resources, having assessed themselves 10 per cent of their wages weekly during the past ten months. But in the face of the most determined opposition that has ever been met by any union 85 per cent of the printers are now working on an eight-hour basis. In round numbers 40,000 members enjoy the shorter workday, about 5,000 are still on strike, and some 3,000 are bound by agreement or have not made a move for other reasons. In not a single city or town in North America have the printers been beaten or given up the contest. Complete victory appears to be in sight, as the assessment will be reduced to 8 per cent beginning Oct. 1 and gradually thereafter. The strike pay has ranged from \$7 a week to single men to \$12 and \$15 for married members.

The struggle of the bridge and structural iron workers is somewhat similar to that of the printers. The American Bridge trust, one of the United States Steel Corporation's brood, has decided to put the union out of business. The trust has been subjected to enormous losses in the erection of buildings and bridges and has spent large sums of money in herding together a small army of strike-breakers, private police, etc. But the iron workers have been peculiarly fortunate in obtaining work from independent contractors or in other lines of trade, so that very few are really on the strike roll. They are just as determined to-day to continue their battle against the trust as when it began a year ago. They realize that they have a hard struggle to go through, but it was bound to come sooner or later, and for that reason the iron workers are putting in their hardest knocks now in the endeavor to win or force the octopus to come to a satisfactory compromise.

There is no use in ignoring the fact that the contests of the future between capital and labor will be more desperately fought than were those



in the past. Besides the centralization of capital into trusts, employers' associations in every line of industry have been or are being formed with the avowed purpose of breaking up labor organizations wherever possible. The capitalists are becoming thoroughly class-conscious and are federating their associations and co-operating in every sanguinary struggle with labor. Moreover the former make no denial of the fact that they are asking for no quarter and granting none unless they are forced to do so, industrially, politically, socially or otherwise. Take any of the association organs or listen to any of their officials and spokesmen and you will learn that the American capitalists are becoming imbued with the same contempt and loathing for the working class that was displayed by the Roman patricians for the plebians or the French noblesse for the proletariat immediately preceding the revolution. And thus once more the position of the Socialists is being vindicated. How many times have our conservative and muddled labor leaders cried out against "arraying class against class?" Now let them go and sing their song to the scores of employers' associations and trusts that have pronounced death to organized labor. But even the most ponderous Gomperite will not undertake to convert the organized employers from their evil ways nowadays. No; the scheme is to fight back, and especially on the political field.

And that brings us to the dominant question before the house — politics. Politics! Ye gods, how Sam Gompers and "Jim" Duncan and "Dinny" Hayes and Lennon and the rest of the executive council have stood in A. F. of L. conventions and ridiculed political action and told us all about how the trade unions would settle all these questions, and more, too, in the good old way. But suddenly, after ruling that political resolutions have no place in A. F. of L. conventions (see proceedings of Pittsburg convention), the "bill of grievances" is filed, and proclamations are issued to the rank and file to go into politics as early and as deeply as possible. "There should be no scramble for office," says the manifesto, in so many words. "Let us put our friends in places of power and punish our enemies." And forthwith Gompers hikes up to Maine, and, accompanied by a retinue of organizers, leads an onslaught against the enemy, the Republican Congressman Littlefield in the interest of our friend and savior, the Democrat McGillicuddy, of the same tribe as the Southern Bourbons who smash labor laws or turn down labor bills in a manner that earns for them the warmest commendation from the Parry-Post cabal. With Mr. Gompers were Stuart Reid, the premier A. F. of L. organizer, "socialist, too," who, in the presence of the writer and others, condemned in blistering language the Gompersonian tactics more than once. Then there was Grant Hamilton, "representing the International Typographical Union," but just when he was given instructions to "represent" the I. T. U. is a mystery; ditto Sam. D. Nedrey, "representing" the I. T. U., although it's a million dollars to a cent that he can't present credentials to prove that the I. T. U. sent him into Maine. With Sam were also Walter Ames, "representing the International Association of Machinists"; Wentworth Roberts, organizer of the Lobster Fishermen's Union; Emmett Flood, "representing" Shea's teamsters; Jacob Tazelaar, Socialist-smasher, "representing" the Brotherhood of Painters, although it is news to the painters; Dominic Alessandro, "representing" the Building Laborers and Excavators' Union, and P. J. Byrnes, "representing" the Boot and Shoe Workers of America. It was a formidable array of "labor leaders," the meetings were well attended and Gompers made good speeches from the Democratic point of view.

The Socialists, while handing out literature and doing their stunt on the soap-box, can occasionally sit on the fence and watch the circus. It is safe to predict that Gompers will be a "dead un" long before he is through with the old gangs.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## GERMANY.

One of the phases of the activity of the German Social Democracy, of which less is known than of some others, is its "Labor Secretaries" and "Information Bureaus" for the benefit of the workers which the Party conducts in co-operation with the trade unions. These institutions furnish legal advice, assist in getting employment, attend to the official details of the insurance systems relating to workmen, etc. A recent report showed that there were 67 Secretaries and 111 Information Bureaus in operation during the past year. The expenditures of these amounted to over \$46,000. They were used by 273,696 persons, of whom 160,264 were unorganized workers. As all such use by non-unionists teaches a strong lesson of the helpfulness of organization, these institutions are powerful means for reaching the unorganized and bringing them into the unions, and later into the Social Democratic Party. The *Neue Preussische Zeitung*, in common with some other capitalist papers, complains, that because of the semi-official position enjoyed by these officials (a position due to the activity of socialist legislators) the socialist unions enjoy an unfair advantage over the Christian Unions.

The Social Democratic Party has just undertaken the establishment of two "Laborers' High Schools," to be located in Berlin. These will open their work during next September and the session will last about six weeks. The party undertakes the entire support of the students while at the school and estimates that an expenditure of between \$8,000 and \$10,000 will be necessary. The students will be chosen by the various local organizations of the party and the trade unions, who will also be expected to assist in their support in some cases. The students must be between 24 and 30 years of age, and the endeavor will be made to secure a representative from each political division of Germany. The teachers will be largely drawn from those already active in party service, thus obviating the necessity of paying salaries. The capitalist papers show their fear of the results of such systematic educational training for socialist speakers, writers and workers, by the abuse and ridicule which they heap upon it. The *Hanoverscher Courier* declares that it is an attempt to crush freedom of thought and to turn out a lot of believers in "Marxodoxy" who will blindly follow the party leaders. It never seems to occur to them that an educated following is apt to have its eyes opened instead of blinded.

The German National Congress of the socialists will be held at Mannheim on September 23d. The following are the subjects for discussion, with the names of the speakers who will present the topic to the Congress: "Parliamentary Activity," G. Schopflin; "May-day Celebration," R. Fischer; "The Political Mass-Strike," A. Bebel; "The International Congress of 1907," P. Singer; "Socialism and Popular Education," C. Zetkin and H.

Schulz; "Criminal Law, Procedure, and Punishment," H. Haase. A Socialist Woman's Congress will meet the day before the meeting of the party Congress, and a Congress of Socialist Youths the day after.

The principal interest of the Congress this year, as last, will center around the question of the "Mass-Strike" and the relation of the Party to the Labor Unions. Just at the present time a hot discussion is in progress over these points between the Central Committee of the party and the Labor Unions. To add to the confusion the "Localists," who seem in many ways to be the counterparts of the American "Impossibilists," although in a much milder and saner form than the most of those we have, are denouncing the party management, and Bebel in particular. Of course the capitalist press are certain that the party is going to split all to pieces. They have been certain of this constantly for the past twenty years.

#### BELGIUM.

The socialist daily of Brussels, *Le Peuple*, has been publishing a series of articles exposing the shameless immorality of King-Leopold. They have been giving pictures of his various mistresses and describing his escapades in as great detail as decency will permit. The result is that a storm of denunciation has broken loose upon the Socialists in the Clerical papers. They denounce the action of the socialists as unpatriotic, and indeed almost everything else, but a desirable exposé of a kingly rouse. This is another instance of who are the real defenders of the family.

#### SWITZERLAND.

No country in Europe is furnishing more examples of military outrages against unarmed peaceful strikers than is Switzerland, the "armed nation" with its ideal military system, toward which many American socialists sometimes cast longing eyes. During a recent lock-out in Zurich, the streets swarmed with troops and citizens were insulted, attacked and interfered with in every possible manner.

#### ITALY.

The Italian socialist party is very badly divided at present, and there seem to be many reasons to expect an open rupture in the near future, although strong efforts are being made to avoid such a happening. There are three factions within the party ranging from the *syndicalists*, who wish to substitute direct action through strikes for political activity, to the extreme reform wing that wishes to almost merge the identity of the party in some of the radical capitalist parties. As has happened elsewhere, these two extreme wings sometimes pursue so much the same tactics that they find themselves together in the voting.

#### FINLAND.

The recent reform of the suffrage which is about to become a law confers the suffrage upon women as well as men. For this the socialist agitation was mainly responsible. To be sure the women comrades took the most active part in this phase of the movement, holding enormous mass-meetings throughout the country. One such demonstration, held last December, was attended by over 25,000 women, and issued a manifesto of which hundreds of thousands of copies were circulated.

## VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA.

The letter which follows from a comrade in Melbourne gives a view of the class struggle in the antipodes. American socialists will recognize many familiar features; in fact with a little change of names the same letter might have been written from any one of a thousand different places in the world. Yet this does not mean that it is commonplace, any more than that capitalism has reduced even its own death struggles to a dead uniformity.

"Dear Comrades:—The labor movement here (politically) dates from the year 1890 when the workers were beaten in the maritime strike, which showed the non-political unionist his very little power against organized capital with political control. They formed a political wing of the trade unions and called it the Political Labor Council. There were a few disorganized political organizations before that known as Progressive Leagues, etc., but nothing definite. The P. L. C. was formed and was confined practically to the metropolis. But they found that the Plutes could beat them every time with the country vote. Finding it impossible to win without extending to the country and fighting down the town vs. country theory which the Plutes were playing upon, a separation took place between the unionistic and political sections, the latter forming a distinct body with which unions could affiliate. There are now eighty-six of these affiliated branches, sixty of which are country, besides the affiliated trade unions, one of which, the Australian Workers' Union, has 25,000 members.

"We have just held our annual conference, at which we knocked alliances with other parties out. The Protectionist Association and the Chamber of Manufacturers both desired to enter into an agreement for fighting the Free Traders at the next Federal Elections to be held in November, but we passed them both up.

"Socialism is getting on in Australia first rate, I think. We have Tom Mann here with us in Victoria. He was organizing for the P. L. C. but is not now and has formed a straight out-and-out socialist party with 920 members now, and only seven months old. The socialist party originated out of a series of Sunday afternoon lectures being given by Tom Mann in the Gaiety Theatre, Melbourne. Their first rooms were in a basement, from which we got notice to quit, because we congregated too largely in front of the building (so we were told). We have now taken a commodious hall, known as the "Commonwealth Hall." We were holding Sunday night meetings in the Queens Hall, Bourke St., but had to get out of that as the Board of Health has ordered some alterations, and now we have taken the Bijou for Sunday nights. Last Sunday Comrade Tom Mann lectured on "Science, Religion and Socialism." Tonight, Sunday, May 6th, May Day here, he will lecture on "What Think Ye of Christ"? We had about 1,500 in the hall last Sunday. We are going to march in procession today, although the plutocratic Lord Mayor of Melbourne would not grant us permission, so there may be some fun. Tom is training speakers, male and female. There are between forty and fifty now and we are holding about ten meetings a week.

"We are doing some co-operative trading in the tea line at present, but intend the profits to go to the propaganda fund. The best bit of fun so far was an incident on the Yana Bank, where we hold our Sunday afternoon meetings. There is a by-law that literature must not be sold, so to get over the difficulty we gave the literature away, but had an umbrella for them to throw the money in. They altered the law so that it could not be given away and a detective came up and told Tom of it. That, of course, did not stop him and he gave them a splendid tongue lashing.

The detective took his name but we have heard nothing more of it, and we give the literature away.

"With best wishes for success in the good work and cause in general, I will conclude.

Fraternally,

R. G. BLOMBERG."

#### AUSTRIA.

The Austrian trade unions, which, in contrast to the German trade unions, make a great point of their Social-Democratic character, and decidedly repudiate the "neutrality" idea now so popular in Germany, have grown from 1892 thus:—

Form of Organisation	Year	SOCIETIES.				MEMBERS.		
		Central Societies.	National Groups.	Local Groups.	Total	Male.	Female.	Total
Trade Societies.	1892	10	240	474	724	44,390	2,216	46,606
	1896	17	284	775	1,076	95,221	3,448	98,669
	1899	30	242	1,284	1,556	113,778	5,556	119,334
	1901	32	266	1,273	1,571	113,672	5,378	119,050
	1902	47	241	1,397	1,685	129,290	5,888	135,178
	1903	51	192	1,623	1,866	145,146	9,519	154,665
	1904	45	121	2,108	2,277	176,066	13,055	189,121

Form of Organisation	Year	SOCIETIES.				Members.		
		Central Societies.	National Societies.	Local Societies.	Total	Male	Female	Total
General Trade Societies and Labour Education League	1892	—	580	4	584	21,690	2,047	23,737
	1896	—	539	19	558	16,994	2,346	19,277
	1899	—	612	95	707	34,780	3,650	38,439
	1901	—	674	49	723	29,040	4,450	33,590
	1902	—	612	73	685	26,240	3,070	29,310
	1903	—	520	83	603	20,383	2,544	22,927
	1904	—	446	30	476	15,170	1,340	16,530

The compositors are the best organized, having 73.25 per cent. of the workers in the trade union; dock workers, 38.46 per cent.; hatmakers, 28.86 per cent.; lithographic workers, 20.28 per cent.; bookbinders, 17.36 per cent. In all, out of 2,150,614 workers of whom record is to be had, 183,045 are organized. Small enough in all conscience, but growing and capable of making themselves felt even now on occasion. From 1902 to

1904 the annual income rose from 2,230,000 crowns to 3,392,000 crowns in 1904, or in four years they raised a total of 11,182,355 crowns. These figures are especially interesting in view of the fact that the Viennese workers are just entering on a general strike to protest against the stopping of the Bill for universal suffrage.

The workers in the Vienna building trade, 50,000 men, have just won a victory after a seven weeks' strike, a scale having been accepted by the masters embodying most of their demands. A good example of discipline was given by about 7,000 members, who left Vienna on the request of the union, when the latter found that their departure would make it easier to carry out the fight for the rest.—*Justice*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE RISE OF THE NEW WEST, 1819-1829, by Frederick J. Turner. Harper & Bros. Cloth, 366 pages, \$2.00.

The volumes of the "American Nation" series, of which this is the fourteenth, are very unequal in merit. The present one stands out conspicuously above any of those that have previously appeared. In the method applied, material collected and the manner of presentation, it is suggestive of the way that history will be written in the future. How close it is to the socialist point of view is seen from his statement that "We must begin with a survey of the separate sections . . . and determine what were the main interests shown in each, and impressed upon the leaders who represent them."

On the whole, the economic interpretation of history, including the class struggle, is used as a basis of the work. A preliminary survey of the three great sections shows that in New England this period "witnesses the transition of the industrial center of gravity from the harbors to the waterfalls, from commerce and navigation to manufacture"; while in the South the industrial evolution begun by the cotton-gin was in full swing and it had progressed to the point where the cotton industry was already leaving the sea-coast. Virginia's ancient tide-water aristocracy, based on tobacco and cotton, was declining, until "Randolph prophesied that the time was coming when the masters would run away from the slaves and be advertised for by them in the public papers." (Perhaps this may account for the well-known abolitionist tendencies of Washington, Jefferson and other fathers of the republic.)

After all "the rise of the new West was the most significant fact in American history in the years immediately following the war of 1812." The upper Mississippi Valley and the Ohio Valley were being filled up at a rapid rate throughout this time, while even in the far West the Santa Fe trail was laden with commerce, and fur traders were pushing into the head waters of the Columbia and the Missouri. Following the crisis of 1819 there arose "a movement comparable to the populist agitation of our own time." This agitation finally landed Jackson in the presidential chair. The main struggle of the time, however, was over the question of the tariff and internal improvements, although the slavery question blazed forth at the time of the Missouri Compromise. All of these questions are shown to be the expression of diverse economic interests. The rising manufacturing class allied itself with the West, which desired home markets and internal improvements. Against these were arrayed the New England commercial and the Southern plantation interests. Manifestly these lines of union and division were temporary and this transitional character accounts largely for the lack of clear party division, which have led many historians to designate this period of "The Era of Good Feeling." By the close of the period under discussion there had arisen the rearrangement of forces which was to prevail for the next generation.

One of the most striking illustrations of the author's presentation of the relation between political opinions and industrial conditions is given in the following quotation:

"In 1816 the average price of middling uplands (cotton) in New York was nearly thirty cents, and South Carolina's leaders favored the tariff; in 1820 it was seventeen cents, and the South saw in the protective system a grievance; in 1824 it was fourteen and three-quarters cents, and the South Carolinians denounced the tariff as unconstitutional. When the woolens bill was agitated in 1827, cotton had fallen to but little more than nine cents, and the radicals of the section threatened civil war."

There is a wealth of references, and a carefully prepared bibliography. The reading of such a work as this will form an excellent foundation for an understanding of the socialist philosophy of history, and its reading by some socialist writers and speakers might enable them to avoid some of the errors concerning American history which are so common in socialist works. We only wish that the whole of American history might be covered in the same manner.

*STUDIES IN SOCIALISM*, by *Jean Jaures*, translated with an introduction by *Mildred Minturn*. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth, 197 pages, \$1.00.

This series of essays, which first appeared in a Paris daily, are, as might be expected from their method of publication, of very unequal merit. On the whole, Jaures is best when he is either painting the pictures of the future or criticising radical non-socialist parties. It is in such chapters as those of "The General Strike" and "The Need of a Majority," or "The Socialist Aim," in which the valuable features are most striking. However, in "Liebknecht on Socialist Tactics" he presents some of the opinions of the great German socialist which are not commonly known to English speaking socialists, and which will answer as an antidote to impossibilist tendencies.

The translator's introduction, it seems to us, had better have been omitted, as she is all too plainly attempting to explain something concerning which she knows very little. It is purely a utopian idea of socialism which she sets forth in the beginning, and when she gives Menger's state socialist definition as "a clear statement of the main socialist theory" she is simply introducing confusion where there is already plenty of that commodity. Again, she gives on page XXXI a list of supposed authorities on the organization of the socialist state and not one of them is a socialist, unless we except the Fabians. Again, her statement of the Marxian position is really a parody on Marxian economics, but for this she is not entirely to blame, since Jaures has sometimes accepted the same parody for purposes of argument. Again, there is altogether too favorable a statement of what Millerand accomplished while he was minister of commerce. His famous ten-hour law she neglects to state extended the hours of labor for women and children in almost as many instances as it shortened them. Again, we wonder if Jaures really authorized the statement which she makes that he entered into socialist unity while retaining all his old beliefs. We would rather believe in Jaures' honesty than in his translator's opinion and conclude that he meant what he said when he accepted the international position.

In spite of these defects the work is a valuable addition to the socialist literature since it presents a side which has hitherto been lacking for readers of English, at least in American publications.

*SOCIALISM, A SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES*, by *John Spargo*. Macmillan Co. Cloth, 257 pages, \$1.25.

Of popular summaries of socialism there is no end, nor should there



be so long as there are people to be enlightened. There is nothing particularly new about this work, nor could there be, in so far as subject matter is concerned. The story has been told too often to be original in the retelling. We have the same sketch of the Utopians, the transition via the "Communist Manifesto" to scientific Marxism, followed by the chapters on "The Materialist Conception of History," "Capital," "The Law of Concentration," "The Class Struggle," and "The Economics of Socialism," which are found in many similar works in English and other languages.

The only question is then, Has Comrade Spargo done it better than those who have gone before? The verdict must certainly be, Yes. There is no doubt but what this is the best popular exposition of socialist doctrines so far printed. If we were to offer a criticism it would not be on his chapter on the "Outlines of the Socialist State," concerning which he expects hostile comment; indeed we think that he will be pleasantly mistaken on this point and that nearly all socialists will agree with him.

From a pedagogical point of view,—and such a work as this must be approached largely from that point,—one cannot but wish that the author had been somewhat more familiar with the evolution of socialist thought in America. It would have added strength to have used references to the very many clear expressions of class-consciousness which were even more prevalent in America in the late twenties and early thirties than they were in England. Illustrations of the class struggle could have been drawn with much more force from American history than from Medieval Europe. He does this when it comes to present illustrations, but seems ignorant of the past.

One might also question the advisability of inserting so transient a thing as a national platform, which has at the most only two years more to run, in a work intended for permanent reference.

We recognize that most of these criticisms are somewhat those of the purist, akin to the complaint of an omitted comma or a split infinitive, yet in a study of a work covering so familiar a ground, this is almost the only method of practical criticism. After all the work as a whole deserves so much commendation that even these slight complaints are almost out of place.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

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**FIVE DOLLARS' WORTH OF BEST SOCIALIST BOOKS FREE  
WITH A SHARE OF STOCK BOUGHT DURING SEPTEMBER.**

The socialist co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is not a new experiment. It is a success. It is putting out nearly all the socialist books in permanent binding that are being sold in the United States. It is publishing more new socialist books each year than any other house in the world, not even excepting the leading book publishing houses of Germany.

This publishing house is owned by 1445 socialist locals and individual socialists who have each subscribed \$10.00 for a share of stock. This stock carries the privilege of buying all our books at cost but it draws no dividends. Moreover no officer of the publishing house draws more than ordinary wages for his work. Every dollar that comes in from the sale of books or the sale of stock is used to publish more books of the sort the Socialist Party needs.

Nearly all the shares have been paid for at the full price of \$10.00 each and no premium of any kind has been given with them. Just now, however, there is an urgent need for about \$3000.00 to pay for printing the first American edition of Marx's "Capital," a new popular edition of Morgan's "Ancient Society" and a number of new and important books by European and American writers, including Labriola's "Socialism and Philosophy," Lafargue's "Social and Philosophical Studies," Dietzgen's "Positive Outcome of Philosophy," Fitch's "Physical Basis of Mind and Morals," Kautsky's "Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History," and a library edition of Work's "What's So and What Isn't."

We could borrow the money for bringing out these books, but instead of paying out interest we prefer to give enough books free to purchasers of stock to make sure of selling 300 shares within the next few weeks.

Here is our offer: to any one sending \$10.00 for a share of stock before the end of September 1906, we will send free of charge any books published by ourselves to the amount of \$5.00 at retail prices. If it is desired that we prepay the charges, 50c. must be added to this price, otherwise the books will be sent at purchaser's expense. To any one

just starting a socialist library we recommend the following selection of \$5.00 worth of books to apply on this offer:

The Socialists, Who They are and What They Stand for, by **John Spargo**.

Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, by Emile Vandervelde.

The Social Revolution, by Karl Kautsky.

The American Farmer, by A. M. Simons.

Principles of Scientific Socialism, by Charles H. Vail.

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels.

Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, by **Antonio Labriola**.

The offer, however, is not limited to these eight books, but it is limited to books which we publish ourselves, and does not apply to the volumes in the Social Science Series which we import nor to any other books of other publishers. This offer will not appear in the REVIEW again and it will not hold good after October 1, 1906. A copy of "What to Read on Socialism" containing a full description of the publishing house will be mailed promptly to anyone requesting it.

#### REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS IN SOCIALIST FAITH AND FANCY.

This remarkable volume by Peter E. Burrowes was published three years ago by a publishing house that failed shortly after. It was cordially welcomed by the socialist press, and then forgotten, because no one reminded people of it.

But it is too good a book to stay forgotten, and our publishing house has now bought the entire edition from Comrade Burrowes. It is a book that the socialist movement needs. As one reviewer says, "he has caught the very soul of Socialism in his hands and has put it between covers."

Burrowes is not only a thinker, he has an artistic way of saying things in such a way as to make them stick in the memory. Take this sentence chosen at random from his essay called "The New Way in Politics":

Politics is now the device of maintaining the property dominion over the lives of the poor by two parties, so staged as to seem real antagonists; so historied, newspapered and talked about as to make the victory of one or the other at the ballot boxes seem to be the victory of something other than of the property and capitalistic element of society. Socialism strips this mask off politics and exposes the naked truth of the class war necessarily made by the private capitalist on the dignity and liberty of all the rest of mankind, and therefore of the war made by the Democratic and Republican parties on the liberty and manhood of Americans.

Now read these short paragraphs from "The Revolutionary Message":

The human mind can have no higher function than that of preserving, enriching and prolonging human life.

Economic pressure, that is the need and the way of getting our bread, is the dynamic force in history; the efficient cause of evolution and the sufficient explanation of our morals, ideals and religions.

Human progress is an intellectual and industrial movement from the life of the individual to the community life.

The sentences quoted are a fair sample of the whole book. It contains fifty-six short essays, making in all 320 pages. It is a book that every socialist will want in his library, not to read through in a day or a week, but to take in small doses and think over. It is also an excellent book for propaganda among people of rather more than average education.

The New York price was \$1.25; our price is \$1.00 postpaid to any one, 60c. to our stockholders.

### MAY BEALS' STORIES.

There is so much of what we socialists want said in "The Rebel at Large" that our own comrades may be biased witnesses on the question of the literary merit of the book. So here is what the *Chicago Daily News* says:

"The Rebel at Large" is not a colonial tale nor a southern wartime romance, but the title of a collection of seventeen stories by May Beals, written avowedly to carry forward the message and spirit of socialism. They voice the patience and pathos in the lot of the oppressed of earth and stir a revolt against industrial, social and religious creeds which fail to meet present-day conditions in the uplift of mankind. Intensity of conviction, seriousness of purpose and a fresh, crisp individual way of treating time-worn material make of some of these little sketches veritable mosaics.

Mechanically "The Rebel at Large" is a volume the size and style of the Standard Socialist Series and Library of Science for the Workers, but bound in green cloth with a new cover design. This design is also used in the second edition of "God's Children," by James Allman, a modern allegory which incidentally introduces a first-class soap-box speech on socialism. Fourteen volumes in the Standard Socialist Series are now ready and two more will appear this month. With the seven volumes of the Library of Science for the Workers and the two books of fiction just described, we are thus offering twenty-five volumes of uniform size at 50c. each; to stockholders 30c. postpaid or 25c. if purchaser pays expressage. In the International Library of Social Science, retailing at \$1.00 with the same discounts, we have eight volumes now ready, while two more will appear during September.

### SOCIALIST BOOKS. IN PRESS.

*Marx's Capital.* All the type for the first volume has already been set, and if no accidents delay us, copies should be ready for delivery by the middle of October. This announcement refers to the first volume, which has been revised by Ernest Untermann from the last German edition, and will also, unlike any previous edition, contain a full alphabetical index of subjects. The price will be \$2.00, and we hope to receive enough advance orders to come somewhere near covering the cost of the plates.

*Lafargue's Social and Philosophical Studies.* The final proofs of this book are being corrected as we go to press, and we expect to have it ready toward the end of September. This will be Vol. 15 of the Standard Socialist Series, price 50c. It consists of a series of keenly critical

studies of the causes of religion and of abstract ideas. Lafargue takes the position made familiar by Spencer in pointing out that the idea of God doubtless originated in the attempts of the savage to explain the unknown elements in his daily experience. But Lafargue brings this theory down to date in a new and striking fashion when he shows that the modern capitalist has the same need of an unknown power to explain the events of his daily life that are determined by a social environment which he does not in the least understand. The wage-worker on the contrary, Lafargue tells us, sees far less, so far as his personal experiences and welfare go, of these mysterious social forces. His daily bread comes in a prosaic fashion from his daily work, and he knows it. He is thus not biased in the direction of mysticism, consequently the materialistic interpretation of things is more readily understood by him than by the average capitalist. The author's study of the origin of the idea of goodness is almost equally startling to those accustomed to conventional ways of thinking. By an ingenious series of tables tracing the derivation of words from the Greek and Latin through the various languages of modern Europe, he demonstrates that the ideas of goodness and property are inextricably interwoven, in other words that historically the "good" man is the man with the "goods."

The translation is by Charles H. Kerr; the author says of it in a recent letter: "Je vous expédie en même temps que cette lettre les épreuves corrigées. Ma femme\* et moi nous les avons lues attentivement et, comme vous le verrez, nous avons fait peu de changements. Votre traduction est très bonne; vous avez rendu fidèlement le texte français. J'essai d'être concis et clair; votre traduction est concise et claire."

*The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.* This new work by M. H. Fitch of Colorado is already electrotyped and should be ready not far from the middle of September. It will be the eleventh volume of the International Library of Social Science (price \$1.00). It is a noteworthy book in that the author, reasoning from wholly different data from those usually discussed by socialists, arrives at identical conclusions. Especially interesting is the fact that Lafargue and Fitch, each writing without a knowledge of what the other was doing, unite in exposing the imbecillity of the capitalist-minded philosophers who think and try to make others think that they are wholly emancipated from religious superstition, but are led by their class environment to make a new God for themselves out of the "Unknowable," and to put a large share of their mental energy on things that can not be known to the exclusion of things that can be known. Mr. Fitch's chapter entitled "Herbert Spencer and his Mistaken Disciples" is by itself an admirable stimulus to clear thinking.

*The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.* This long-promised volume of over 400 pages contains the three most important works of Joseph

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\* Mme. Laura Lafargue, who as stated above assisted in correcting these proofs, is the only surviving daughter of Karl Marx.

Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann. The last pages of the volume are now being electrotyped, and we expect to have copies ready before the end of September. Space forbids any full description of it this month, but we may safely say that is the most important addition made for many years to the number of socialist books available to American readers. This is the ninth volume of the International Library of Social Science, price \$1.00.

*Socialism and Philosophy.* This work by Antonio Labriola is the tenth volume of the same Library. Ernest Untermann has now completed the translation from the original Italian, and has supplemented it with a valuable and suggestive essay entitled "Antonio Labriola and Joseph Dietzgen: A Comparison of Historical Materialism and Moist Materialism." This will appear as an appendix to Labriola's volume. The printing is well under way, and we expect to have copies by the end of October. (Price \$1.00).

*What's So and What Isn't.* This book by John M. Work, the first library edition of which we are now printing, will be a most valuable piece of propaganda. It is addressed to the man who is just interested in socialism enough to ask questions and argue against it. Comrade Work gives a complete and satisfying set of answers to the usual questions and arguments. He has a way of saying things in a clear forcible fashion that keeps the reader awake even though he may have been doing a hard day's work. And yet Comrade Work says in his preface that he does not know what literary style is. We are inclined to doubt his veracity on that one point. The book will be ready about Sept. 20. (Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 10, 50c.)

There are other books in press, but there is no room to tell about them this month.

#### OUR RECORD FOR AUGUST.

Our book sales for the month were \$1420.76. This does not quite touch the phenomenal figure of \$1527.18 for June, but the June total included payment of \$300 from the Wilshire Book Co. which was partly an advance payment for books used later, while the August total does not include a dollar from this source, so that August is really the record-breaking month for our output of books. Receipts from the sale of stock were \$373.46, and Review receipts \$159.22. (In August, 1905, the book sales were \$834.20 and the Review receipts \$107.46.) We omitted last month to acknowledge the cash contributions made to the publishing house, so will acknowledge those for both months together, all but the last item having been received in July: Hugh Smith, Mo., \$1.00; J. Abeles, N. Y., \$1.00; R. G. Lenn, Okla., 40c.; A. L. Pennock, Florida, \$8.65; Walter Williams, Guatemala, \$5.00. We make no special appeal this month for either donations or loans, though either would help the publishing house. What we do ask for and expect to get is more subscriptions for stock and more cash orders for books. We have the books that will make efficient socialists. We are circulating all we can with the capital we have; we shall circulate more as soon as the money to do it with is in sight.



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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

VOLUME VII

OCTOBER 1, 1906

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Publishers' Department

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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## The Congressional Elections.

THE atmosphere of the United States in the year 1906 is heavy with scandals and lurid with exposures. The bitterest enemy of capitalist society, bent upon exhibiting relentlessly the immorality, the heartlessness and the degradation it works upon its human factors, could paint no such lamentable picture as the unpying consequences of the system itself have painted.

It is as if the dark finger of fate were touching, one after another, the secret keys of society's innermost life; and whenever men have looked at one another in the belief that the final hideous revelation has been made, Lo! another key has been depressed, and in a new quarter, thought far remote from the influence of corruption, a depth of turpitude has been revealed approaching near to infamy. The gods of the bourgeoisie; the laurel-crowned Olympians of the commercial world, have fallen ignominiously from their mountain by the disintegrating decay of their own manhood; and their worshipers stand aghast and bewildered, torn from the moorings to all they had deemed steadfast and moral.

What the socialist propaganda could not have done to the props of capitalist society in a decade of agitation has been done since the last congressional election by the rotting away of the social foundations themselves.

It is in times like these; times of the breaking up of old faiths;

that men are spurred by necessity to scrutinize the conditions of their social polity and its objective expression, and are led to seek new political affiliations.

The congressional elections of 1906 are important, therefore, not alone because they afford us the interesting opportunity of registering our total national vote; they are important because the dramatic objective crumbling of the commercial *morale* makes the fall of 1906 a time of especial harvest for the socialist cause. We harvest this year, as always, the crop of our own sowing; but we harvest also, if we can rise to it, the rich crop sown by the logic of events.

The predicament of the two old parties is at present an interesting one. The investigations of the business methods of the huge life-insurance companies has exhibited both the Republican and Democratic party agents as equally the paid servants of the master class, reaching eagerly for the wages of betrayed trust. But while officially both parties are instruments of the privileged economic class, there is an interesting division in each, caused by the deepening conflict between the great capitalists and the little capitalists over the division of the product of the working class.

This division rent the Democratic party in 1896, and the rent is not yet mended. A similar division now actually divides the Republican leaders in several states, and by President's Roosevelt's championing the cause of the little capitalists; but no election has yet been held in which the result of this division might be officially registered, and the coming congressional elections will not do it.

In fact, outside of the vote cast directly for socialism the elections this fall will be wholly ambiguous. Their real import will not be disclosed until the presidential election of 1908. There is no way of determining whether the Republican votes in the coming elections are cast from habit of mind, for Wall street directly, or for the little capitalists in revolt under the leadership of the president; and so long as the votes can be harvested in the same basket there is no danger to the official representatives of privilege. But the congressional agents of the American plutocracy now realize fully that their direct constituents are hopelessly outnumbered by the little capitalists, and as economic privilege now rests upon craft instead of force, are prepared to tread softly. Many of them are to present the amusing spectacle of men making a campaign upon a platform in which they do not believe, and which they have been well paid to obstruct, pointing to the record of the last congressional session as a reason for their reelection and as their justification of the "reform" spirit of the

Republican party. It is a matter of record that every measure of importance to the little capitalists which was enacted into law at the last session was passed against the wishes of the majority, and against the economic interest of those who have been the employers of the Republican party. Political lives were in danger. There were to be elections this fall. It is better politics to concede a point or two and keep the whip in hand, than to risk losing the whip altogether.

The Democratic party is absolutely without campaign material owing to its hopelessly unstrategic support in Congress of the measures of a Republican executive. That the leaders realize this is evidenced by their ignoring of the coming campaign and its direct issues, and by the frantic fixing of their attention upon the presidential campaign of 1908 as the tactic most useful in holding the vote this fall. The apparent equanimity with which plutocracy now regards the possible candidacy of Mr. Bryan gives rise to visions of offices once more to be enjoyed by the Democratic faithful.

In this political scramble however, the working class has no more of a vital interest than it had in the last session of Congress, in which its needs and aspirations not once received a passing thought.

The working class in American politics has been mainly in the position of a rabbit for the privilege of devouring which a greedy big dog and a vicious little dog are fighting. It has not yet occurred to either of the dogs that the rabbit itself may have a right to life;—it has hardly yet occurred to the rabbit. The rabbit has been usually inclined to favor the little dog, either blinded by the amount of dust his scramble kicks up, or believing it more agreeable perhaps to be devoured in smaller bites. In the present contest the big dog has been getting so much of the rabbit that the little dog has called in his neighbors to help him. The only real interest to the rabbit in such a contest, if he were capable of analyzing the situation, is the fact that he will finally be devoured by one or the other, or both.

The growth of the vote of the Socialist party is evidence of the coming of the rabbit to consciousness; and the work of the socialist in the coming campaign is to help the discontented worker clearly to see his real position, as a bone of contention whose rights are not considered.

There will be nothing either in the republican or democratic appeals at the hustings this year to impair the vote for socialism previously cast or to prevent the adding to the same of many thousand votes which have in the past two years become class-conscious. The danger in the coming elections lies, as it always

does in times of special social unrest, in the local candidacies of individual men who seek to market public discontent for their own political profit, by fulminations against certain flagrant corruptions, and by the advocacy of radical enforcements of capitalist law. The present state of the American mind renders it peculiarly susceptible to such influences. It is aflame with middle class wrath against "business methods" and "captains of industry" and wants things mended tomorrow, by putting everybody in jail. The facts now acknowledged are so bad as to make the testimony of the big millionaire worse than useless in his own defense. As a class the millionaires have been caught in habitual and wholesale falsehood, and thieves and harlots are sooner believed than the coadjutors of Hanna and Aldrich.

This all makes for unphilosophical punitive revolt instead of philosophical revolution because it is so largely personal; and the district attorney who picks out and punishes a big criminal becomes at once a bourgeois hero and presidential possibility, because his mind and action are on the plane of the popular feeling of revenge.

The duty of the socialist now as always is to make the workingman class-conscious and weld him into the party organization. The tendency to follow off after some middle-class reformer in the hope of getting immediate relief from some popular ill, must be met and overcome by a slow and patient educational process. What is wanted is not to put plutocracy in jail; it is to put it to work. The result will be achieved by the abolition of its privileges; not by locking it up.

Any action or policy which divides the vote of the Socialist party, or diverts even a portion of it into channels of mere reform, whether cast for another party or for an individual, introduces an element of confusion and leads to sure disintegration and discouragement of the rank and file. It is not absolutely necessary to elect socialists to office in order to make progress; but it is supremely necessary to maintain a compact and threatening body of class-conscious voters, who invariably vote as a unit, and who take on steadily from year to year an accretion of their own kind. In the face of such a growing power and its clearly outlined demands, all the relief measures which can be given the workers under the present system will be conceded one at a time by the beneficiaries of the system. Any disruption of this compact body, however slight, brings joy to the privileged class, for it is the storm barometer of the life of that class and the object of its keenest and subtlest attack. It may be quite safe for our representatives who shall once be elected to legislative offices to make in their public effort such combinations with other indi-

viduals or parties in the same public bodies as may be thought of strategic value in advancing the cause of the workers or crippling the capitalist class; because, behind such representatives stands this compact body watchful, alert and comprehending, unharmed and untouched by the sword play of its agents. But any combination, trading, or so-called opportune tactic, however briefly maintained, which affects the compact body itself, or leads any of its members nationally or locally into individual action independent of it, is more disastrous and more blighting to a cause that can only succeed through solidarity, than any open onslaught capitalism ever can hurl against it.

The guarding therefore of our compact revolutionary organization is the fundamental and vital duty of every member of the party, not to be lost sight of in any conjuncture, however promising of immediate gain; for it is the only weapon vouchsafed to us with which to sever the bonds of the working class woven through long ages of tyranny.

There should be good and legitimate progress for the Socialist party in these days of discontent, and literature suited to the time and its tendencies should not be withheld. A long look ahead should be taken in each congressional district, suitable and able candidates trained and disciplined for ultimate service, and a perpetual and untiring propaganda carried on until our ballotings are successful. It is the legislative offices, in which our representatives need assume no responsibility for the upholding or enforcement of capitalist laws, and are free to exercise their critical faculties to the utmost, which will be of most use to us at present.

We can hardly look upon the legislative bodies of England, Germany, France, Italy and the other European countries having their fighting circles of socialists, without a feeling akin to humiliation that here, where the ballot is unrestricted, the working class has waited so long to be shown the way to economic and political independence; waited hat in hand and on bended knee at the lobby chambers of the political lackeys of the capitalist class, supplicating for the things which the proper use of its ballots would equip it imperatively to demand.

At this moment, more than at any previous period in the history of socialism in the United States, a socialist member of Congress is vitally needed. In a western prison there lie incarcerated men who have devoted their lives to the liberation of the working class; men of ability, integrity and unblemished honor; socialists; members of our own party; victims of the conspiracy of a capitalist organization whose ruthless violation of capitalism's own laws in pursuit of vengeance for impaired profits, testi-

fies to the splendid strength and manhood of these imprisoned men. These socialists cannot be fraudulently condemned and executed for a crime of which they are innocent unless we fail in bringing the facts adequately before the country. Capitalist anarchy in Colorado can withstand every influence except that of public light upon its methods. A socialist member of Congress could focus the attention of the entire country upon the trial of Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone, and confuse and put to rout the reckless and merciless enemies of the Western Federation of Miners.

It is therefore supremely essential that in every congressional district where there may be the remotest chance this year of electing a socialist to Congress (and especially in those in which reasonable assurance exists that the socialist vote may be fairly counted) a herculean effort be put forth to elect. In such districts speaking and the distribution of literature should not alone be relied upon. The organization should be whipped into perfect working order and a systematic canvas made of every voter in the district. Every man should be personally interviewed and personally requested to vote for the socialist candidate for Congress, even if he cannot be persuaded to vote the rest of the ticket; and the vital and critical reason for the solicitation should be given him. Many a middle class man who habitually votes an old party ticket would respond through sympathy to such solicitation, and the worker who would not vote to help insure justice to a wrongly condemned leader of organized labor should indeed be hard to find.

Once we have a representative in Congress, day by day to interpret passing events in the light of the socialist philosophy the effect of our propaganda will be cumulative. A new interest and a new life will come to the party, and those who long have borne the heat of the day will at least see the beginnings of the fruit of their labors.

Already the long maintained conspiracy of silence has been shattered; the world's best literature is to-day aflame with aspiration for a better order. The rush and hurry of the tremendously rapid culmination of the capitalist system, changing economic bases, and with them habits of thought, is bringing the world to a time of great danger, and of great promise. Amid the confusion and chaos of a crumbling and outworn society is there now enough of nobility, of true manhood in us to lay the foundations of an enduring state?

This question every man upon whose heart and brain has fallen the awful light of the socialist ideal must answer for himself.

FRANKLIN WENTWORTH.

## The Cost of Competition.\*

**A**N interesting phenomenon for the student of our contemporary life to watch is the gradual development of a school of native American Socialists, who have been made what they are by direct contact with reality, rather than by the influence of our teachings. Such men as David Graham Phillips, Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens and Thorstein Veblen, who do not even call themselves Socialists—but have a new vocabulary which they have invented for themselves. Lincoln Steffens in his *Studies of Graft* has traced the disease back to its fundamental cause, which is Capitalism; but he does not use the word capitalism, he calls it “big business”; he does not talk about class-domination—he calls it “the System.” In the same way Professor Veblen, in his two extraordinary books, “*The Theory of the Leisure Class*” and “*The Theory of Business Enterprise*,” has analyzed the tendencies of the hour entirely independently of any previous speculations, and has laid the foundations for a native American school of political economy.

Another book of this sort has just been sent to me by the publishers. It is written by a man of whom I never heard, and who is entirely unknown in the Socialist movement. He is professor of steam engineering in the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and has, apparently, been led to his investigations through his acquaintance with Bellamy. He has written a book called “*The Cost of Competition*,” on which I understand he was at work for seven years. I can readily believe it, for it is a tremendous thing. It is a book which should be immediately taken up by the Socialists; it should be read and analyzed by the thinking men in our movement, and its arguments should be made familiar to our party workers.

It is a volume of over six hundred pages; a treatise upon economics, entirely free from all the jargon of the schools, by a man who keeps in close touch with actual life, and who has conscience and moral intelligence, as well as analytical power and scientific training. For instance, he is defining value, and explains that the ultimate test of value is “the power to produce

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\**The Cost of Competition*, by Sidney A. Reeve, McClure, Phillips & Co., Cloth, 617 pp., \$2.00.



life;" it is somewhat unusual, in treatises upon "the dismal science," to find the phrase "value" qualified as follows:

As the flotsam of life is tossed before him for consideration, as love, riches or institutions, as knowledge, opportunity or inspiration, are held up for his comparative estimation, the decision, speaking broadly, always finally turns upon the question: "How much of human life will it support or elevate?" Temporarily or locally fancy or ignorance may warp the judgment, and this rightful arbiter of the issue be forgotten; but sooner or later nature reduces the question to its lowest terms: "The greatest good of the greatest number." That which brings the opportunity of life to the greatest number, or in the greatest purity, or in the greatest complexity of composition, inevitably survives. The fruitless fancy, the vain ambition, the selfish greed, the malevolent craze, succumbs. Art may flourish, empire may widen, knowledge may take root and grow, culture and refinement may be of the most extreme, aristocracy may flaunt its heraldic emblems and prune its ancient genealogical trees; yet if the solid promise of unlimited opportunity for future billions be not incorporated therein nature sets upon it her stamp of disapproval. It withers and dies, is buried and lost.

He proceeds to set forth the nature of wealth, of the processes of production and consumption, and of exchange. The perfect type of exchange, unalloyed by any other feature, he finds within our modern, highly-organized industries, such as great factories, or trusts. Competition has been entirely banished from the internal structure of these great organizations; complete co-operation and systemization of all parts have been attained. There is a Central Office, so-called, which superintends the entire business, and exchanges the products of various departments *without profit*; the resulting product being the work of no individual workman, but the fruit of their common toil. No one owns anything which he produces.

"This absence of legal ownership," our author continues, "or of sense of personal possession applies to almost every step in the entire modern productive system. Each man works for wages, not for the sake of making things for his own gratification. Here and there is a small factory which is superintended, more or less, by its owner; there are even still some where workman and proprietor are identical; but they are small in size, unimportant in number and character when compared with the more fully developed productive enterprises, and they are on the steady decrease. ....

Even in those cases where the owner is present and spends a portion of his time in superintending the productive processes of his mill (as contrasted with the commercial processes of his selling-office), this distinction must ever be clear: That during that portion of his time he is a superintendent, and not an owner. The portion of his income which is creditable to this portion of his time, equal to the value produced by that portion of his services, should be charged against the enterprise and credited to him as a salary for superintendence. In economic parlance it would be known as wages.

But this system of simple exchange does not prevail throughout the whole of society; it is modified by another feature known as *Barter*. In order to illustrate Barter the author imagines the

activities of two primitive tribes: one fishermen, the other hunters, who produce in order to exchange; and here a trouble arises.

"The community of savages has no means for determining even the average valuation of the goods by the community; it does not possess sufficiently intelligent organization to perceive things as a unit. It has, in short, no Central Office. Therefore is recourse necessarily taken, purely as a matter of primitive ignorance, to individual valuation as a determinant of price, and the exchange is made upon that basis. The parties are left strictly to themselves. .... Thus arose the 'free social contract.' As civilization advanced it has been found necessary to interfere, to the extent of prohibition, with every other sort of duello. With barter the interference has as yet been only partial."

This Barter the author proceeds to analyze and define, in a chapter of really extraordinary keenness. You will observe, as you read the extracts that follow, that he is proceeding to set forth the ills of modern society in a new and most convincing manner. Before the barter begins, the *productive labor* was already completed; no amount of keenness in bargaining upon the part of either party increases in the slightest the quantity of the fish or game on hand.

"This fundamental fact is to be noted at the start, to be reiterated and emphasized at every possible point: *Production was already finished and could not be extended by any sort of further effort.* There lay the game and the fish on the market. No further effort could or did pretend to increase their number, their weight or their life-supporting value in any way. .... It is the proportionate *distribution of wealth* between the two parties alone which barter aims to influence and to modify. For, as the result of exchange alone, at the natural price, each man would depart from the market with five hares and fifteen fish. But in barter each sees his opportunity, as stated before, *to secure wealth without producing it*; the only way, of course, being to get away from the other fellow some of the wealth which the latter has produced. If the hunter, for instance, by persuasion or deception as to the quality of either of the commodities or as to their natural price, or by securing a time for exchange when the fisherman is in especial need of game, or by selecting a place where violence may be threatened without danger of punishment by the tribe, or by the promise of influence with a sweet-heart, a chieftain or an enemy,—if by any such means he can force his neighbor to accept one hare for four fish instead of one for three, then, as the result of the barter, the hunter will depart from the market with five hares and twenty fish and the fisherman will return home with five hares and only ten fish,—to what domestic fate we may leave to the imagination.

Herein arises the second important characteristic of the situation: If the fisherman finds life more endurable upon a daily diet of five hares and ten fish than he did upon thirty fish alone, he will return to the market on the morrow, to be again outdone by the hunter at barter; if not, he will remain away until the hunter becomes more moderate in his demands. If, on the other hand, life would be more enjoyable for the fisherman even upon so low a diet as five hares and only five fish than it would upon thirty fish alone, and if the limits of either the hunter's seductive or overbearing disposition or of his command of intrigue have not yet been reached, these processes will most naturally be expanded until the hunter's daily income has become five hares and twenty-five

fish, while the fisherman's is reduced to five hares and five fish. For this is the line of least resistance.

From these considerations is established this law: *Barter added to Exchange inevitably tends to directly reduce the income of the loser to the minimum which leaves life at all preferable to the more primitive level of existence without exchange.*

Such would be the intercourse between hunter and fisherman if the latter were a quiet, unaggressive individual, devoted to his day's work and knowing little and caring less about diplomacy, intrigue or antagonism—as, most fortunately, is true of the majority of mankind. But let it be supposed, on the other hand, that the fisherman who greeted the hunter turned out to be one of his own ilk, matching him evenly in ability to barter. Then would result two things:

(1) Each would return home, on the average, after all their dicker-ing, with the five hares and fifteen fish which each would have had *had they exchanged without any barter at all*: that is, at the natural price.

(2) The natural hope of being able to effect a better result than this, legitimately supported by the very high reward allotted to barter, per unit of time, when it is successful at all, would lead to their spending more and more time each day at bargaining with each other, until the time devoted to production became so restricted that the quantities of fish and game brought to market no longer tempted quarrel over them. This hope of quicker and easier success by barter than by production is the gambler's hope. It is seen to bring the gambler's reward.

From this second consideration arises the law: *Barter added to Exchange inevitably tends to restrict the productivity of both parties to the barter to the minimum which leaves existence at all preferable to the more primitive level attainable without exchange.*

Combining these two laws, there results this all-important conclusion: *Barter is a process parasitical upon the Exchange so destructive to the latter and, with it, to the Production dependent upon exchange, and to the Life engaged in both and dependent upon them for support, that it limits their existence and activity to the minimum which will afford a supporting food-supply to the barter which preys upon them. This minimum is slightly greater than the productivity possible without either exchange or barter, but is vastly less than that possible with pure exchange alone."*

The evils of this system are two-fold: (1) The wrong done to the individual less capable as a barterer; and (2) The wrong done to the community in the consumption of time and nervous energy in useless, because unproductive activity.

"The first of these is plainly visible in the elementary illustration. In modern times it has very greatly increased in magnitude, by the exaggeration of the unbalance between the contending parties far beyond what it could be between any two individuals, by the combination of individuals on the selling side with no corresponding combination on the buying side against it. It is this which is the foundation of all of the current outcry against 'the trusts.' But in this the wrong has grown only in magnitude, not character.

"The second of these two wrongs is by no means so easily discernible. In the elementary illustration it is obscure partly because of the deliberately assumed lack of any coherent social entity which might be palpably wronged by the mere existence of the barter, and partly because of the obvious freedom of other individuals, in so elastic an environment as this elementary society, to operate quite

independently of the haggling pair. In modern society both of these conditions are absent. Society is a unit, whether it will own up to it or not; the institutions adopted by the majority, which never sees clearly what it is doing, must be accepted by the minority. In its modern development, however, this second form of wrong is still obscure, not because it is small or unimportant but because of the blinding intricacy of the field in which it is active.

Yet it is most important to call attention at this point to the fact that it is this second form of offense involved in barter, the one against society at large, which now constitutes by far its most important phase. It has not only grown enormously in magnitude, but its ramifications have worked their insidious way throughout the social structure until the entire fabric of individuals and institutions, material, intellectual and moral, has been permeated and distorted by its poisonous presence.....It is not the profit-making, the profit which is extorted from the consumer, which does him the most harm; it is the profit-keeping, the time spent by the barterer in antagonism and failure, which undermines his neighbor's purchasing-power and which robs the rich and the poor alike of their natural heritage in a new continent: material welfare, peace on earth, and good will to men. It is not gold, but the legalized strife for gold, which is the root of all evil."

"Success in either sort of contest," the author continues:

"May be forwarded by superiority in either one of two fields: in production or in bargaining. In the first field arise a natural, wholesome desire on the part of each healthy worker to surpass his fellows: selfish, if you please, but nevertheless conducive to greater wealth in the community and to greater health and wealth for the individual. In the second field will also naturally arise a similar desire for personal superiority; but that it is unwholesome for both individual and community in its results and quite in contrast to the first it is the task of these following pages to demonstrate.

This desire, evinced in the field of production, we shall call *emulation*. That in the second field we shall call either *barter* or *bargaining* or *competition*, almost synonymously.

All of this activity is necessitated by the fact that there exists no Central-Office, with authority to ascertain the real value and so to do away with Barter. There is no need of other preliminary to exchange, after production, than the determination of an equitable price. Such a determination would appear, to the rational investigator, to be a mere question of accurate record of individual production, a purely intellectual question, its peaceful scientific settlement, in a civilized community, to be accomplished by reason and to be protected by law. But the reference of the matter to barter for settlement allows the public reliance to lapse, instead, to a balance of personal forces which are quite other than rational; in reality to the clumsy method of approximation known as the trial by nerve-duello. In all forms of duello success may be attained only by doing harm to one's opponent; but for refinement of veiled malevolence, of result if not of will, the duello which was relied upon in questions of criminal law before the Carlovingian kings cannot compare with the form of duello known as barter which is relied upon by the twentieth century for the settlement of all questions of economics.

The writer then proceeds to further elucidate this idea of Barter:

"In its present form, complicated as it is by the intricacy of modern life far away from the simple elementary bargain between fisherman and hunter which was adduced for the sake of illustration, barter may be defined as the forced passage through one's hands of the ownership of either goods or the chance to labor at the greatest possible profit to the temporary owner, or, what is the same thing, *at the greatest possible cost to the community of the value concerned.* This means that, in the case of goods, the resultant price will be the highest which may possibly tempt purchasers; in the case of labor it means that the lowest wage will prevail which will possibly tempt labor to exertion. The standard phrase for this method in railroad economics is 'charging all the traffic will bear.' The same practice is the standard, and the only successful, policy in all forms of business."

The evils of this system he exhibits by the illustration of a mill-owner who wishes to purchase an engine and who is besieged by ten different salesmen each anxious, not to help him in getting what he wants, but in getting out of him the highest price for something which he may not want at all. The waste of this method is obvious. Only one man can possibly secure the order; the rest are inevitably doomed to failure.

"As to price," the author continues, "that shows the worst failure of all. The engines were already in the seller's hands, perfect and complete, before negotiation opened. When it is concluded, one of them is transferred to the purchaser's ownership, absolutely without alteration or improvement, *at just about twice its completed cost as it left the factory.* For, of course the selling-houses are not doing business at a loss,— 'for their health,' as the phrase goes. If they sell an engine only once out of every six expeditions made by their salesmen, that one sale must bring in enough gross profit to cover the cost of all six negotiations, with a margin over for net profit. It is inevitable that the consumer shall pay the whole cost of competition. *But what he loses the seller does not gain.* Most of it has been lost in abortive effort."

The next chapter is entitled "Specialization in Barter."

Reverting again to primitive illustrations of economic principle, rather than to early periods of economic history, it may easily be imagined how the illustrative community of fisher-folk soon gravitated into a better plan for barter with the hunters than the one previously described. The competition between the fishermen for the privilege of exchange would soon develop the fact that some one or more among them possessed exceptional talent for driving a bargain. Hence, it would pay the majority of the fishermen to strike an agreement with these individuals, saying: "You represent us at market, taking charge of our fish there, exchanging them for hares upon the best basis you can secure, and bring us back the hares. For your time and trouble we will then pay you in both fish and hares." The hunters, perceiving the gain which the fishermen had effected by thus organizing themselves, would follow suit. Thus would the community divide itself, for the first time, into the two fundamental classes of modern economic organization:

(1) The Producers of Wealth, the greater in numbers and, on the average, the lesser in skill; and

(2) The Bargainers for Valuation, in the minority as to numbers, but embodying the bulk of the community's fund of nervous energy.

After this explanation Professor Reeves is in position to define two terms which he uses throughout the balance of the book: *Production*, and *Dissipation*. Production is all that social activity which is devoted toward the creation of Value, by the transformation and transportation of raw material. Dissipation is all that activity which is devoted toward the control of Valuation, by barter or competition over price. For instance: The author illustrates the various processes incidental to the superintendence of labor, under our present system. These combine two distinct duties:

(1) The organization and education of labor of an inferior degree of intelligence into the maximum possible efficiency;

(2) The exhortation or compulsion of labor which has already contracted to perform certain duties at an agreed price to fulfillment of its agreement.

The first is purely productive effort. It naturally should, and it usually does, meet with the heartiest co-operation on the part of subordinate labor; the understanding of the laborer may sometimes be small, but the spirit is willing. *Whenever this is not so it is because of the constant presence of (2) and its association, in the mind of the laborer, with the superintendent's every effort.*

The second is purely barter in character. The work was agreed upon at a fixed price per day. In reaching that agreement the laborer is at all times conscious of the fact that the wage is low because its every diminution goes into his employer's pocket; what he doesn't get as wages the employer gets in the form of profit. He accepts because he can get no better. He knows, too, that the less which he does per day for a given wage, *all of his class uniting in the same policy*, the greater will be the wage per day. All of these ideas unite to form in labor's mind a most natural antagonism to the desires of any agent of its employer's interests; which, for this portion of his time and effort, the superintendent is. The laborer's will therefore assumes an attitude of resistance. He embodies psychologically for the first time (and therefore gets the blame for) what the wage-system has embodied causatively as a fundamental institution in our static law, viz.: antagonism of interests as the sole guide in the distribution of wealth. This resistance constitutes Labor's chief method of barter, whether displayed at the moment or deliberately systematized in organized effort, in strike or boycott. In this sense the laborer as well as the superintendent spends a portion of his time in barter; but it is a very small portion of the whole for the former.....

He proceeds to analyze the economic organism, and to trace out the consequences of dissipation in every field. He shows by means of statistics and diagrams what is the relation between consumption and dissipation; how the proportion of the latter is constantly increasing. He shows that one of the consequences of barter is the "starvation-wage."

*In each class or level of productive effort, as a result of internal competition for the opportunity to labor, the majority of its individuals are led to accept the least income upon which they can succeed in surviving, reproducing and maintaining their social and economic level. This income is known as THE STARVATION-WAGE for that class.*

Another consequence is unemployment. He has explained

the law that so long as any competition takes place, the purchasing power of the entire community must be less than its natural producing power by the proportion of that competitive to the remaining productive effort; consequently "the average proportion of Enforcedly Idle in the several classes of industry, or of the Submerged Tenth to the total population, is a direct function of the proportion prevailing between Competitive and Total Economic effort."

All of these illustrations occur in the first of the book, which is entitled, "The Economic Cost." The second half is entitled, "The Ethical Cost." The author shows the cost to the winners and the cost to the losers, and the cost to the whole community. He analyzes all the moral, intellectual and artistic waste incidental to the competitive struggle. For instance, he inserts two or three striking photographs. One of them shows a city street corner with stores placarded over with scores of advertising signs: "We Retire For Ever." "Suits and Overcoats Must be Sold at Once." "Magic Insect Powder." "Cholera Mixture, 25 Cents." "Ice-Cold Soda Water," etc. This nightmare of hideousness is labeled, with gentle irony, "The Competitive Distribution of Information." On another page there is an illustration of the Co-operative Distribution of Information — the magnificent eight-million-dollar Library of Congress.

One of the chapters in this portion of the book is entitled "Future Progress Without Poverty." This gives the author's remedy for the evils which he has been describing. Strange and unbelievable as it may seem, he does not go to pieces upon this part of his work, as so many of our independent investigators do; he explains the perfectly simple and beautiful plan: *the elimination of barter from exchange*. It is, in its essence, identical with the proposals of proletarian Socialism, but the author does not seem to know this; he states his plan from his own point of view, and with his own admirable simplicity.

For the abolition of economic dissipation it is necessary that we should adopt as the sole guiding principle of economic justice, the conservation to each individual of the value which he produces; in other words, *a Central-Office must be established to determine the cost of every product*.

"This is something," says the author, "which will appeal to the practical business man." Then, to secure the end of justice, all that is necessary is that the laws of the land, backed by public opinion, shall provide—

"1. That each man's produce, be it what it may, *must be sold at cost to the community as a whole*, represented by its public agent, *and to the community only*; in other words, that the legal ownership of all value produced within the community shall be vested as completely in its Central Office as is now the case within every factory. The community

must guarantee to each producer the full value of his efforts, and to itself the most perfect freedom of exchange. Those are the sole duties of civilized Exchange. The only known method of meeting them is that the public Central Office, fixing prices at a money-rate determined by a pure balance between supply and demand, as free from barter as is the purchase of postage-stamps. The community must also prohibit any attempt upon the part of any individual at acquiring Value by any other means than by producing it. This last, at present, it does not pretend to do. Yet it is a policy the justice of which the most ambitious profit-seeker cannot publicly decry.

2. That, as the only means necessary to enforce the preceding, all prices, whether of commodities, of manual labor, or of intellectual service, must be publicly fixed and publicly varied, and not subject to private, individual manipulation.. They are to be fixed, naturally,

(a) By public officials, acting publicly upon current public records, such as the census-bulletins; all ledger-accounts, bank-accounts, check-books, etc., being considered at all times public;

(b) So that the price just equals the cost; that is, so that the commodity in question shows as little deficit or surplus of cash, from year to year, as possible;

(c) So that the volume of supply shall be similarly adjusted to meet the volume of demand, so that as little deficit or surplus of goods as possible shall occur."

If this is done, Professor Reeve is of the opinion that it does not in the least matter who "owns" the capital utilized by the nation in its productive enterprises. The plain way to accomplish what is desired is to publicly condemn all effort at making any profit whatever; in the first place, by adopting the following

"Fundamental rules for guidance in the abolition of dissipation:

(1) The salaried superintendent of production must be the public commissioner for all decisions as to prices concerning the commodity he produces;

(2) He must be the last one to handle any funds concerned in that production.

(3) His own income must be in the form of a salary, publicly declared and invariable, except by public processes, having no direct dependence upon the momentary quantity of goods handled.

The first two of these methods constitute exactly the present accepted policy in all efficient factory-organization of any size. The third is the present accepted policy in dealing with all public men, and works efficiently.

In short, it is proposed to take the factory-owner at his word and to follow his own example. We propose to organize all workers, over and under both, as the employees of the community, in the same manner as he now organizes "his" employees. For it must ever be remembered that, if the policy so frequently urged by commercial men in speaking of public affairs, viz.: that the people's government ought to follow the shining example of the business-world, ought to carry on its administration in a business-like way,—if this policy were once seriously adopted by the people, *the immediate result would be that every barterer, every purely commercial man in the country, would find himself out of a job and without an income*; for the entire country would then be organized upon the plan upon which he now runs the factory-production in which he



takes no part, in which he permits not one iota of individual profit-making nor even of profit-seeking.

How very curiously this falls in with the invitation which *Wilshire's Magazine* recently extended to Mr. Rockefeller, to accept the position of manager of the oil department of the Co-operative Commonwealth!

UPTON SINCLAIR, *Author of "The Jungle."*

## The New University of Brussels.

**Y**OUTH is the depository of social forces. Its endeavors form an excellent criterion by which to measure a future dominated by them.

The mature people of all ages have understood the fatality of this truth and made efforts to direct education toward ideas which they thought to be in accordance with their hopes, prejudices or interests. Especially higher education—as the university—was always influenced by the predominating wishes of the mature minds. When they loved progress the aim of the university was the broadening of the integral capacities of the youth—when they doubted in its benefits the universities were degraded to serve their class-interests, becoming strongholds of stagnation and conservatism.

In the nineteenth century, with the rapid and formidable organization of the capitalistic régime the influence of the ruling classes upon the attitude of the universities has been more accentuated and, with a few laudable exceptions, the universities of the old and new world have taken more and more a reactionary tendency and sometimes even a retrograde policy.

Thus we see universities openly taking up the defense of the capitalistic society on the one hand by glorifying its success and organization, and on the other, by suppressing the individual opinion of advanced professors. The teachings of radical professors,—who served scientific truth and not the interests of the ruling classes,—were consciously misrepresented; public opinion has been aroused against them with the ultimate aim to rob them of their chairs.

The youth, frequenting the universities has not received objective criticism or neutral explanation of present or past society but has been impregnated with notions defending the position of the capitalistic classes. The rough material which came to the universities went through an elaborate process of softening and moulding, leaving the university machine as a perfect and elastic material,—ready to fill without hesitation all orders coming from the ruling classes.

But the admirable effervescence of thought, sentiment and action going on among the “lower classes” has seized a considerable part of the students in all the important European universities. They have become influenced by the supreme idea that life is really lived only when one is not looking after ones own interests but co-operating in a struggle for the betterment of humanity. Their eyes were opened. They realized the hidden tend-

encies of the universities, they detected the base and utilitarian conception of the teachings they heard from "prominent men." On many occasions they rebelled against the mean manipulations of the authorities directed against professors who dared to express convictions opposed to established opinions.

The universities tried to stop this new intellectual development sometimes with autocratic measures, which only intensified the discontent of the students. Many times they rose openly to defend free thought and the persecuted professors and to support their societies, engaged in the work of uplifting themselves as well as the wholly ignorant classes.

In many cases they succeeded, the authorities yielding to the powerful opposition of the students.

The result of this fight was that we find to-day in all European universities of high standing professors teaching radical thought and we see incorporated in the program of courses those sciences—especially social sciences—which hitherto have been either wholly neglected or suppressed.

By the student's support the broad social tendencies found a place in the universities, hitherto dominated by class interests.

Where the radical tendency was disregarded a final conflict was unavoidable. The struggling professors and students took over the work so ignored and briskly refused by the old universities. The scission led to the foundation of new universities. In Brussels, in Paris, and recently in Budapest, schools, universities of social sciences have been founded with the purpose of diffusing modern thought.

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The struggle which led to the foundation of the New University of Brussels was severe.

In 1834, a few years after the revolution, the Free University was founded in Brussels by Theodore Verhaegen. The idea of Verhaegen was to compete with the propaganda of the Catholic University of Louvain and establish a place for free thought.

The Free University developed rapidly. But in the same measure that its pecuniary conditions became more and more advantageous it became more and more dependent on those factors from which its financial sources sprang.

The modern standpoint from which some professors threw light on the mysteriously dark conceptions about state, law, economics and philosophy after a while became disagreeable to the directing authorities. Hector Denis, the great socialist and Guillaume de Greef, the widely appreciated economist, who had been entrusted with chairs before the spirit of the university was wholly prostituted, were attacked by a professor charged by the university itself with this degrading work.

This outrageous attitude taken by the authorities against the loved professors and their esteemed teachings made it perfectly clear to the students that free thought in the "Free University" was but a farce.

Offended in their inmost convictions the students decidedly opposed their will to that of the university authorities and a series of partial insurrections took place.

Soon after upon the proposal of the rector of the university, Hector Denis, the committee of administration of the said university opened a chair for Elisée Reclus, the most illustrious geographer and philosopher. But this noble and courageous decision was withdrawn taking for a pretext the anarchist troubles of 1894 in Paris. The university decided to postpone Reclus' course giving as an excuse his anarchism; which was in reality purely philosophical.

The Belgian intellectuals were outraged. They saw in that action of intolerance a direct attack on the spirit of liberty and international hospitality hitherto the glory of their country. Emphatic demonstrations spontaneously answered this offense, committed against the liberty of science in the person of one of its most glorious sons, of a man who condemned for deportation, after the Commune of Paris, had obtained his release upon the initiative of Darwin, acting in the name of international science.

The students were the first to mobilize their forces. Violent resolutions were discussed, accepted and posted. The professors who supported the offensive measure were received at the lectures with whistles and baked apples. Outside of the university committees were organized. In short there was a general uprising.

Hector Denis supported the action of the students and demanded that Reclus' courses should be opened without delay. Upon the committee disregarding his demand, Denis gave in his resignation. As this occurred just before examinations the new rector made some concessions in order that the students would return. However they were not conciliated but only tired of the struggle and anxious to continue their studies.

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The whole organization of the university became incompatible with the scientific spirit and the manifestations made in favor of free thought, in connection with the case of De Greef, Denis and Reclus, suggested the idea to found a new university, whose regenerating spirit should form an alliance of science with life.

The meeting in Brussels on March 12, 1894, voted to issue an appeal, explaining to the public the aims of the New University and containing the following important points:

"The Free University no longer expresses the spirit of large independence and high humanity which was the reason of its

foundation. It has gradually passed to the stage of being a simple and neutral establishment of instruction. It represents interests more than ideas. It no longer cares for the moral education of the youth. It teaches sciences without co-ordinating them to the great social duties. It is still turning out lawyers, physicians and professors, but no longer men and characters.

"It is not necessary that the élite of the youth shall remain in the hands of an education which does not elevate the soul and does not show that there is something else in life than personal success, material good, fruitful situations and advantageous relations. Now, when from all sides the ideas of justice and sacrifice are affirmed with incomparable energy and devotion—our children can not be left without this same ideal of superior education.

"The hour has come to try anew what Théodore Verhaegen tried sixty years ago."

This appeal which laid down the principles of an education more in harmony with the material and moral necessities of contemporaneous social life was signed by Paul Janson, De Greef, Picard, Les Cressonnières, Lambotte and De Jongh.

The "New University" started in with a total subscription of 45,000 francs; two faculties were opened: that of philosophy and law.

The foundation met with many difficulties but the courage of the founders has never diminished.

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In October 1894 the New University began its functions with the faculty of Law and Philosophy and with an International Institute for Social Sciences (*Institut international des hautes études*). In 1895-96 the Faculty of Sciences, Faculty of Medicine, the Institute of Fermentation and the Library were opened. In 1896-97 an Institute of Hygiene, with a museum and special laboratories, then an Institute of the Natural history of Sciences, Arts and Crafts were installed.

In 1897-98 an Industrial Institute and a department of the Institute of Hygiene, a laboratory for food analysis, were opened.

The number of the professors at the beginning was 60, today they number 110. The average yearly number of students has been 125. The professors give their lectures mostly gratis. The students pay an annual fee of 150 francs. The university, whose resources are in large part donations, coming from the professors, from devoted friends and from some municipalities, has spent during the years from '94-'97 more than 320,000 francs on general expenses and 50,000 francs on laboratories. This means a great development for the new scientific organism.

The state recognized the legality of the New University at the suggestion of Burlet, a minister of education, who held radi-

cal views. This meant a great increase in prosperity as the New University had the right to give certificates.

But it was precisely that prosperity which stirred up the enemies of the New University. The press and the officials successfully contested the legal value of the certificates issued.

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After the state authorities ceased to accept the legal value of the certificates of the New University the program of the courses and the division into faculties naturally had to be changed. The program published in August 1899 shows us the integrating tendencies the New University had been developing.

The New University had been accentuating more and more its scientific and social character and its educating and moral role by shaking off the official program of universities the division of which into old fashioned faculties had long since been condemned by methodology and positive pedagogy. This change in the university enabled it better to co-operate in the elaboration of contemporary science.

The old Faculties of Law, Sciences, Philosophy and Medicine have been replaced by the Institute of Social Science by the Faculty of Law, by an Industrial Institute and by the Institutes of Geography, Hygiene, Fermentation and finally by the Institute of Natural History of Sciences, Arts and Crafts.

An independent and autonomous institution for University Extension was organized by the New University to scatter all over the country the conquests of science and art in a popular form.

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The spirit of solidarity and sacrifice were the initial forces of the New University. The corps of the professors included several members who had abandoned without regret the fruitful honorariums of the old University in order to give their lectures free of charge; they even aid the University materially. Such devotion to science and humanity is unprecedented.

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The present organization of the New University is simple, as it has dispensed with all obsolete forms, such as imposing the majority's opinion on the minority. The central executive committee elects the rector, and whenever questions of a scientific or moral nature come up, the committee, after having it discussed, leaves the decision to the general secretary.

The present general secretary is Mr. De Jonge, the rector Mr. De Greef, the former, the moral, the latter, the intellectual pivot of the New University.

An interesting rule in the organization of the New University is: Make it easy for the students to become professors.

This effort of rejuvenation is of great importance, for it

guarantees that the exposition of facts and scientific doctrines shall not lose modernity and originality. Thus the New University obeys the anthropological law concerning the fecundity and originality of work thereby assuring favorable conditions for its own existence.

The present departments of the New University are as follows:

- I. Faculty of Social Sciences.
- II. Faculty of Law.
- III. Institute of Geography.
- IV. Institute of Fermentation.
- V. University Extension.

The University has been reduced to these four departments for it cannot give certificates of legal value. Now it is a University for those who want to know, and use their knowledge to a broader end,—and not for those who wish to study in order to secure a lucrative position.

By canceling professional education the dominating aim of the New University has received more attention: the aim to form men with character “to make something other than simple men of a certain profession, confined in the narrow horizon of a determined function” (Picard).

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The most important feature of this magnificent university is the Institute for Social Sciences.

In the University year 1905-1906 we find the material of the Institute of Social Sciences divided as follows:

#### I. SECTION.—MATHEMATICS AND MECHANICS.

1. Mathematics.
2. Mechanics.

#### II. SECTION.—PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

1. Mineralogy.
2. Geology.
3. Organic Chemistry.
4. Biologic Chemistry.
5. The Modern Theories of Chemistry.
6. Medical Hydrology.

#### III. SECTION.—BIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

1. Botany.
2. Biology.
3. Physiology.
4. Psycho-Physiology.
5. General Psychology.
6. Psychiatry.
7. Pedology.
8. The Contagious and Epidemic Diseases in the Twentieth Century.
9. Education.

10. The Role of Creative Imagination in the Philosophy of Plato.
11. Evolution.
12. The Impossibility of a World Theory.

#### IV. SECTION.—SOCIAL SCIENCES.

##### A.—Economics.

1. Economics.—General Courses.
2. Economics of the Credit System.
3. Evolution of the Economic Régime.
4. History of Economics: Institutions and Doctrines.
5. Science of Finances.
6. Statistics.
7. The Economic Expansion of the Different European Nations.

##### B.—Genesis.

1. The Family.
2. The Family.—Evolution of Institutions.

##### C.—Art and History of Art.

1. The Permanent Features in the Evolution of Art.
2. History of Latin Literature.
3. History of Greek Literature.
4. History of French Literature.
5. History of English Literature.
6. Russian Literature.
7. Scandinavian Literature.
8. The Great Intellectual and Social Currents in Italian Literature.
9. Cosmopolitan Features in Literature.
10. Industrial Arts.
11. History of Painting.
12. History of Sculpture and Architecture.
13. History of Music.

##### C.—Collective Psychology.

1. Collective Psychology.
2. Psychiatry.
3. Legal Psycho-Pathology.
4. Criminal Psychology.
5. Studies Concerning the Anthropology and Sociology of the Poor Classes.
6. History of Philosophy.
7. The Materialistic Conception of History and the Religious Question.
8. The Philosophical Movement in the Eighteenth Century.
9. Contemporary History of Philosophy.
10. Critical Exposition of the Christian Dogma.
11. The Russian Philosophy.

##### E.—Ethics.

1. Moral Philosophy.

##### F.—Law.

1. Evolution of the Institutions of Public Law.
2. Evolution of the Institutions of Private Law.
3. French Law:
  - a) The Family.
  - b) Property.
  - c) Contracts.
  - d) Loans.



- e) Successions.
- f) Municipal Institutions.
- g) The Duel.
- 4. Evolution of Local Statutes in England.
- 5. Compared Legislation:
  - a) The Institutions of Civil Law.
  - b) The Family.
- 6. Labor Legislation.
- 7. Evolution of the Not Punishing Tendencies. (Evolution de l'Impunité.)
- 8. Criminal Sociology.
- 9. The Revision of the "Code Civil."

#### G.—Politics.

- 1. History of Greece.
- 2. Political Institutions of Rome.
- 3. History of Belgium.
- 4. The Universal Peace.
- 5. History of Colonisation.
- 6. The Doctrines of the Political Parties.
- 7. Egyptology.
- 8. History of the Russian Political Institutions.
- 9. History of the Political Institutions of the U. S. A.
- 10. Contemporary Russia.

#### H.—Sociology.

- 1. Elementary Sociology.
- 2. General Sociology.
- 3. Historical and Methodological Introduction to Sociology.
- 4. Sociology:
  - a) Social Functions and Organs.
  - b) Social Static.
  - c) Social Dynamic.
- 5. The Sociology of Action.
- 6. Social Hygiene.
- 7. The Cosmic Environment and its Influence Upon the Individual, Upon the Ethnical and Social Groups.
- 8. The Influence of Experimental Sciences on Social Hygiene and Economy.
- 9. Geography of Time and Space.
- 10. Comparative Hygiene.—Men and Climate.
- 11. The Hygiene of Houses and Workshops.
- 12. Pedology.—New Scientific Principles in the Education of Children.
- 13. Positive Methodology.
- 14. The Philosophical Basis of Socialism.
- 15. Integral Sociology.
- 16. Juridical Sociology.
- 17. Genetical Sociology.

#### Special Lecture Courses.

Industrial Evolution.  
 Farmer Question.  
 Labor Legislation.  
 Co-operation.  
 Unionism.  
 Municipal Politics and Economics.  
 State Exploitation.  
 The Roots of the Labor Movement.

The Institute of Social Sciences is the international rendez-vous of scientific men. Here they gather to freely express their thought before an international audience composed of intelligent workingmen, intellectual women, lawyers and artists, students of all nationalities and employees of the state. Here they come and enthusiastically co-operate in the work of the Belgian scientists, certain that their work will be directed to the elevation of youth and humanity.

We see side by side with the Belgian professors, whose names are well known in sciences or politics, such as G. de Greef, de Brouckère, Destrée, Huysmans, Bertrand, Janson, Kufferath, Picard, Vandervelde, and Van de Velde, such names as Elie and Elisée Reclus, (both of whom recently died), Ferri, Hamon, Tsaieff, Kovalevsky, Lagardelle, Loria, Niceforo, Michels, Gumplovicz, Folkmar, Gide, Seignobos, Lombroso, Cosentini, Sighele, Leopold, Petrucci, and Forel and many others.

Many original lecture courses given in the New University as those by Ferri, Loria, Hamon, Niceforo, Vandervelde, Kovalevsky, Reclus, de Greef and others have been circulated in book form all over the world making many new converts.

The scientific and educational work of the New University has become, during the last years, of such international significance, that the great universities of England, France, Germany and other countries have been forced to recognize the full legal value of the years spent in the New University. Thus the foreign students may spend a year or two in Brussel's without losing the years required for examination in their home universities. This international recognition will greatly increase the prosperity of the New University and finally induce the authorities to reestablish the legality of the most important Belgian institution.

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I have given above the entire program for 1905-1906 of the Institute of Social Sciences for I am convinced of its importance. It is planned so as emphasize the vital connection which unites all particular sciences. It gives an all-embracing, synthetic and at the same time a speculative and practical view of the intellectual dominion, thus offering a broad, multilateral scientific education for those who wish to exercise a reflected social action or who desire to give themselves up to a rational study of one particular branch of human knowledge.

By accomplishing a large and broad scientific education it facilitates the efforts of the student to reach deepened knowledge.

While the dead and dry material of the old conventional universities decreases the energy of the student and discourages him—the courses of the New University by treating living issues or giving a living significance to the dead material enhances the student's energy to work.

The influence of science in all branches of human activity, from industrial production to the elaboration of laws and the political organization of society, is so strongly felt to-day,—that a comprehensive, rational and modern scientific education of our youth has become a problem of progress.

Modern, practical life has in many instances proved that to exercise successfully one's profession it is necessary to be versed not only in that particular profession—but that it is of imperative importance to know the different allied branches and to have a general conception of the role one's work is playing in the *ensemble* of social and economic life.

A professional man or a scientist when equipped with an extensive view of all social manifestations is more fit to enter intensively his special work and is more apt to accomplish his aim for he never will entertain a plan without practical importance or general interest.

The old universities never have given an ever-lasting ideal to the youth. Therefore they have missed the point. An ideal to struggle for is the backbone in one's life. In this ideal all deeds center. Going out therefrom and returning thereto when something is accomplished.

Yes, the universities put up an ideal. But, in the last analysis, it was always the ideal of money. Mammon was the God of the youth. And they still worship it.

The moral and intellectual insignificance and sterility of our universities can easily be traced back to the fact that they do not imbue the youth with a beautiful life-aim. The present youth is old. No ideal is moving them toward a large idea, no human conception directs them in their work. They go through the drudgery of the university years and then are fit for a profession. But they do not start in to work for an enlarged scope—for they never have been induced to look around and realize what has to be done to make life worth while. The present youth is old. Enervated. Without *élan*.

The universities are but tools in the hands of the ruling capitalistic classes who must have a human material that is obedient, without initiative and without originality. They have destroyed the flower of the youth so cherished during past ages.

Our university youth are sterile. All great works of art, literature and science come from self-made men or from those, who escaped the suffocating air of the universities. In fact, we see but a few capable young men of university education in the great social movements of human regeneration.

Those few young university women and men to whose struggle for radical thought is due the fresh intellectual wind which swept over the universities during these last years,—have not received their impetus from the university itself. They were

inspired—as said before—by the resurrection of the “lower classes.” The great intellectual life and the new forms of moral and economic solidarity which ripened within the struggle of the proletariat has drawn unto this struggle the best of the youth.

The struggle imbued them with a great ideal which threw light and joy into their work. The *élan* of the youth came back. It began its work. The youth has become once more the bearer of revolutionary ideals.

They threw away the corrupting pleasures of modern life; they shook off the prejudiced and utilitarian university conceptions. The youth has become once more the bearer of world-embracing humanistic ideals.

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The organizers of the New University have fully grasped the tremendous educational value of a great ideal. The whole teaching of the New University is focusing in one great standpoint: the betterment of social life and the elevation of the individual.

While the teaching of the various sciences give broad knowledge to the students—the ideal which they breath unifies and rounds the scientific material into one positive attitude toward life: to use knowledge for a social aim, for the benefit of all.

Such an education, in modern times, is perfectly new and original. Even if the New University had never enriched science with original scientific work its efforts to recall youth to its rightful place would ever be felt.

Indeed many students have left this splendid institution full of enkindling knowledge and social aims. Not only the youth of Belgium but also that of Russia, Rumania, China, Italy, England, Japan and of other countries, have been inspired and prepared for life in Brussels.

They try to prove their gratitude toward the university by diffusing their knowledge and ideal and by founding similar institutions.

The ideal the youth took with them was a talisman for life. It never ceased in its influence. It gave encouragement and proved a spur. It made their life a rich source of impulses and fruitful work. It made them happy by rendering them capable of loving a work done for others.

Ferri says: “This great work—the New University—merits the encouragement of all countries. It is in the name of the cosmopolitan science, it is in the name of the intellectual and moral elevation of life, it is for its tendency toward the most noble and most generous ideal of human fraternity that the efforts and the sacrifices of the New University claim the right to all the sympathies of advanced people.”

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ODON POR.

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[As our readers already know, The Rand School of Social Science, which aims to do for American educational life what the New University has done for Belgian, has been established in New York, and will open for work this Fall. Those desiring further information, can address the secretary at 112 E. 19th Street, New York City. *Ed.*]

## German Labor Unions in the Year 1905.

THE statistics of the general committee of the German trade unions for the year 1905, which Comrade Legien has just published, show once more a striking picture of the economic activity of the German laborers, together with an almost unprecedented increase in membership. The continuously increasing ferocity of the Employers' Associations, who have sought to injure the labor organizations by general lock-outs, has opened the eyes of the hitherto indifferent masses, and shown them that their place in the organization by the side of the fighting comrades of their class. Meanwhile it will be a mistake to credit the success of the organization of the unions exclusively to the attacks of the Employers' Associations. This is certainly one of the causes which forces the masses of the workers into the labor union, but it is not the only cause of their increase. We must look further if we are to thoroughly establish these causes, and we shall discover that it is the institutions of the unions themselves and their activity from year to year, and especially their financial accomplishments, which have brought about this result. The more stable the economic institutions become the more they extend their organization even into the smallest places, and the more the financial systems of the unions are conducted on safe lines, the more they become a complete protection for the great mass of the workers. To be sure this carries with it a greater responsibility on the part of the unions; on the one side because their action is no longer confined to the immediate popular accomplishments; on the other side also because the tasks which they must take up in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class become ever greater and more pressing; and because also the difficulties increase of directing such great bodies in a uniform direction toward definite, clearly designated aims and objects. It is a small thing to fill a little body of a few thousand with a single idea and feeling, where an individual may exercise so great an intellectual influence. The case becomes much more difficult when millions are dealt with who are to be led in battle against a world of enemies. To be sure within these millions there is a common class feeling of opposition to the immediately comprehensible form of exploitation, or at least it can be easily awakened; but those delusive ideas which have been drunk in with the mother's

milk and then systematically fostered by the ruling classes and their institutions, in the church and school, are not so easily driven out of the masses over night. But the proletarian class-consciousness, the world view of the class-conscious proletariat, is, even if a common phenomenon in the mass, nevertheless something that the individual must first obtain. To help him to this end is the great educational task of the union, but it cannot prescribe beforehand how he shall believe, feel and think. The application of such tactics would, instead of attracting the workers to the union for the common battle, rather drive the greater portion, of them into armies of the antagonistic exploiters.

Our unions have never adopted such tactics. They have much rather taken as their motto the striking phrase of Lassalle: "The art of all practical success consists in concentrating all forces upon one point, which must be reached within a certain time in order to solve the expected task." They have accordingly directed their entire forces to the organization of the masses and to make these capable of enduring and fighting, wherever the capacity of fighting and enduring was an indispensable condition of organization. The statistics that Legien has just published show the results which have been gained by these methods during the year 1905.

The number of organized workers in Germany belonging to the central union was 1,429,303 at the close of the year 1905, that is, an increase over the close of the year 1904 of 316,084. The average membership during the year 1895 was 1,334,803, which is an increase of 292,695 members over the average membership of 1904. In the year 1900 the membership of the unions was 680,427. In the course of five years these numbers have doubled. This is the result of the work of agitation and organization of the union and of the industrial conflict.

But the women workers also are beginning to be more and more filled with the spirit of economic organization, although here things go somewhat slower. When we recall, however, that in the year 1905 only 22,884 working women were economically organized, then the increase of 51,567 women members in five years is still a very promising result and one which should spur on to greater activity in the work of agitation among working women. More and more do the organizations with women members begin to subscribe to the organ of the Stuttgart party publishing house, (*Gleichheit*), so that in this way the education concerning the political helplessness and political tasks of women is cared for. The exact extent of the circulation of "*Gleichheit*" among the women members of the organization has not been

previously given in the statistics of the union. It is, however somewhat between 20,000 and 30,000.

The development of the union press has gone hand in hand with the strengthening of the organization. The circulation in the year 1905 of all periodicals reached 1,550,450, as opposed to 816,420 in 1902; and of the 61 union organs: one appears three times a week, — 29 weekly, — 3 three times a month, — sixteen every two weeks, — six twice a month and six once a month. The total expense for the press reached 1,415,397 Marks. For agitation 1,305,132 Marks was expended in the year 1905, to which must also be added the almost equal sum which was expended for the organization of new unions, a work which is of enormous significance for agitation. There was an expenditure of 37,250 Marks for libraries. The educational division of the unions also expended exclusive of the periodicals 2,757,785 Marks. When we further remember that the greatest portion of the labor force for which the unions paid 456,856 Marks during the year 1905 is also devoted to this work of education, we can make a striking picture of the pioneer work of the German unions in the task of education and training of the workers for effective fighters in the cause of the proletariat. The "Christian" and "Hirsch Dunker" unions require very little attention. The latter have at last exhausted their effective strength among German workers, since they are no longer able by acting as strike-breakers and disruptionists, to prevent effective fighting for the betterment of the condition of the worker. They increased their membership only 5,208 last year and have had a membership of 117,097 for the year. The "Christians" to be sure had an increase of 80,550 but still remain with practically an insignificant membership of 188,106.

WILHELM JANSON in "*Neue Zeit*."

*Translated by A. M. Simons.*



## The Social Revolution.

WE ARE now at the central point of Revisionism, the point from which everything else in the theories of the Revisionists radiates and to which everything in their arguments gravitates. The *casus belli* which moves all their hosts, — the *Social Revolution*. The red flag of the social revolution is the red cloth the sight of which none of them can bear. Whatever their disagreements, and they are not few, they are all agreed that the social revolution *wouldn't, shouldn't and couldn't* come. Struve proves it philosophically, Tugan-Baranowsky proves it economico-mathematically, Oppenheimer proves it sociologically, Bernstein proves it by a composite method which cannot easily be classified, and the rest of them in any old way.

What is this social revolution which has thus aroused them? It is not, of course, the fact of the change from the capitalist to the socialist order. They all, or almost all, believe in that, in some form or other. It is the particular form or manner in which it is to come about, according to the Marxian teaching, to which they object. It is the implication of the suddenness of the change, and the violent manner in which it will be brought about as the culmination of a struggle, that arouses the opposition. The change could, should and would come in all imaginable ways, but none of them will be sudden or violent. For they are all violently opposed to violence. And not only physical violence, but any kind of violence or disturbance. Therefore, socialism will come, according to their notion, as a gradual enlargement or a gradual diminution of capitalism, but never as an overthrow, more or less sudden, more or less violent, physical, social or economic, as Marx imagined it.

Marx says that the "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist shell. This shell is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." This, says Struve, is too sudden, and is philosophically quite impossible. There is no philosophic way in which the sudden transformation of one social order into another could be explained, no logical method by which it could be reasoned out. Hence it could not take place. "The continuity of every change, even the most radical, is a necessary cognito-theoretic and psychological postulate of its comprehension. The evolutionary principle takes a position analogous to the law of causation: it is a universally valid form in which we must picture to ourselves the radical changes of things in order to

comprehend them. Of the content and the casuality of the change the evolutionary principle tells us nothing: it only gives us its form, and this form is — continuity. The old maxim: *natura non facit saltus* should, accordingly, be changed into: *intellectus non potitur saltus*." All of which may or may not be true. We are not sufficiently concerned in the subject to undertake to decide that question here. For ourselves we hope it is not true, but if it be true, let the theories of cognition and psychology look out for themselves. The maxim: *natura non facit saltus*, in so far as it is still part of our scientific apparatus, simply means that nothing happens without any cause, but when there is sufficient cause therefore nature does leap. As a matter of fact sudden leaps are almost as frequent in nature as are slow changes, and the figure used by Marx, that of a bursting shell, may be considered its most common and most perfect example. Furthermore, it does not in any way interfere with the evolutionary principle, to which Struve does, in our opinion, great injustice by reducing in reality to mere *slowness*, for such violent leaps as the bursting of shells do not by any means interfere with the *continuity* of the process, as Struve seems to think. On the contrary these violent leaps are part of the revolutionary process and constitute its culmination point, as well as the starting point for a renewal of this process, in all higher forms of life. The natural sequence of events being such, a theory of cognition *must* be able to explain it to our comprehension, and to say that some theory which styles itself a theory of cognition cannot do that is simply another way of saying that it is not a theory of cognition.

Another "philosophical" objection which Struve advances is supposed to be based on the Materialistic Conception of History, which he feels himself called upon to protect against Marx. According to the Materialistic Conception of History, says he, it is impossible that the legal forms which make up the social system should become so entirely incompatible or antagonistic to the forms of production as to cause a breaking up of the whole system. For, that theory, properly understood, requires that the legal forms should continually adjust themselves to the material conditions, as they change, and it would be an infringement on the power of the economic forces to suppose that they should not change the legal forms as they go along. We shall not enter here into a long discussion to prove that Struve has not "properly understood" the Materialistic Conception of History. We will simply say that if Struve has understood it properly then the Materialistic Conception of History is sadly in the wrong. For the fact, of which there is abundant historical proof, is that legal forms become quite antagonistic and absolutely incompatible with economic conditions and that very serious and violent disturbances result therefrom. No amount of reverence for the "economic factor" can blind us to the sad truth, that that much-abused

worthy is not quite as all-powerful as some of his would-be admirers would have us believe, or, at any rate, that his influence is not quite as direct, and therefore does not work quite as smoothly, as they imagine. Besides, in his touching care for the Materialistic Conception of History, Struve has entirely forgotten the fact that, according to Marx, the economic conditions of the capitalist system are themselves a mass of contradictions, and could not therefore result in a smoothly working legal or political system.

It was evidently with the intention of eliminating some of the absurdities which the purely philosophic opponents of the Social Revolution had to resort to in their argument, that Rudolph Goldscheid constructed his theory of the so-called "Sociological Wave." This theory is quite cleverly constructed, and is evidently designed to present an argument against the possibility of the social revolution without the use of some of the grosser errors of his predecessors. This theory recognizes most of the Marxian premises, and therefore sounds plausible. It consists in this: The tendency of the accumulation of capital is, as Marx says, towards increasing the misery of the working-class. At the same time this accumulation has also the tendency to organize the working-class, as Marx has also clearly stated. This results in a struggle between organized labor and the capitalists, the class struggle on which Marx lays so much stress. In this struggle, the fortunes of war alternate, giving victory now to the one side and now to the other.

When the tendency of capitalistic accumulation has gone very far in reducing the condition of the working-class, this engenders the revolutionary feeling of the proletariat, who put up a strenuous fight until they gain a victory substantially bettering their condition, usually putting it on a higher plain than it ever was before. This better condition lasts for some time until the capitalists, driven to it by the lash of competition, turn on the screws and attempt to enforce the tendency of capitalistic accumulation and reduce the condition of the workingmen to their former level. In this they succeed only partly, for when the workingmen have reached a higher level of well-being they utilize it to strengthen their organization, obtain more knowledge, and intelligence, and the spirit of revolt is aroused in them long before the former low level of their estate is reached. Their resistance is intensified, and the fight on their part does not slacken until they reach not only the high level which they formerly occupied but until they make new conquests placing themselves on heights never yet before reached. This they are enabled to do because the spirit of revolt which is aroused in them by the pressure of economic tendencies succeeds in constantly *limiting and checking the economic process and diverting it from its natural course.* So that "the social evolution moves in a wave-like course,

which has this peculiarity: No matter what relation the hill and dale may have to each other, the crest of each succeeding wave reaches, as a rule, a higher level than any preceding one." The waves will finally run so high that their crests will reach into socialism: the prospect of a social revolution is successfully banished.

The whole thing sounds so plausible, the argument so much Marxian, and the picture of the rising waves is so beautiful, that one is almost tempted to overlook the fact that there is absolutely no warrant in the whole argument for the assumption so unceremoniously made that the spirit of revolt engendered in the working class by the hardships and misery of capitalistic accumulation succeeds in *constantly limiting and checking the economic process* while the capitalist system lasts. And yet it is on this assumption that the whole thing rests! With this assumption out, the whole argument against the social revolution as Marx conceived it, with bursting of shell and all, falls to the ground. We are not disposed to quarrel with the author of the "sociological wave" in so far as the same does not put forward any higher pretensions than to give us a description of the bettering of the condition of the working-class under capitalism in so far as the same is possible under the laws governing capitalist production and accumulation. That is to say in so far as it affects the question of the *impoverishment* of the working-class. And in so far as it does not in any way contradict the Marxian theory. It is quite different, however, when it comes to the abolition or limiting of the economic laws by "psychological tendencies" in the peaceful movement of the "sociological wave." Before we can accept his statements we must carefully examine into the question whether the tendencies of modern development do or do not *limit* the laws of capitalist production and accumulation, and if they do whether such *limitations* can abolish the whole capitalist system by degrees and transform it into a socialist system without the bursting of any shells. This brings us back to the purely economic question of the possibilities of capitalistic development, and the theories of the "expansion," "adaptation" and "adjustment" of capitalism brought forward by the Revisionists.

In the March issue of this REVIEW we discussed at length the economic contradictions of the capitalist system. We concluded our examination with the statement that the great problem of capitalist economics is the disposition of the surplus-product created continually under that system. It is the inability to dispose of that product that is the chief cause of the temporary disturbances within its bowels, and which will lead to its final breakdown and replacement by the socialist mode of production and distribution.

The Revisionists with Bernstein at their head question the correctness of these conclusions, both as regards the crises with-

in the capitalist system and its ultimate breakdown. Bernstein has nothing definite to say as to the cause of economic crises in the capitalist system, except to inform us that much could be said and has been said on either side, and that people who are interested in analogies might find very interesting analogies between the theories on this subject and some other interesting subject. As to the Marxian theory of crises Bernstein has again nothing more definite or instructive to say except that Marx, as usual, contradicts himself in the most flagrant manner, and that the explanation of this contradiction is to be found again as usual, in the fact that, as is very usual, and, indeed, unavoidable, some time has elapsed between the writing of the contradictory passages. The only unusual thing about this very enlightening information is the correct statement that the passage contained in the earlier volumes was written much later than that contained in the third volume; a statement which must confound his friends who have been writing very learned disquisitions on the *development* of the Marxian theory, based on the contradictions between the earlier and later volumes of *Capital*, which were to be explained by the fact that the *third* volume was the fruit of Marx's *later* and *riper* judgment. As to the subject-matter itself the reader is left absolutely in the dark as to what either the Marxian or the Bernsteinian theory of crises (if there be such) may be. It is very evident, however, from what he does say that he is himself very much in the dark on the subject. This does not prevent him, however, any more than a similar groping in the dark prevents his friends, from giving instruction on the subject, and from *revising* a theory which they do not understand.

The sum and substance of the argument against the Marxian conception of the tendencies of capitalistic economic development put forward by Revisionism, amount to this: The contradictions observed by Marx are not inherent in capitalism, as Marx supposed, but are merely connected with and are the result of a certain *form* of capitalism, to wit: capitalism in its early stages when private enterprise with its resultant anarchy of production was predominant. As soon, however, as the anarchy will be eliminated from capitalistic production, and that anarchy will be eliminated by the organization and systematization of production through the modern trusts and other industrial combinations, crises will be abolished, particularly in view of the apparently boundless possibilities of the *expansion* of capitalist markets by the aid of modern imperialism; and as the final breakdown of capitalism, or social revolution, is nothing more than a big crisis, the possible danger of a revolution is averted, the moment the cause of crises is removed. The basis of fact for this argument is furnished by the circumstance that the law of the periodical recurrence of economic crises insisted on by Marx was apparently broken through by the modern trusts with the aid of Imperialism,

and the crisis which was due at about the beginning of this Century successfully kept out by them.

Before proceeding any further we shall have to examine the Marxian theory of crises, and the connection in which crises *within* the capitalist system stand to the ultimate breakdown of the system as a whole, and then examine the facts of the latest developments of capitalism as to their bearings on each.

According to Marx there are two distinct causes of crises: One is the separation of the act of exchange of commodities into two separate acts, the exchange of commodity A for money and then the exchange of that money for commodity B, by the introduction of money as the universal commodity and general repository of exchange-value. By dividing the act of exchange into two separate and independent acts, disconnected in point of time, the *possibility* of crises is given. For, should the interval between the two acts be too long the wheels of production will stop, the market will become overloaded with goods, and a crisis will result. This possibility turns into a probability because of the peculiar character of money as the universal commodity and special repository of exchange-value which makes it a very much coveted good, as it is only in that form that value is realized and remains real. Of course, capital is anxious to fulfil its function, the creation of surplus-value, and in its anxiety to create surplus-value it takes the risk of having the value crystallized in itself transformed into such form where the value realized in it may again be called into question and be partly lost. But with all that capital is essentially cowardly, and the least disturbance frightens it and makes it withdraw into its shell. And a disturbance arises each time there is a disproportion of production, which is a common occurrence under our system of private production and competition. This probability, again, is intensified by our credit system, which on the one hand makes capital extremely sensitive to disturbances and increases its natural cowardice, and on the other opens up great vistas of gain by speculation and jobbery through panics and crises.

Such crises, that is crises chargeable to the circulation process of commodities, are of course due to the "anarchy of production," and will disappear with the disappearance of that anarchy, assuming that the latter may disappear while the capitalist system lasts. Assuming therefore that the trusts and industrial combinations can abolish this anarchy and regulate production, the Revisionists are quite right in asserting that no commercial crisis will occur again on that account. Their mistake lies in assuming that the "anarchy of production" is, according to Marx, the only cause of commercial crisis. As a matter of fact the cause mentioned by us above is not only not the *only* but not even the *chief* cause of crises according to Marx. This could be determined as a mere matter of logic, that method of determining econ-

omic and sociological questions which is so dear to the heart of some Revisionists. For, the "anarchy of production," in its very nature and essence an irregular factor, could not possibly be the cause of *regularly recurring* crises. But Marx does not leave any room for doubt as to what is, in his opinion, the chief cause of crises under capitalism.

This cause is the inherent contradiction of that system which was already pointed out before, the dual position of the laborer as a seller of his labor-power and a purchaser of the products of this labor-power, and the creation of a surplus-product flowing therefrom which must result in an over-production of commodities quite apart from the "anarchy of production." It is to this *constant* factor, the constantly accumulating surplus-product, that the *constancy* with which crises recur is due. It is to this that the *industrial cycle*, the periodical recurrence of prosperity and stagnation, is due. And this recurrence of prosperity and stagnation, that is to say, the inability to *continually* carry on production on that plane which the productive forces of society *permit and require*, is the foundation of the Marxian theory of crises. The fact, therefore, pointed to by Revisionists, that, as Tugan-Baranowsky has shown in his History of Commercial Crises in England, the *cycle* has now assumed another form, that instead of feverish activity preparing the way for a sudden crash there is now a gradual tide and ebb of prosperity and stagnation, is not a refutation of Marx but a confirmation of the correctness of his analysis of capitalistic production. This fact, which is ascribed to the regulative influence of the modern trusts and combinations, proves conclusively that neither trusts and combinations nor any other regulative influence can abolish crises, because it cannot abolish the chief cause of crises — overproduction, which does not depend on the lack of regulation of production but is inherent in the capitalistic mode of production. Trusts and combinations, if they can do anything at all, can only affect the form which the crises may assume, whether they should be short and acute as formerly or mild and long-drawn-out as now, but no more. This is acknowledged even by Tugan-Baranowsky himself.

Some Marx-critics seem to derive some comfort from the fact that, owing to the regulative influence of modern industrial combinations, crises have ceased to be as acute as formerly. We fail to see wherein a long period of stagnation is any better than an acute crises. That is, from the workingman's point of view. As Tugan-Baranowsky himself points out the change in the character of the industrial cycle has benefited the capitalist class, and the position of the workingclass has become much worse for it.

Of course the chief reason for their exultation over this change, or at least that of some of them, is their belief that the

doing away with the acuteness of crises does away with the possibility of the occurrence of the great and final crises, the social revolution, which they cannot imagine otherwise than as a sudden crash. But this cataclysmic conception of the breakdown of capitalism is not part of the Marxian theory, and has, at any rate, nothing to do with his theory of crises. The disappearance of the acuteness of commercial crises does not in any way affect their revolutionary influence, if their influence be necessary for the coming of the social revolution. For the remedy is worse than the disease as far as its influence on the condition of the workingclass is concerned, except, of course, to the mind of those who imagine the great revolution as the work of a hungry and desperate mob driven to distraction and destruction by the immediate lack of work, food and shelter. The mildness of the change from one phase of the industrial cycle to the other does not lessen the mass of misery produced by it, nor does it indicate any lessening of the contradictions of the capitalist system of production; it does not therefore affect the probabilities of a social revolution, except if we imagine it as a sudden cessation of all economic activity. The real question therefore is, not whether crises have become less acute in form but whether the economic contradictions which produce them have lost any of their acuteness. This brings us to the question of the *adaptability* and *expansiveness* of the capitalist system of production.

That capitalism has obtained a new lease of life by embarking on the sea of Imperialism is assured by the Revisionists although none of them ever attempted to carefully examine into the question in order to ascertain whether there was any basis of fact for such assumption, and if the assumption was correct how long such new lease would last. Bernstein declines at the decisive moment to commit himself. True to his nihilistic-opportunistic instinct he leaves the question an open one, which does not, however, prevent him and his friends from holding language as if they had squarely met the issue and settled it.

A careful examination of the question will show, however, that, both as a matter of abstract reasoning and as a matter of concrete fact, Imperialism cannot save the capitalist system, although it undoubtedly may prolong its existence. If the Marxian analysis of the capitalist system of production is correct, and that system does suffer with the inherent malady of ever increasing overproduction because of the ever increasing diminution of the share of the workingman in the product of his labor, then it follows as a logical conclusion that the mere *extension* of that system to new fields cannot save it, for the system would then carry with it its fatal malady to these new fields. And it is to a mere *extension of the capitalist system* that Imperialism reduces itself in the last analysis. For it must be remembered that capi-



talism cannot open a new market for its products without making the new territory part of its own system of production. It is the curse of capitalism that by the very processes with which it creates its new customers for its goods it makes of them competitors in the business of producing these goods. Therein lies the difference between the old and the new forms of colonization. That is why colonial dependencies, colonial empires in the old sense of the word, are no longer possible, except as a temporary and passing stage. Of course while this stage lasts it is of some relief to the *mother* country suffering from being *heavy* with surplus-product. But the infant colonies grow very rapidly, and with the ripening age of capitalism its offspring develop marvelous precociousness, and soon serve only to "extend" the seriousness of the situation.

The facts verify this reasoning. But before examining the facts we must again pay our respects to that bright light of anti-Marxian economic literature whom we have already had occasion to mention before — Prof. Tugan-Baranowsky. With that insight of the true scholar which so favorably distinguishes him from the rest of the Revisionist host he saw that the Marxian theory cannot be overthrown by such indefinite and meaningless talk as that of "adaption," "extension," or "expansion." That the Marxian theoretical edifice is too solidly built and is too finished a structure to be vulnerable to such mode of attack. That it can be successfully attacked, if at all, only at its foundation and only by using the methods employed in its construction. He therefore attempts to show by an analysis of capitalistic production that the Marxian conclusion of a necessary overproduction does not follow. The result of his efforts is a theory of "distribution" of production, according to which if production is "regulated" in such a way as to always produce a certain, ever increasing, share of the total yearly product in the form of "means of production," then no over-production will ever occur. I have somewhere else shown that this theory is an utter absurdity. But nevertheless it cannot be denied that this theory is the only scholarly attempt on the part of any Revisionist to disprove the Marxian theory of crises and over-production. That he failed in his attempt was not his fault but his fate. And the fact that the theory so laboriously constructed by him is sheer nonsense makes his fate the more tragical. For Tugan-Baranowsky is not only an acute theoretician but also a keen observer of the facts of life. But, as I have stated somewhere else, he suffers with the malady of his age: a sickly yearning for the "ethical" and a hysterical hunt for the "practical." The yearning for the "ethical" drove him away from the "unethical" Marxian system, and, left to drift without the sure guidance of an all-embracing theory, he clings to the isolated facts of existence which obtrude themselves upon his keen vision.

The facts upon which Tugan-Baranowsky constructs his theory are the same facts to which we alluded above as confirming our theory. They are: that the area of capitalism expands, and that production, in so far as the goods produced are concerned, has so changed that the principal goods produced now by the leading capitalist countries are machinery and other "means of production," instead of consumable goods as was formerly the case. From these two facts Tugan-Baranowsky concludes that it is a law of capitalistic development that the quota of consumable goods in the yearly product of society should constantly grow smaller and the quota of "means of production" as constantly increase; and that if the proper proportion is always observed no over-production can ever occur. Is this conclusion correct? Most emphatically, no! Tugan-Baranowsky sees the immense masses of "means of production" produced annually by the leading capitalist countries, and he stands in awe of this great *fact*. A little less respect for "fact" and a little more respect for theory would have made him ask for the why and the wherefore. It would also have made him look for the connection between this fact and other facts. And first of all he would have taken notice of what was being done with these "means of production." Had he done so he would have observed that these immense masses of "means of production," with some exceptions which will be noted later, *are not used in the capitalistic countries in which they are produced*. They are produced in the capitalistic countries and *exported* into countries which are only in the process of *capitalization*, so to speak. He would then have understood that the surplus-product in capitalistic countries has so far not clogged the wheels of production (with certain exceptions to be noted later), not because of the clever distribution of production into the different spheres, not because of the change from the production of consumable goods to the production of "means of production," but because the capitalistic countries have so far, owing to the fact that some have developed capitalistically earlier than others, and there still remain capitalistically undeveloped countries, had an outside world into which they could dump the products which they could not absorb themselves, whether those products be cotton or iron goods. This does not, by any means, mean that the change from cotton to iron goods, as the leading product of the foremost capitalistic countries is of no significance. On the contrary, it is of the greatest importance. But its significance is entirely different from that ascribed to it by Tugan-Baranowsky. It shows the beginning of the end of capitalism. As long as the capitalist countries exported goods for consumption there was hope for capitalism, within those countries. There was no telling, then, how great the capacity of the non-capitalistic outside world for the consumption of capitalistically produced goods would be, nor how long it would last. The growth of machinery in the

export from the foremost capitalistic countries at the expense of consumption-goods shows that spheres which were formerly outside of capitalism, and therefore served as a dumping-ground for its surplus-product, are drawn into the world of capitalism. That as their own capitalism develops they produce their own consumption-goods. Now that they are in the initial stages of their capitalistic development, they need the capitalistically produced machinery. But soon they will not need this either. They will produce their own iron-goods just as they now produce their own cotton or other consumption-goods. Then they will not only cease to be a receptacle for the surplus-product of the now only capitalistic countries, but they will produce a surplus product of their own which they will find it hard to dispose of.

There are other things which Tugan-Baranowsky might have observed had his vision not been obstructed by the details of capitalistic practice. Things, the observation of which would have given him a glimpse of the "true inwardness" of the latest phase of capitalistic development. He would have noticed, for instance, that a tremendous amount of the "means of production" which are produced in capitalistic countries and are not directly exported, is used within those countries in such a manner, that is, in effect, equal to export. Such are the building of trans-continental railroads, interoceanic canals, and steamship lines designed to serve as an incident to the export of products from capitalism into the non-capitalistic or half-capitalistic world. Furthermore, in so far even as such "public improvements" are used wholly within the limits of capitalism (and a tremendous amount of the "means of production" is used for such purposes), they have the peculiar effect of removing large quantities of surplus-product from the market, at least temporarily. It is the peculiar nature of such means of production that their usefulness or uselessness can not be definitely ascertained until fully completed and operated for some time. The result is that immense masses of such "means of production" are constantly produced without any actual necessity therefor, and often for purely speculative purposes. While these "means of production" are being produced, and it takes years to complete them, the wheels of capitalistic production revolve merrily, without hitch or stop, notwithstanding the fact that the work may be absolutely useless in whole or in part, and that the value supposed to be created in their production, or at least a large part thereof, will never be realized. The wiseacres of capitalism, like Tugan-Baranowsky, listen to the siren-song of these merrily revolving wheels, and draw in their imagination alluring pictures of the endlessness of capitalism wound around an endless chain of "means of production." Of course, there is bound to come a rude awakening. The production of these particular "means of production" turns out to be the merest waste. But that is another story .....

In order to appreciate the importance of this point, (and this point applies equally to "means of production" of this nature, whether used within the limits of capitalism, or exported for use outside of it), we need only refer to Tugan-Baranowsky's own "History of Crises in England." The facts brought together in that book, in so far as they relate to the latest phase of capitalism, that are now under consideration, teach a remarkable lesson. This lesson can not be missed by one who contemplates the whole picture there represented, but could not be learned by Tugan-Baranowsky who saw only the details of the process by him described. His theory of the "distribution of production" is the result of his having missed the great lesson which that book teaches, and that is, that THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM LIVES AND THRIVES BY WASTE.

In speaking of the first "modern" crisis, that of 1857, Tugan-Baranowsky says in his History of Crises: — "The peculiarities of the crisis of 1857 find their explanation in the world-character of that crisis ..... The characteristic difference between the crisis of 1857 and those of 1825 and 1836 consisted also in the fact that this crisis fell most heavily not on the *cotton* industry as the former ones but on the *iron* industry. In this the new feature of the capitalistic mode of production found its expression, the increased importance of the part played by means of production on the world-market as well as in economic life generally. The stagnation of trade usually moves the industrialists to look for new markets for the disposition of their goods. In this respect the crisis of 1857 had a very strong effect. The exports from England to the United States fell from nineteen million pounds sterling (1857) to fourteen millions (1858); the exports from England to the East Indies, on the other hand, rose from 11.7 millions pounds (1857) to 16.8 millions pounds (1858). In order to recuperate from the blows which it received on the European and American markets English capital migrated to Asia. In the East Indies began an epoch of railroad building and of the improvement of inland ways of communication, which had the effect of increasing there the demand for English goods."

We can not repeat here the detailed statement of the crises that followed that of 1857 until the present day, but a careful examination of this very interesting part of Tugan-Baranowsky's book will prove very instructive. Briefly stated, all these crises were brought about by over-production of "means of production," particularly of the most lasting and staple means of production, those which it takes longest to produce, means of communication and public improvements. The typical crisis occurs in about the following manner:

The starting-point is the preceding crisis. As Tugan-Baranowsky says in the passage just quoted: "The stagnation of trade usually moves the industrialists to look for new markets

for the disposition of their goods." And as he has also observed, these goods consist mostly of means of production. In other words: after a crisis there is a superabundance of capital which is seeking employment. As the ordinary fields of occupation, particularly at home, are well filled, the capitalists look for some new fields wherein their capital could be profitably employed. Knowing that it would be useless to manufacture some new consumption-goods, or some machine for the purpose of manufacturing such goods, for the reason that the capacity of our society for consumption is limited, they start out to create new demands by creating new civilization. Civilization has proved a good customer, and capitalists turn to it instinctively whenever hard pressed. So the iron threads of civilization begin spinning at home and abroad, but mostly abroad, the missionary spirit of capitalism being well known. This creates a demand for vast amounts of capital and labor. Things begin to hum, — the prospects are bright. The markets are relieved of the surplus-product which clogged the wheels of production, and trade has revived. An era of prosperity has set in. The more crazy the "civilizing" undertaking, particularly the longer it takes to finish it, and obtain results, the greater the prosperity and the longer it lasts. But the undertaking has to be finished some day, and the harvest must at last be gathered in. Then it is discovered that the undertaking was a failure. The railroads, it turns out, were not necessary where they were built, for they have nothing to carry when they are ready for business. The undertaking goes into liquidation. The vast amounts of capital, the glorious piles or stretches of means of production now represent so much waste, for capital which does not pay dividends is not capital according to capitalistic laws. Then the crisis is on — things go to smash all around. The crisis is not limited to those interested in the particular undertaking. First, because the ramifications of modern capitalistic undertakings are so extensive and complicated, particularly by reason of our credit system, that no serious break can occur anywhere but that the whole system will crumble to its foundations. Secondly, because the large number of men employed in producing the defunct "means of production" are now thrown out of employment, thereby weighing heavily on the labor-market and demanding charity from their masters. And thirdly, because the apparent prosperity incident to the continued production of the large "means of production," has caused a general rush of production to an unwarranted extent, even in spheres which are not in any way directly connected with the particular undertaking which brought about the prosperity .... and the crisis.

The deductions which Tugan-Baranowsky, himself, makes from these facts are very curious and furnish a good object lesson in the mental pathology of our age. We can not, however, pursue this branch of the discussion here any further. We hope to re-

sume this very interesting discussion some other time. For the present we will try to make some deductions on our own account, as far as they may be pertinent to our subject proper. The first irrefutable deduction which presents itself to our mind, not only from the facts adduced by Tugan-Baranowsky, but also from his own statement, is, that his theory, the perpetuation of capitalism by means of the proper "distribution" of production is the veriest rot. Prior to 1857 a change occurred in the "distribution" of the production of the chief seat of capitalism in those days, England. The production of cotton goods (consumption goods), was relegated to the background, and the front rank was assigned to iron-goods, (means of production). In other words, Tugan-Baranowsky's advice of how to prevent a crisis because of over-production was followed. But the crisis of 1857 *did come*, notwithstanding the use of this patent remedy. The faith of the capitalists in his remedy was evidently shaken a bit. For, as he has told us, the capitalists, instead of continuing the production of their means of production for the same market, which, according to Tugan-Baranowsky's theory, can never be over-stocked with means of production, they set about looking for NEW MARKETS. The only thing in which they followed him still was the "distribution" of production: they still produced means of production by preference. But the crises still continued to set in regularly, driving the poor capitalists to distraction in their vain hunt for new markets. In other words, THE NEW MARKETS WERE ALSO SOON OVER-STOCKED WITH MEANS OF PRODUCTION. And very naturally so: for means of production, (and this includes means of communication), are nothing more than MEANS to the production of consumable goods. Where, therefore, there is no demand for the consumable goods ultimately to be produced by their means, their production is over-production, and is so found to be when the ultimate test is applied. The capitalists discovered this much sooner than did Tugan-Baranowsky, owing to their healthy wolf-instinct of capitalism which can not be fed on fairy-tales, but requires good dividends to appease its hunger. Seeing that they are at the end of their tether, that the reserve of markets is giving out, while those under exploitation are getting hopelessly over-stocked, they set about fighting each other like wild cats in a scramble to get, each for himself, as much as possible of what is left. Capitalism reversed its time-honored policy of free-trade, and the era of wild imperialism in which we live has set in.

Modern crises and modern imperialism are very instructive studies. As Marx said, crises are mere SYMPTOMS of the contradictions working within the bowels of capitalism and a means of RELIEVING the diseased condition when it becomes acute. They are not the malady, itself, they merely show the presence of the malady. So does imperialism. As a matter of fact, modern crises and modern imperialism are manifestations of the same condition,

and are merely two phases of the same process. Among other things, they show how the capitalist system is kept alive by waste.

The waste of the capitalist system is of two kinds, ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary waste is the most important because the more extensive; it is, however, the extraordinary waste that permits us to get a glimpse into the vital forces of capitalism, and is, therefore, of greatest interest to us. It is this extraordinary waste that manifests itself in crises and in imperialism. We have already stated how imperialism has been heralded as the saviour of capitalism from crises and ultimate destruction for its surplus-product by providing new markets. It was pointed out that the great crisis which was scheduled for the beginning of this century did not come in, and this is claimed to be due to the opening up of new markets by the imperialistic policy of the modern capitalistic nations. In a way, this is true; the effect of a crisis being the destruction of the surplus-product which can not be absorbed by the social organism, and the permission of the resumption of normal production by removing the surplus-product from the market, anything that will serve the same purpose may, for the time being, take the place of a crisis. A great war, for instance, may have the same effect. It has usually been assumed that wars bring about crises. While it is true that under peculiar circumstances, particularly because of credit relations, the declaration of a war may hasten on an impending crisis, or even bring a financial one about, the usual and general effect of a war is just the reverse. A great war usually keeps a crisis out, for the reason that economically it has the same effect as a crisis and can take its place. After a great war an era of prosperity usually sets in, for the same reason that great prosperity usually follows a great crisis. The longer the war, the greater the destruction of property, both actual and potential, the greater the prosperity that will follow it.

A policy of imperialism, aside from the actual wars which it may lead to, has the same effects, and that is why it is beneficial to capitalism. Among the economic causes of the great popularity of imperialism must not only be counted the desire for new markets and their actual attainment, but the economic causes of the policy of hunting for new markets itself. We will illustrate this by an example. During the last presidential campaign in the United States the anti-imperialists made very much of certain statistics compiled by the late Edward Atkinson, showing that the expense to the United States in keeping and governing the Philippines was greater than what the whole trade of the United States with those islands amounted to. The anti-imperialists argued that it was the height of folly to pay more than a dollar for the opportunity of selling a dollar's worth of goods. From their own shop-keeper's point of view that is undoubtedly true. Not so from the standpoint of the modern, means-of-pro-

duction-producing capitalism. There arise times when goods must be gotten rid of at any expense. As these goods consist of means of production they can not be given in charity to the workmen nor destroyed bodily the way the western and southern farmers and planters destroy part of their crops, when they are too plentiful, in order to keep up the prices. These goods being capital, can only be gotten rid of by being sold or "invested." Hence this apparent craze for new markets. But this is not all. As far as the safety of the capitalistic system is concerned, in so far as it affects the "general prosperity of the country," as it is euphoniously styled, the millions expended in the effort to sell goods to the Philippines is not waste but gain. These millions represent so many millions worth of goods sold by the capitalists of the United States for unproductive consumption by military and civil employes and officials, a very effective though not always profitable way of disposing of a surplus-product which threatens to clog the wheels of business. It is true that this is sheer waste. But it is on waste that the capitalist system now depends for the continuance of its existence.

In this connection it must be added that it is not only the monies so expended directly that are wasted in that manner and for that purpose, or at least with that effect. To the direct expenses of colonies must be added the general military and naval establishments of modern nations, which are necessitated by this imperialistic policy. Every dollar expended in the military and naval "needs" of a country are the purest waste, but it is at the same time absolutely necessary for the preservation of the capitalistic system. Furthermore, it is not only the money expended on these "needs," and included in the official budgets, that must be taken into consideration. The big military and naval establishments require men, besides money. These men are taken away from ordinary production where they would compete with other men in the labor-market, and where the products by them produced would swell the masses of surplus-product to be disposed of in far-away lands. The taking away of a man for military or naval purposes, (including administrative duties of all sorts), relieves the labor-market by one man, and at the same time creates a demand for the goods to be consumed by him which are to be produced by those remaining at work at some useful occupation. Hence our continued prosperity. WASTE is the safety-valve of capitalism.

How long will this last? Evidently not forever. If the surplus-product can only be gotten rid of by waste, and by the kind of waste described above, and if the surplus-product which must be disposed of by such waste is always increasing we will evidently reach a stage when it will be physically impossible to dispose of it. By saying "physically" take of course, into consideration human nature, which is part of the "physics" of our



social system. There is however, no warrant for assuming that according to Marx capitalism would have to go on until such a physical catastrophe should occur. This theory of a final catastrophe which has been much exploited by Marx-critics is the result of their woeful ignorance of the Marxian philosophy and the connection it has with his economics. Even Tugan-Baranowsky says that in order that the transformation from capitalism to socialism should follow as an economic necessity, according to the Marxian philosophy, the *impossibility of the continuance of production under capitalism indefinitely* must be proven. That is why he exerts himself so much to prove that an absolute impossibility does not follow from an analysis of capitalistic production. But this assumption is entirely wrong. The Marxian philosophy does not require the arrival at an economic impossibility. This is a figment of the imagination of those who understand under the Materialistic Conception of History a Mechanical Conception of History.

Such is not the Marxian philosophy. It will be remembered that in describing the causes for social revolution generally, in outlining his philosophy of history, he says that a revolution occurs whenever the superstructure of laws, etc., turns from a means of helping production into *fetters* of production. He does not say that production under the old system must become *impossible* before a revolution sets in, but it is according to his theory sufficient that it becomes "fettered." And in speaking of the particular revolution now under discussion, that from capitalism to socialism, he says that the "knell of capitalist private property sounds" when "the monopoly of capital becomes a *fetter* upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with it, and under it." When, "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become *incompatible* with their capitalist integument." According to the Marxian philosophy a system of production can only last as long as it helps, or at least does not hinder, the unfolding and full exploitation of the productive forces of society, and must give way to another system when it becomes a hindrance, a *fetter*, to production. That a system has become a hindrance and a *fetter* to production when it has reached the point, when it can only exist by preventing production, and by *wasting* what it has already produced goes without saying. Such system cannot therefore last very long, quite irrespective of the purely mechanical possibility or impossibility of its continuance. Such a system has become *historically impossible*, even though mechanically it may still be possible. As we have seen, *the capitalist system has reached that point*: The capitalist system *must* go.

L. B. BOUDIN.

(To be Continued.)

# EDITORIAL

## Socialism in the Present Campaign.

The "conspiracy of silence" is broken, smashed, exploded, scattered to the four winds. Two years ago we were in the midst of a presidential campaign. We were straining every nerve to make what we then considered an epoch-making, record-breaking campaign. It was all of that; all socialist campaigns are. That is the beauty of being a growing party; a movement that moves, breaks its record every time it enters the race.

Nevertheless we could not make the enemy admit we were in the field. Neither of the two old duplicate parties publicly recognized us, although they could not deny we were making them a lot of trouble. Now, what a difference! Shaw and Bonaparte, sent out "to give the key note" of the campaign, spend a large portion of their time warning against the "dangers," "fallacies," "delusions," etc., of socialism. To be sure they carefully avoid any real discussion of socialism, lest they thereby expose their own ignorance or direct their followers toward the source of knowledge. Bryan and Hearst are pinning placards all over themselves warning all who chance to look that way that they are not socialists. If they wish a certificate to that effect by a body of experts, the socialists will be glad to furnish it. Almost any socialist will willingly testify not only to their entire purity of the socialist taint, but also to their complete ignorance of the whole subject and to the spotless blackness of their capitalist character.

The current magazines reflect this change in an even more startling manner. In 1904 perhaps one-half dozen articles dealing with socialism were published in the leading magazines during the entire campaign. An examination of nearly a hundred of the latest issues of these publications showed nearly one-fourth of their space devoted to articles on socialism and about the socialist movement, exposing the aforesaid socialist "fallacies," "dangers," etc.; or at least tinged with what is popularly called a "socialistic" taint. If we should add to this the non-socialist literary publications written by prominent socialist writers, it would add almost another twenty-five per cent, so completely has the philosophy of socialism captured the literary workers of America.

It has been quite a favorite pastime of many of these writers on so-

cialism to try to account for the increase in socialist sentiment. "Muck-rakers," insurance scandals, Idaho-Colorado outrages are a few of the more common explanations. Why not put them all together and add the rest and sum the whole thing up as capitalism?

Naturally this excitement or interest has aided in the increase of direct socialist party activity. It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that there are several districts in which the prospect of electing a socialist congressman is good. The East Side in New York is talking of sending Comrade Hillquit to Washington to represent the suffering workers in that district. The Pennsylvania coal miners have at least one candidate that they expect to see in Congress next winter. The Chicago stock yards workers have more than a fighting chance of electing a congressman.

Down in Joe Cannon's district the only enemy in opposition to the speaker that stands a ghost of a chance is John Walker, vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America. Incidentally this puts Gompers in a difficult situation. When he first started gunning for the enemies of labor he promised that the first scalp he would bring home would be that of Uncle Joe. Gompers repeatedly declared his intention to stump the Danville district in order to "punish the enemy." That was before he heard he would need to back a *bona fide* labor ticket. The little Napoleon never imagined that he would have to decide anything more than which of two capitalists the laborers should love. The nomination of Walker seemed to cool Gompers' fierce desire to get revenge on Cannon. He could not very well refuse his endorsement to a man whose service in the cause of unionism was as long and far more faithful than his own and who undoubtedly had the support of the organized workers of his and who was a national officer of the largest union in the A. F. of L., district. But in Gompers' eyes he still lacked one qualification to render him a "true friend of labor;" he had never sat at Civic Federation scab banquets or preached the common interests of exploiter and exploited. Just how Gompers will escape from this dilemma is none of our troubles. He either will have to make a complete break with capitalism in this one instance or else admit that the bond that ties him to the employer is too strong for him to break. We await the outcome with interest.

In Wisconsin also there are a couple of districts from which a socialist congressman is more than a possibility. This state is also quite certain to increase its already large representation in the state legislature. Illinois will probably send some others to keep company with the two present members of the legislature. There are several other states in whose legislative bodies we may expect to see socialist workers during this coming year.

In Colorado there is much talk of electing Comrade Haywood as governor. While this does not seem to be anywhere within the bounds of possibility, since the socialist strength seems to be almost exclusively confined to Denver and a few mining camps, yet the fight which is being put up is serving to attract attention and to educate the workers as never

before. Throughout the South candidates are being put up where none has been nominated before.

So on the whole there is promise of a substantial increase in the socialist vote at the coming election.

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Just before the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World last June we published an article in this REVIEW pointing out the character of the Socialist Labor Party's friendship for the I. W. W. and the results of any affiliation with a De Leon ruled organization. At that time and since we have been subject to torrents of abusive language as disrupters, enemies of the I. W. W., traitors, etc. Today every word of that article has been justified. The recent convention of the I. W. W., which is still in session as this is written, shows that no man could be a true friend of industrial unionism and not be an enemy of De Leonism. The present convention has so far been a farce. A bunch of half-crazed fanatics, under the leadership of De Leon obstructed business to such an extent that over a week was expended in passing upon credentials.

Wherever the foul hand of the S. L. P. has touched the I. W. W. the latter organization has withered up into a clique of fanatical freaks, who work only with Samson's instrument of warfare, and from which all *bona fide* laborers draw back in disgust.

Steadily all those who were working to make the I. W. W. a force in the American labor movement are beginning to realize this, and many of those who heaped their denunciations upon the head of the editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW six months ago are now even more emphatic in announcing his sentiments than was the original author. For instance, here is what Comrade O'Neill has to say in a recent issue of the *Miners' Magazine*: "It is now apparent to us that S. L. P. ism has hooked itself to the Industrial Workers of the World, in order that it might gather sustenance to prolong the life of an invalid that is almost a corpse. The convention at Chicago must either get rid of the fanatics and disrupters or the I. W. W. is slated for destruction. If fanaticism and insanity upon the part of the S. L. P. are proofs of being 'Class Conscious' then we must plead guilty of not being 'Class Crazy.' The *Magazine* will not be made a sewer to carry off the filth of calumniators, who glory in the use of vituperation and slander."

If the I. W. W. is wrecked on the crooked snag of DeLeonism, how will those friends of industrial unionism who feared to say what they thought and knew at the last convention excuse themselves?

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

The *Socialistische Monatshefte* has recently compiled a table showing the socialist representation in the various parliamentary bodies in Europe, which is given herewith:

## NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Country	Total	Socialist
Denmark .....	114	24
Germany .....	397	78
Belgium .....	166	30
France .....	584	76
Holland .....	100	7
Sweden .....	230	13
England .....	670	30
Norway .....	117	5
Italy .....	508	21
Austria .....	325	11
Switzerland .....	187	2
Servia .....	160	1

## RUSSIA.

News has just come that Comrades Parvus and Leo Deutsch have been sent to Siberia. They have not only been sentenced to Siberia, but to the little village of Turuschausk, having less than 200 inhabitants and located in the extreme northern province, on the very edge of the Polar Circle.

The Berlin *Vorwärts*, in commenting on these two men says: "The name of Deutsch rivals that of Parvus in the esteem and trust of the German comrades. He is a memorial of one of the darkest pages of German history. In the year 1884 he was made the sacrifice of Bismarck's service of love for his Russian neighbor. Deutsch had escaped from the imprisonment of the czar and sought asylum in Switzerland. When in the above year he ventured to visit Germany he was arrested in Freiburg and transported to Russia. So it is that the name of Deutsch is connected with the inhumanity which brings the blush of shame into every honor-loving German. For sixteen years, as he has told us in his book, 'Sixteen Years in Siberia,' Deutsch endured the horrors of Siberia, yet they could not break the spirit of this youthful revolutionist. In 1901 Deutsch fled from Siberia and reached once more a protecting asylum in Europe. But no sooner had the news of the Russian revolution reached him than he, fearlessly obeying only his duty, hastened over the borders,—

there where the prison-cell threatened,—and threw himself into the ranks of the fighters; and now at fifty-one years of age he goes once more over that same road of tears, which he traveled at the age of thirty-nine.

"Just as we unite with the name of Deutsch the remembrance of those sixteen fearful years during which he was offered up by the German government as a prey to Russia, so Parvus is united to us with the memory of the years of labor in common. He belonged to us. We may proudly say that the German Social Democracy offered him a field for his work when the reaction in Russia made the activity of socialist publicists and theoreticians impossible. But all the German Social Democracy gave Comrade Parvus he has returned with usurious interest. He placed at their service a brilliant pen and a deep knowledge, together with tireless hours of work; all this until he was called to practical work, until the revolution called. In the stormy days of October, he went to St. Petersburg and fought in those bloody days in which the czar was at last forced to take the first steps toward constitutional government and the calling of the *douma*. For a short time in the spring days of the first freedom of the press he edited the young socialist paper in St. Petersburg, *The Natschlo*. Then rose the waves of the counter-revolution, broke over him and carried him away into the prison-cell, and now on to Siberia.

"All honor to the brave and the true! Deutsch and Parvus, these two names will be written together in the golden book of Social Democracy and will lead thousands upon thousands to sacrificial activity."

#### AUSTRALIA.

The attitude of the Australian socialists is shown in the following extract from an editorial from *The Socialist* of Melbourne:

"As Socialists, we cannot support opponents of Socialism, no matter what fine fellows they may be in other directions; and it is no secret that in the ranks of labor are some who have no knowledge of socialist principles, and therefore no appreciation thereof. Such persons must never expect to get the backing of Socialists, but we must on the other hand sensibly and generously allow for past environment, and not forget that many are actively engaged in courageously fighting with the proletariat in The Great Class War, who have no clear intellectual grasp of the science of industrial and social economics.

Not to allow for and properly appreciate this fact would mean that we should soon become doctrinaire, exclusive, pedantic, and narrow, and therefore should soon become comparatively useless and perhaps even mischievous. Therefore, whilst we must ever hold up the ideal of Class-Conscious, International, Revolutionary Socialism, we must rejoice when we see men break away from the support of the orthodox parties, whether called Liberal or Tory, Freetrade or Protectionist, Democratic or Republican, and resolve that henceforth they will unite as Labor men and take their stand against the Capitalist parties.

This is the first stage in the War of the Classes as regards the attitude of the masses, and those who thus sever themselves from the old orders are in a fair way to receive and make use of sound economic knowledge.

For Socialists to antagonize this section by denouncing them because they do not yet see clearly what is meant by the economic interpretation of history, or are unable to discern the differences between the Socialism of our French comrades, Jean Allemane and Jean-Leon Jaures, or our German stalwarts, Bebel and Bernstein, would show our unfitness to educate and organize to great and glorious Socialist victories the mass of the people."

Those who tell us that Australia has solved the unemployed problem

may be somewhat shocked by the following headline taken from *The Socialist* of Melbourne: "Five Thousand Male Wage Workers out of Employment in Melbourne.—Thirteen Thousand out of Work in Victoria. Three Thousand Women Wage Workers in Enforced Idleness,—Two Hundred Thousand Existing Below the Poverty Line."

#### SWEDEN.

The trade union congress of Sweden which recently met at Stockholm reported that the membership increased from 39,570 in 1903 to 108,000, with an income of 4,460,746 kronin. The principal subject of discussion before the convention was the question of the adoption of a more consolidated form of organization. No definite conclusion was reached, but the general feeling of the convention seemed to be that such a step would be soon necessary.

#### ENGLAND.

The trade union congress which has just been held had 491 delegates, representing 1,554,000 members. Resolutions were adopted endorsing old-age pensions and for the establishment of a daily paper representing the trade union position. The organization also agreed to gather funds for the Russian revolution. One of the interesting phases was the adoption of a resolution which was practically a repudiation of Maddison in his campaign against Comrade Hyndman. This was carried by a vote of 756 to 543.

#### SWITZERLAND.

The reactionary movement continues. The Zurich government has recently expelled Emil Hauth, one of the editors of the socialist daily of Zurich, although he had been a resident of Zurich for over eleven years. The excuse was that he was a foreigner without papers. Another socialist comrade, Sigg, has just been sentenced to eight months imprisonment for circulating an anti-military leaflet. It would seem that these actions were at last beginning to awaken the workers, since at a by-election for a judge the socialist vote rose from 5,000 to more than 10,000.

#### JAPAN.

From the *Hikari* we learn the explanation of street-car riots which have been reported in the daily press. It seems that the three street railroad companies of Tokio, having amalgamated and watered their capital and thereby proved how far they were advanced on the road to civilization, proceeded to give further evidence of that progress by raising their rates of fare. *The Socialist* printed tens of thousands of leaflets urging that the street cars be boycotted. This was the situation when the last number of *Hikari* to reach us was printed. The Associated Press dispatches state that this boycott was so very effective that government troops were called out and that for several days Tokio was practically in the hands of the rioters.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The political pot continues to boil, and whether the American labor movement is coming out of this year's experiment without being scalded more or less only the future will determine. The results in Vermont and Maine were not altogether satisfactory, nor were they completely disappointing. The A. F. of L. officials set out to assist the Democrats—to reward their friends and punish their enemies, as the Ghibboleth rings. But it appears that these self-same Democrats are not the least bit grateful for the support volunteered by Mr. Gompers and colleagues. Although the Republican majorities in Vermont and Maine were cut down materially, the Democratic politicians and newspapers profess to believe that their gains were due solely to their own brilliant management as well as the mistakes of the Republicans in enforcing obnoxious temperance laws, while local issues are also claimed to have cut some figure. And just to show how well the old rascals understand each other, the Republicans are saying amen to everything that the Bourbons claim in the endeavor to ignore their labor allies. In fact, Congressman Littlefield, who had over four thousand votes chopped off his majority of two years ago, is out with a statement to the effect that the Republicans made so many mistakes that he was in danger of defeat until Gompers came into the district to attack him, whereupon his election was assured. But that's all tommyrot. Gompers and his friends did contribute to the increased vote of the Democrats, and the actions of the latter only serve once more to display the contemptible snobbishness and base ingratitude for which their party is notorious. They seduced the Greenback, Union Labor and People's parties, and gave them not the least credit for victories gained anywhere, and now they are attempting to betray the trade union movement to their capitalistic devil. Ever so often the Democratic street-walker hunts for some victim while her Republican pal stands around the corner anxiously waiting to share the spoil. It's a blamed good thing for the Socialist movement that William Jennings Bryan and his single tax and individualistic-anarchistic friends are taking a fall out of socialism. The national committee of the Socialist party could well afford to hire Mr. Bryan (as an attorney, of course,) to go about the country and pummel the party to his heart's content. The safety of the Socialist party lies in its revolutionary character; if it were a mere reform aggregation it would meet the fate of the Pops and others. Hence it is not difficult to foresee that Gompers, unless he keeps on moving until he lands squarely in the Socialist camp, is going to fall into the meshes of one of the old adventuresses and have his usefulness destroyed forever. So long as he held aloof from old party entanglements, Gompers was respected, but familiarity breeds contempt, and when once they have used him the Federation president will be pushed into a sarcophagus and laid alongside of the long line of reformers who were trapped during the past forty years. The world's history proves that



wherever men espoused a cause, rallied their supporters about them and fought for their principles and ideals they made progress. But where they crawled into the camp of the enemy on their bellies they were shown little mercy.

While Gompers appears to be attempting to curry favor with the Democratic bosses, there being only Republican Congressmen on his blacklist, First Vice-President James Duncan seems to be more stalwart and truly independent. In his Cleveland speech on Labor Day, Mr. Duncan made liberal use of socialist phrases, as the following excerpts from his address will show:

"Give your support, wherever possible, to union men. We may not hope to win in the first attempt, but if consistent in our efforts we will in the end accomplish our aim,"..... "Labor should control capital and politics. Politics without our blind support would be less tyrannical. There is no law of nature that would permit the idle man to rule. It is usurpation. The producer should be the master,"..... "Every movement must have some motive. Ours must be an industrial democracy. We must work to the common end of uplifting the laborer. We must step into politics with our coats off and our demands made plain. There must be no hesitation, no uncertainty in our position and efforts. We must draw the line and hew to it."

You will notice that Duncan has made considerable progress since the New Orleans and Boston conventions, where he pooh-poohed political action, an industrial democracy, that labor should own the product of its toil, etc. Duncan is pretty shrewd and far-seeing in many respects, and evidently does not fear to change his opinions to conform to new conditions. Mitchell doesn't appear to be advancing any—at least I haven't heard of his desire to back any of the scores of miners who are candidates on the Socialist ticket. Lennon pretends to be progressive, but it's a question whether he will ever get ahead of the most slowpoke tailor in the country. There is little use in discussing other members of the executive council of the Federation. They are a mighty slow lot. But there is one thing that the old crowd has done and for which they deserve unalloyed credit, and that is, the Vermont and Maine campaigns have riveted and clinched the movement inaugurated in the "bill of grievances" to engage in politics. If it is good union tactics to discuss Democratic and Republican politics in local organizations and central bodies at this juncture, there is every reason why it is better policy to talk socialism. This is the opportunity that Socialists have wanted and fought for during the past dozen years. Now it is up to the "reds" to make their presence known, and to point out the damages of hanging to the coat-tails of alleged friends in the capitalist parties as well as the advantages to be gained by joining the only political working class movement deserving the name—the Socialist party. There are scores of young Socialists in the unions who can break in as speakers, and hundreds of others who can purchase a dollar's worth of literature and aim to educate their fellow-workers. There is work to be done, and if every Socialist in the unions will do his share there need be no fear of Gompers and his crowd delivering the so-called labor vote to one party and then another. The men will deliver their own votes and to their own party.

From all appearances, the good, old jurisdiction controversies will be trotted out again at the Minneapolis convention of the A. F. of L. next month. While they had a beginning in the dim and misty past, they don't seem to have an end. Like the poet's brook, they go on forever. The brewery workers have once more been given to understand that they must quietly allow themselves to be disrupted, but they refuse to bow to the mandate of the A. F. of L. officials. At a recent session of the Federation executive council the brewers were commanded to give up the engineers, firemen, teamsters and other workmen that some craft

captain wanted or take the consequences, which were, first, that all boycotts now levied in favor of the brewers by the A. F. of L. would be invalidated, and, secondly, that the Federation's indorsement of the brewers' union label would be withdrawn. Just how such a novel proceeding would be regarded by the union membership throughout the country can well be imagined—for there is no question but that the big-hearted, liberal brewery workers, who are always digging into their treasuries to assist somebody, have the overwhelming majority of the rank and file with them in their fight for life against envious craft officials as well as bosses' combines. The unprecedented action of giving up a boycott against an unfair house, withdrawing from the field when a battles rages, and yet collect taxes from the affiliated organization in trouble could have been planned nowhere else except in the fertile think-tank of Gompers or Secretary Morrison—the latter has recently become a great jurisdiction fixer. Then, again, to come out before the public and announce that the brewers' union label is not a label, is no better than some bogus, scabby capitalistic trade-mark, and all the time collecting per capita tax from the brewers with the avowed purpose of assisting them directly and indirectly, will be about as fine an exhibition of pure and simple muddle-headedness as this funny old world has ever witnessed. Talk about the I. W. W. or some other rival organization boycotting established and recognized labels, here we will have an example, if the executive council's threat is made good, of a federated body boycotting one of its own labels. Just why the fool-killer should neglect his business during hot weather is a mystery. The annual contests between the seamen and longshoremen, the carpenters and woodworkers, etc., will, of course, be pulled off on schedule time, but none are as bitterly attacked by the dominant faction and as boldly marked for slaughter and disruption as the brewers. The general impression is that the brewery workers are so unmercifully pursued by Gompers, O'Connell and Morrison because they have repeatedly declared for socialism, and, as Gompers is an anarchist and O'Connell and Morrison are nothing, this is an unpardonable sin that calls for severe punishment. In fact, Gompers' every move since the New Orleans convention, where he narrowly escaped losing his grip, has been a studied, persistent wet-nursing of a policy to force the outspoken Socialists from the Federation family. The dirtiest types of grafters, like the Judas Henry Weissmann, the unspeakable Harry White, the notorious and powerful Bill Pomeroy, and others of that character who have always embraced every opportunity to attack the Socialists, not with logical, tolerant argument, but with vulgar, ill-tempered invective, have always been Gompers' warmest friends and were given ready ear. I don't say that Gompers is corrupt—on the contrary, in my opinion he is a man of unimpeachable integrity and honest to the core in financial matters. But he has been in mighty bad company and is not over-scrupulous in using anybody and everybody to defeat an opponent and keep himself on top. Gompers sees the rising tide of socialism and is making a desperate attempt to sweep it back, even if it is necessary to excommunicate and break up some organization as a warning to others to be good. The plan of the inside bunch all along has been to make things so unbearable for the brewers as to cause them to withdraw. Then they could be treated as seceders and bombarded accordingly. But the brewers refused to withdraw and are waiting to be kicked out. There is no denying the fact that if the brewers are finally forced from the Federation there will be a shake-up of some dimensions. It is almost certain that other organizations would follow in short order, to say nothing of many individuals. Whether they would go into the I. W. W. or form a new federation would, quite naturally, depend upon circumstances. What with the continuous performance of jurisdiction strife, the injection of a peculiar political policy where the average unionist doesn't know

"where he is at," the ceaseless activity of the employers' associations to enforce their open shop schemes, and the natural centralization of capital and developments in industry, we are being driven toward a crisis in the trade union movement that will require extraordinary clever management to prevent the good ship from being severely damaged in troublous waters.

An internal row that is creating a great deal of interest among the cigarmakers began recently between ex-President Strasser and Organizer Best on the one side and Boston Union No. 97 on the other. The Boston cigarmakers had made a demand for increased wages and Strasser and Best were sent to the front by the international officers to take charge of the movement, but it seems that they hobnobbed too much with the enemy to please No. 97. It is claimed that the international representatives so far offended against the spirit of unionism as to openly denounce their fellow-members in the presence of the manufacturers during a conference as being ignorant and disloyal, and also attempted to force the Boston workers to remain satisfied with the old wage rate. Strasser's only reply to the statement of the union (which has a membership of 2,200 and is one of the most powerful locals in the country) was an intemperate tirade in which everybody who has the temerity to question his methods is denounced as a Socialist snake, yellow dog, etc., etc. The controversy has attracted a great deal of attention and Strasser's peculiar actions have made him no friends. As in many other local organizations, the active workers in Boston union are Socialists, but why they should be abused for trying to get more money for the membership is difficult to comprehend. Even though they are ignoramuses and snakes, and Mr. Strasser and his friends are intelligent giants and paragons of virtue, still the rank and file who pay dues must eat, or they would all die and then the union would go to pieces and then the Strassers would have to go to work for a living and such a cruel blow might kill father, too!

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE VOICE OF THE STREET, by Ernest Poole. A. S. Barnes & Co. Cloth, 282 pp., \$1.50.

There is a strange almost mystical charm about it that clings to you and haunts you after you have lain the book down. It comes back to you days afterwards. It makes you realize what a really remarkable work it is. Truly, it is the "Voice of the Street." The "Street," fierce, lying, gambling, devouring, competitive, drags at the hero it has produced. A newsboy with a wonderful Voice,—always spell that Voice with a capital—joins with "Dago Joe" in a partnership, where one plays and the other sings. The Voice reaches ever up for higher things. The Street ever drags it down. An old German musician discovers the Voice and takes its owner home with him. Gretchen lives with her father, the old German musician. Then the struggle between the Voice and the Street is complicated with a romance. Sometimes the Street drags all down for a moment. The Voice is sweated in a music hall, is exploited and coined into dollars for the proprietor—to draw in "champagne customers." When "Lucky Jim,"—who owns the Voice—or does the Voice own him?—finally escapes from this place, he cannot earn the money with which to take lessons. Joe, his old partner, ever faithful, though never escaping the iron grip of the Street, steals to supply the money for the lessons. When Jim suspects the source of the money and refuses to take it, Joe brings it to Gretchen, and together, for the sake of the Voice, they pretend that the money comes from a friend in Germany. When Joe is unsuccessful, Gretchen finally is driven also to steal, always to keep the Voice from the Street, that is ever beckoning Jim back to take one more gambler's chance. Then comes exposure, Gretchen's imprisonment, and then out of it all the Voice triumphs, carries its possessor to the Metropolitan Opera House, with Gretchen present to hear—and waiting for the singer when the song is finished.

We do not know what others will read in the story, but the socialist need not stretch his imagination to see capitalism in the Street, struggling with the constructive, artistic free Voice of the coming age. Nor do we think the writer will quarrel with this reading, since he whispers the same story in his final paragraph. Here is what he makes the Voice say in the hour of its triumph:—

"Come—for the life we dreamed of is here. Come—forever closer, closer to me; hear what I hear, see what I see, feel what I feel. Open your eyes and your ears and your soul to the World of Big Beauties with me. Be glad—for the Street is forever behind us; the fight, the race, the lie, the gamble—are only parts of death. Deep under the glare and roar of the street—life—real life—is silently waiting for the time when men shall no longer be blind and deaf. Be glad—for the Age of the Street will forever pass to make way for the Age of the Song. Be glad—for life—real life—is not murder of the weak by the mighty.

Be glad—for life is creation—the race where each helps his brother, that Big Beauty may come first ahead! Be glad—for life is the birth and the growth of beauty and joy for all! Be glad—for life is love!”

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LIFE AND DEATH, A STUDY IN BIOLOGY, by Dr. E. Teichmann. Translated by A. M. Simons.

“Samuel speaks: ‘Science will not suffice. Sooner or later you will end by coming to your knees.’ Goetze: ‘Before what?’ Samuel: ‘Before the darkness.’”—Villiers *De L’Isle Adam*.

This bit of dialogue from a celebrated French play reflects the mental attitude to which most imaginative men come when they desert fact for speculation and seek to compass in thought the final causes of things.

It is the attitude of Omar in the tenth as of Herbert Spencer in the nineteenth century. It is hinted at in the latest utterances of Prof. Ernest Haeckel and in the earliest lisplings of Greek philosophy. We are not surprised, therefore, to find this state of mind reflected in the essay before us. But to those who feel with the translator that this view savors too much of theology, it may be urged that certainly no where else in the book is there any indication of theological bias. On the contrary, the author’s treatment of his subject seems to us scientific from beginning to end.

We have here a study of life phenomena as they are revealed in the simplest organisms. Experiment after experiment is brought before us, each so selected as to show us some forward step taken in organic evolution, all so graphically described that the reader’s attention is never for an instant taxed to the point of weariness. Indeed we can say of this little volume what we are seldom able to predicate of similar studies, that it manages to be most entertaining without losing its value from the standpoint of science.

We are shown how life appears, how it reproduces itself; we view the transmission of qualities from parent to offspring by means of the division of nuclear substance. We are carried through a discussion of the origin of life, without, however, receiving any answer to our question, Whence have we come? Last and most interesting of all is the inquiry into the subject of death. What Dr. Teichmann says on this point is full of an unexpected encouragement to those sensitive spirits to whom death makes life a tragedy. One takes leave of this essayist with the same mingling of regret and satisfaction which one feels after an evening spent with a helpful and inspiring friend.

LILIAN HILLER UDELL.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### WHAT WE DID IN SEPTEMBER.

We broke all records. We close the month with 1511 stockholders to \$1,520.90 as compared with \$1,420.76 in August, and we also distributed books to the amount of \$225 at retail prices among new purchasers of stock. The total cash receipts of the month were \$2,235.37, the largest receipts for any one month in the whole history of the publishing house.

All this is simply a beginning. It merely proves that in our co-operative organization we have found the way to circulate the books that the socialist movement needs. Up to this time we have in a way been experimenting. That stage is over now, and it is time for us to do things. We have been printing books in small editions because we could not raise the money to pay for large ones. We shall not be handicapped in that way much longer. We shall add to our list of stockholders faster now than ever before, because we have reached the point where any one who wishes to purchase any considerable number of socialist books can get more for his money by becoming a stockholder in this publishing house than in any other way. With the books now in press we shall have a fairly adequate variety of the best literature of socialism. We shall go on increasing the variety by bringing out new books, but the thing that needs doing most urgently is to give a wider circulation to the books we have.

### MAGAZINE ADVERTISING.

We are already in touch with practically all the members of the Socialist Party who are book-buyers. But the number of socialist voters in the United States is nearly twenty times the number of party members, and beyond the socialist voters are millions more of Americans who have already come to see that some radical change is needed in our political and industrial systems, and are ready to welcome the literature of socialism when once they know of it.

The most intelligent and wide-awake of these people can be reached through the popular magazines, which are now filled with articles exposing the shams of capitalism, while pointing out no adequate remedy. These same magazines have lately opened their pages to classified ad-

vertising, so that a moderate expenditure each month in each of them will keep before their readers the fact that we have the books that tell what they want to know. This method of advertising is a new experiment with us, and whether it will pay for itself in direct returns remains to be seen. Meanwhile in connection with the new experiment we are developing our work along lines that have proved effective.

### WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM.

The first edition of this book contained 32 pages, 6 by 3 1-2 inches. It was large enough to describe all the books we had then. Two editions of ten thousand each were circulated in that shape. Then it was enlarged to 36 pages the size of the REVIEW. An introduction on "The Central Thing in Socialism" was added, and the books were better described. Besides, there were more of them to describe; we had been growing. Thirty thousand copies were circulated in this shape; then for a while the book was out of print and we had only a condensed price list of books to circulate.

Last March we made an entirely new set of plates of "What to Read on Socialism." For the introduction we used a series of five articles by Charles H. Kerr on "What Socialists Think," which had previously had a wide circulation in the form of five separate leaflets. The books of the publishing house were more adequately described than ever before, and there were more of them to describe. Twenty-five thousand of these were circulated in March, April and May, and in June, when the "dull season" is due, we found to our surprise that more of these books were needed, so we printed twenty-five thousand more of them, with a few slight changes from the March edition.

This book contained 64 large pages, the paper being the size of the REVIEW, but the margins narrower, so that each page of print contained as much matter as a page of Everybody's or the Cosmopolitan. A copy was mailed to each of our regular correspondents, and on the front page an announcement was printed to the effect that copies would be mailed for one cent each, or sent by express at purchaser's expense for fifty cents a hundred. Over thirty thousand of these books have been sold in this way, for the reason that at these prices they are beyond comparison the best socialist propaganda matter that can be bought for the price.

There have been just two complaints from the comrades using these books for distribution. One comrade objected on the ground that a few pages of the book list described "love stories." No one else made the same complaint, but in any case the clearance list of the old books which the company brought out before 1899 will be dropped from the next edition to make room for a full description of Marx's "Capital," Morgan's "Ancient Society," and other new and standard books which we have already added to our list. The other complaint was a more serious one. It was that the paper used was so thin that the print showed through and made reading difficult. The reason for this was that in the last two editions we kept the weight down in order that the book might go by

mail for one cent. We have come to the conclusion that this defect interferes seriously with the usefulness of the book, and with the next edition, which will be ready within a few days after this issue of the *Review* is in the hands of its readers, we shall increase the weight and thickness of the paper. The postage on single copies will hereafter cost us two cents, and the books themselves in the largest quantities will cost us at least twelve dollars a thousand. We shall however as before mail copies for one cent each and supply the books by express at purchaser's expense for 50c a hundred. This we can afford to do because all copies judiciously circulated will increase the demand for our literature and help us find new stockholders.

Our reason for charging for the books at all is to prevent their being wasted. We "can't change human nature," as the opponents of socialism often remind us, and it is human nature to waste what costs us nothing.

This company will mail one copy of "What to Read" free of charge to any one asking for it, but it will not mail copies to a list of names unless one cent is sent for each name. The cost to us is over three cents for each name, and we require the payment of one cent each simply to remind the senders to exercise care in the selection of names and send none but those of people likely to read the book when they get it.

Do not send for more copies of this book than you can use to good advantage, but send for these at once. The edition of twenty-five thousand copies that we are now printing ought to be used in a month.

### THE NEW BOOKS.

Printers do not always keep their promises, and it is often difficult for us to tell in advance just how soon a new book can be ready. Some of the comrades who have placed advance orders for books that have been announced may be growing impatient. We will therefore try and explain definitely regarding each of the books in preparation.

*The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals*, by M. H. Fitch (\$1.00) was already printed and in the bindery on Oct. 1, and apart from accidents should have been ready by the time this issue of the *Review* is out.

*The Positive Outcome of Philosophy*, by Joseph Dietzgen (\$1.00) was nearly printed on Oct. 1, and should be out about the same time with this issue of the *Review*.

*Social and Philosophical Studies*, by Paul Lafargue (50c) and "What's So and What Isn't", by John M. Work (50c) were electrotyped and ready for the press on Oct. 1, and should be out of the bindery on the 15th.

The final proof reading on the plates of the first volume of *Capital* is just about completed. As the book is a very large one the printing and binding will still take some time and it will be November before copies can be ready.

The proofs of Askew's translation of Kautsky's *Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History* have just been returned by Comrade Askew from Switzerland, and apart from accident this book should be ready in November. (50c).

The type is nearly set on Comrade Untermann's translation of Labriola's *Socialism and Philosophy* (\$1.00) and it will probably be ready in November.

Morgan's *Ancient Society* (\$1.50) is in the printers' hands, but progress on this is slower than we had counted on. We now expect to publish it early in December.



*Class Struggles in America*, by A. M. Simons, revised, with notes and references, will be published in the Standard Socialist Series at 50c some time in November.

Other books are in preparation, but we will reserve the particulars until we can announce the date at which the volumes can be ready.

### THE FUTURE OF THE REVIEW.

The one weak point in the receipts of September was the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. We received for subscriptions and sales \$123.47, while the necessary monthly expenses are at least \$200.00. This deficit has continued for some time, and there has consequently been some doubt as to the continuance of the REVIEW.

The problem for the immediate future has now been solved by a pledge from Comrade Eugene Dietzgen to pay \$1,000 a year for two years beginning Jan. 1, 1907, part of the money to be used in paying for special contributions from the leading socialist writers of Europe, and the remainder to apply directly on the deficit.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has always been regarded as valuable, indeed indispensable, by the ablest and best informed socialists. The difficulty in finding enough subscribers to pay the cost of publication in the past has been mainly due to the prevailing impression that the REVIEW was intended only for people who were highly educated. This impression was not well founded, since a large proportion of those who read it year after year are men whose higher education has been gained mainly from the socialist movement itself.

In future, while the high standard of excellence for articles will be maintained, every effort will be made to popularize the REVIEW, bringing it within the comprehension of any one willing to study socialism.

There are plenty of propaganda sheets, and the REVIEW does not compete with them. Its purpose is not to show the man in the street why he should vote the socialist ticket. He is being shown by the readers of the REVIEW, and its object is to qualify these readers to write better articles and leaflets, make better speeches, and talk to their neighbors in a more convincing way.

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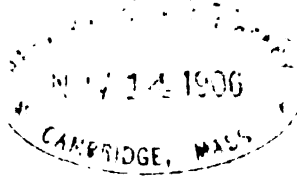
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# The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT  
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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## The Causes of the Irreligion of the Proletariat.

THE numerous attempts made in Europe and America to christianize the industrial proletariat have completely miscarried; they have not succeeded in moving it from its religious indifference, which becomes general in proportion as machine production enlists new recruits from the peasants, artisans and petty tradesmen into the army of wage-workers.

Machine production, which makes the capitalist religious, tends on the contrary to make the proletariat irreligious.

If it is logical for the capitalist to believe in a Providence attentive to his needs, and in a God who elects him among thousands of thousands, to load with riches his laziness and social inutility, it is still more logical for the proletarian to ignore the existence of a divine Providence, since he knows that no Heavenly Father would give him daily bread if he prayed from morning to evening, and that the wage which produces for him the bare necessities of life is earned by his own labor; and he knows only too well that if he did not work he would starve, in spite of all the Good Gods of heaven and all the philanthropists of earth. The wage-worker is his own providence. His conditions of life make any other providence inconceivable for him; he has not in his life, as the capitalist in his, those strokes of fortune which might by magic lift him out of his sad situation. Wage-worker he is born, wage-worker he lives, wage-worker he dies. His ambition can not go beyond a raise in wages and a job that shall last all the days of the year and all the years of his life. The unforeseen hazards and chances of fortune which predispose the capitalist to superstitious ideas do not exist for the proletarian,

and the idea of God can not appear in the human brain unless its coming is prepared for by certain superstitious ideas, no matter what their source.

If the wage-worker were to let himself be drawn into a belief in that God, whom he hears talked of without paying attention, he would begin by questioning his justice, which allotted to him nothing but work and poverty; he would make the God an object of horror and of hate, and would picture him under the form and aspect of a capitalist exploiter, like the black slaves of the colonies, who said that God was white, like their masters.

Of course the wage-worker has no more idea of the course of economic phenomena than the capitalist and his economists. nor does he understand why as regularly as night succeeds day, the periods of industrial prosperity and work at high pressure are followed by crises and lockouts. This failure to understand, which predisposes the mind of the capitalist to belief in God, has not the same effect on that of the wage-worker, because they occupy different positions in modern production. The possession of the means of production gives the capitalist the direction without the control of the production and distribution of products, and obliges him, consequently, to concern himself with the causes which govern them: the wage-worker, on the contrary, has no right to trouble himself with them. He has no part in the direction of the productive process, nor in the choice and the procuring, nor in the sale of the product; he has but to furnish labor like a beast of burden. The passive obedience of the Jesuits, which arouses the wordy indignation of the freethinkers, is the law in the army and the workshop. The capitalist plants the wage-worker in front of the moving machine, loaded with raw materials, and orders him to work; he becomes a cog of the machine. He has in production but one aim, the wage, the sole interest which capitalism has been forced to leave him; when he has drawn this, he has nothing more to claim. The wage being the sole interest that it has permitted him to keep in production, he therefore has to concern himself simply with having work so as to receive wages; and as the employer or his representatives are the givers of work, it is they, men of flesh and blood like himself, that he blames, if he has or has not work, and not economic phenomena, which he may be entirely ignorant of; it is against these men that he is irritated for reductions of wage and slackness of work, and not against the general perturbations of production. He holds them responsible for all that comes to him, good or evil. The wage-worker personalizes the accidents of production which affect him, while the possession of the means of production depersonalizes itself in proportion as they take the form of machinery.



The life led by the laborer in the great industries has removed him even more than the capitalist from the influences of the environment of nature which in the peasant keep up the belief in ghosts, in sorceries, in witchcraft and other superstitious ideas. He sees the sun only through the factory windows; he knows nature only from the country surrounding the city where he works, and that he sees only on rare occasions; he could not distinguish a field of wheat from a field of oats and nor a potato plant from hemp; he knows the products of the earth only in the form under which he consumes them. He is completely ignorant of the work of the fields and the causes affecting the yield of the harvests; drought, excessive rains, hail, cyclones, etc., never make him think of their action on nature and her harvests. His urban life shelters him from the anxieties and the troublesome cares which assail the mind of the farmer. Nature has no hold upon his imagination.

The labor of the mechanical factory puts the wage-worker in touch with terrible natural forces unknown to the peasant, but instead of being mastered by them, he controls them. The gigantic mechanism of iron and steel which fills the factory, which makes him move like an automaton, which sometimes clutches him, mutilates him, bruises him, does not engender in him a superstitious terror as the thunder does in the peasant, but leaves him unmoved, for he knows that the limbs of the mechanical monster were fashioned and mounted by his comrades, and that he has but to push a lever to set it in motion or stop it. The machine, in spite of its miraculous power and productiveness, has no mystery for him. The laborer in the electric works, who has but to turn a crank on a dial to send miles of motive power to tramways or light to the lamps of a city, has but to say, like the God of Genesis, "Let there be light," and there is light. Never sorcery more fantastic was imagined, yet for him this sorcery is a simple and natural thing. He would be greatly surprised if one were to come and tell him that a certain God might if he chose stop the machines and extinguish the lights when the electricity had been turned on; he would reply that this anarchistic God would be simply a misplaced gearing or a broken wire, and that it would be easy for him to seek and to find this disturbing God. The practice of the modern workshop teaches the wage-worker scientific determinism, without his needing to pass through the theoretical study of the sciences.

Since the capitalist and the proletarian no longer live in the fields, natural phenomena can no longer produce in them the superstitious ideas, which were utilized by the savage in elaborating his idea of God; but if the former, since he belongs to the ruling and parasitic class, undergoes the action of the social



phenomena which generate superstitious ideas, the other, since he belongs to the exploited and productive class, is removed from their superstition-breeding action. The capitalist class can never be de-christianized and delivered from belief in God until it shall be expropriated from its class dictatorship and from the wealth that it plunders daily from the wage-working laborers.

The free and impartial study of nature has engendered and firmly established in certain scientific circles the conviction that all phenomena are subject to the law of necessity, and that their determining causes must be sought within nature and not without. This study has, moreover, made possible the subjection of natural forces to the use of man.

But the industrial use of natural forces has transformed the means of production into economic organisms so gigantic that they escape the control of the capitalists who monopolize them, as is proved by the periodic crises of industry and commerce. These organisms of production, though of human creation, disturb the social environment, when crises break out, as blindly as the natural forces trouble nature when once unchained. The modern means of production can no longer be controlled except by society, and for that control to be established, they must first become social property; then only will they cease to engender social inequalities, to give wealth to the parasites and inflict miseries on the wage-working producers, and create world-wide perturbations which the capitalist and his economists can attribute only to chance and to unknown causes. When they shall be possessed and controlled by society, there will be no more Unknowable in the social order; then and only then will belief in God be definitely eliminated from the human mind.

The indifference in religious matters of our modern laborers, the determining causes of which I have been tracing, is a new phenomenon, now produced for the first time in history: the popular masses have, till now, always elaborated the spiritual ideas, which the philosophers have merely had to refine and to obscure, as well as the legends and the religious ideas, which the priests and the ruling classes have merely organized into official religions and instruments of intellectual oppression.

PAUL LAFARGUE,

(From "*Social and Philosophical Studies.*")

## What British Labor Leaders Read.

**W**. T. STEAD of the English *Review of Reviews* has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of working class psychology. He wrote to the fifty-one labor members of the House of Commons, of whom about half are avowed socialists, and asked each to tell what books he had found most useful. He received replies from forty-five, all real workingmen, and published them in the June *Review of Reviews*. I have made an analysis of the replies, with the following result:

Altogether 148 different authors are named, more than half of them only once. A few appear many times in the lists. The poll is headed by Ruskin with 17 votes; then comes Dickens with 15; The Bible with 14; Carlyle with 13; Henry George with 12; Shakespeare, Scott, and John Stuart Mill with 10 each; Bunyan with 8; Burns with 7; and Tennyson and Mazzini with 6 each. Kingsley has 5 votes; and Adam Smith, Macaulay, Green, Thorold Rogers, Thackeray and Cobbett have 4 apiece.

One of the most curious facts is that scarcely any socialist writers are mentioned. The most popular are Blatchford, Webb and Fabian essayists, but even these are mentioned only three times apiece. Marx, Morris, and Robert Owen are named twice; Engels, Hyndman, Gronlund, and Bellamy once; but no other socialist name appears at all. Evidently British socialist members get their economics from George and Mill, with some aid from Adam Smith and Thorold Rogers. Mill made John Burns a socialist by failing to refute socialist arguments. George led Keir Hardie into socialism, and several others testify to his great influence on their minds.

There is very little difference between the reading of socialists and non-socialists. The only noticeable one is that the names of Carlyle and George are very prominent in the socialist lists. These seem to be the great makers of socialists among intelligent British workmen. The testimony to the power of Carlyle is very strong, the favorite works being "Sartor Resartus," "Heroes and Hero Worship," and "Past and Present." James Parker says: "'Sartor Resartus' is, I think, the book I would save from my library if my house was on fire and I could only escape with one book." James O'Grady says: "Above and beyond all Carlyle is my solace and inspiration." And Keir Hardie says: "I have learned much of the human failings and weaknesses of Carlyle, but I still remain a worshipper at his shrine."

It is worth noting that poets occupy an important place in

these lists. No less than twenty-five are named, but mainly by certain individuals who seem to have a fine ear, for many of the lists are entirely prosaic. Shakespeare, Burns and Tennyson are the favorites. Novelists are of course much read, Dickens being easily first, and Scott easily second.

Some of the omissions are rather surprising to me. These men though students of economics, seem to care very little for history. Macaulay, though as interesting as any novelist, has only four admirers, and Green has the same. Gibbon's name appears but once, and no other historian of any account is mentioned at all. Essayists do not seem to be favorites. Even Bacon is never mentioned, nor is Matthew Arnold. Emerson is named twice, however, and Montaigne once.

As a rule only writers who have been known for a long time appear in the lists. Even Tolstoi and Ibsen are never mentioned, though both can be had very cheap in England. Yet many of the labor members are under 40. On the other hand old books are little read, except a few like the Bible and Shakespeare. "Robinson Crusoe," is named only once; "Gulliver's Travels" and the "Arabian Nights" never at all. Professional critics all consider Fielding England's greatest novelist, but he has no following among the labor members.

The British workman seems to be about as insular as other Britons. Many American writers are named, the most popular next to George being Whitman and Lowell, who have three votes each. Other foreigners, however, are little read. Victor Hugo, indeed, gets three votes, but the irresistible Dumas has only one, and so have Cervantes, Balzac and Zola. Even the best French novels are almost unknown in England.

The qualities that most attract labor members seem to be two in number; an interest in economic problems, and an intense moral fervor. Such writers as Carlyle, Ruskin, Mill and George have both qualities in the highest degree. Depth of feeling seems to be considered more important than lucidity of intellect. Oscar Wilde once said that it was easier to have sympathy with suffering than to have sympathy with thought. Evidently labor members are like ordinary people in that respect.

R. B. KERR.

## Contest with Government Ownership.

THE conflict over the distribution of labor's product is irrepressible, and in this conflict the only vantage ground from which any lasting success can be forced by either side is the control of the tools and natural resources. So the conflict is developing itself into one for ownership of the means of collective production and distribution. That its conclusion ultimately is the common ownership of the things we depend upon in common is not in doubt. It is a question only when and how it will be. The theory has not been successfully controverted, and cannot be that the development of capitalist industry necessarily increases the number of those who are unavoidably unemployed and reduces the workers to a condition more and more unbearable. For this very reason it is clear that this capitalist system must and will be modified before it reaches its climax. There will be a transition rather than a catastrophe. But the aggregate evils of the transition may be greater than the sum of all the evils of any possible catastrophe. This transition to socialism can be through a partial condition like that anticipated in Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Socialism, The Coming Slavery." But we are glad that we don't have to agree with Mr. Spencer that it is slavery that is coming.

Meanwhile the work of the socialist agitators is first to discredit and destroy the popular belief in the normal and legal rights of capital. This work they are doing with right good success everywhere, arousing the workers to realization of the fact that capitalists have no rights as capitalists, and that they have no power themselves to enforce their pretensions. And the capitalists are lending us effective aid in this work. As it advances to completion, laws and usages will be modified to conform. Though the changes be by imperceptible increments, the result will be collective ownership of the means of collective production just as surely as if the necessary properties were immediately "confiscated". But the existing industrial and financial organization will not be so greatly shaken.

Public opinion of a nation turns as a great ship turns, imperceptibly to those who strain at the ropes. But the growing sentiment for public ownership shows that public opinion yields to physical necessities and the incessant socialist agitation. Yet its advocates protest truly that they are not socialists. Mr. Hearst says "We are not opposed to capitalism large or small." Socialists regard this radical movement with distrust and hostility, because

by it alone can the time be delayed when much more will be gained than state capitalism. That the government should conduct the capitalist system is something to which we are just as much opposed as the capitalists themselves have been. But the campaign thunder of the Socialist Party has been stolen it seems. And so it must seem for a while to those who lose sight of the object to be gained by government ownership. Does the Socialist Party possess any great principle distinguishing it from other political parties which professional politicians cannot steal? The socialist movement was born in revolt against the horrors of poverty. It gets its whole philosophy by analyzing the modern industrial and financial system in search of the cause of poverty. Its aim, namely, to make the conditions of all employments prohibit the incomes which able bodied idlers draw through their ownership of the means of production and distribution, is as opposed to capitalist business and capitalist politics as light is to darkness or life is to death. Where one is the other is not. This principle no professional politician will adopt; and it is the only one worth stealing. We want full pay for the work we do, and government ownership only if it is a means to this end. But government ownership will not in itself secure labor's product to those who produce it. This is sustained by the experience with government ownership abroad, of which there is very much more already established in European countries than is even proposed here. Yet it has not stopped the migration of hundreds of thousands each year to this country in search of better conditions of labor. Nevertheless it is expected that the movement for government ownership now being organized within and without the old political parties will swallow up the Socialist Party by becoming more and more radical, as though they would defeat the socialist principle by adopting it or could defeat it in the end by counterfeiting it.

To this new and shifty antagonist in the political field for public ownership not opposed to capitalism the Socialist Party will have to oppose more skill and political sagacity than is needed against the clumsy brutality of the old capitalism. Capitalist public ownership has certain points of immense advantage in a contest with the Socialist Party for immediate political success. Complete collectivism is not an issue at this time, and we cannot make it an issue. And, if we were in power to set about its establishment at once, we could hardly set about it in any other way beside that by which it is coming through the public ownership of public utilities. But the way it will come through public ownership of public utilities by capitalist administration will be fundamentally different to the way it will come under socialist administration. When we talk to the man on the street about a

new system, it simply makes him tired. And when he will listen, we do not succeed in giving him a clear and positive understanding of what we mean by the new system, because the system will have to evolve itself. It is evolving itself. The thought of the complete subversion of the present order of things to replace it with our brand new system is too big. It overwhelms him and frightens him. We might do just as well if we did not worry him too much with it. We shall convince him more easily of the irreconcilable antagonism between his interests and the capitalist interests that finance the other political parties, and of the necessity for the political organization of his class against them. We cannot make a successful political party out of devotees of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Most of those who are capable of understanding us are dominated by middle class morals and ideals. The majority of those who are incapable of understanding us are propertyless wage workers on whom we have a more unmistakable claim than on any other class. Capitalism has crushed hope out of many of them. One needs but to look into their blank hopeless countenances and meet their dull stare to be overwhelmed by a sense of how hopeless is the effort to inspire them with an ideal and arouse them to resistance. Of those who study the problems involved the majority are holders of some small investments. And the most energetic and successful members of the wage working class hope themselves to become investors too; so that their morals and ideals are also the same. They hope to enjoy security and an income without labor. It is hopeless to appeal to their moral sensibilities against the inherent immorality of capitalism. Theft consists undoubtedly in the harm done to those whose goods are taken without recompense, because they are put to some pains to replace them. And the effect of obtaining goods without labor equal to their production is the same by whatever method it is done, and even if a partial recompense is given to satisfy the law. But honestly they do not regard it as wrong, and they hope to succeed by it. Often they are deeply religious. They hold some absurdly distorted notions of honor and patriotism which are sometimes as sincere as they are fantastic. But the commonplace morality is quite good enough for them. The clergy, who say they are divinely ordained to teach us morals, naturally resent the suggestion that there may be something of morals known or to be learned which their teachings do not comprehend, and they retort by attacking the socialist philosophy. If a wage-worker has a small investment, though he gets nine-tenths of his income in wages, and his predominant interest as a wage worker is nine times greater than his interest as a capitalist, nevertheless he thinks of himself as a capitalist. He does not

consider that whatever his employment, and whatever the name under which he receives compensation for that employment, his compensation must be less because of cheap labor in other employments. To him that political party appeals successfully which claims to serve both the interests of laborers wanting better wages and of business men who want to hire labor cheap, for he is in fact something of both laborer and capitalist himself.

The farmers regard socialism with abhorrence, thinking that it threatens their possession of the land they till. Whereas the number of mortgaged farms and farms worked by tenants and of farms abandoned outright increases; and the increase reaches the dimensions of a national calamity. Trusts and monopolies, especially the railroad monopoly, which taxes the farmers' goods both coming and going, skim off all the surplus of the farmers' annual income above the cost of the barest kind of living. But, while the financiers leave him title to the land, the farmer works under the delusion that he is an independent property owner, working for himself and family. The farmers, as a class, will vote for the government ownership of railroads, as that is not opposed to capitalism.

Meanwhile an attitude can be maintained by us, which, if it will not yet win them over, will at least command the respectful attention of that large class of workers who are also small investors, leaving us free to show clearly and forcibly that this government ownership lacks the very thing essential to make it worth while to them. The Socialist Party will doubtless put forth its utmost efforts to proclaim the fact that municipal and national ownership will be in the interest of that class which pays the campaign fund of the political party which administers it. But it is not true that government ownership administered by a capitalist party will be necessarily or positively of no benefit to the workers. And we shall defeat ourselves by attacking the people who are really working for government ownership in other organizations besides the Socialist Party. Violent denunciation of the leaders in whom they have confidence will not tend to destroy that confidence. At the same time it is incredible that the capitalists themselves would prove the correctness of the socialist principle for us by a successful application of it, even if they undertake government ownership to stave off political defeat; and we shall have our opportunity by effective criticism to show the reasons for its failure. That public ownership after the fashion of the capitalist should be corrupt is inherent in the nature of it. It will be corrupt not only as capitalist business is corrupt, but even as measured by the moral standards of the trading class themselves. The public may expect no mercy and should deserve none when they choose to have the purchase of properties from

public service corporations negotiated for them by the politicians who prove themselves attorneys, so to speak of the capitalist owners of these corporations. Government industries administered by professional politicians are often disgracefully inefficient and usually unprogressive, resisting the introduction of improved methods and devices. But these things will be learned by experience.

If this public ownership party which is not opposed to capitalism great or small is to accomplish anything at all, it must accomplish it at the expense of the great capitalists. Money must be gotten by taxation to pay for the properties designed for government ownership. Since it will be difficult or impossible to collect this from the wage workers, already reduced to the barest necessities, the property owners will pay it. Purchase by the issue of bonds will gain nothing. It gives government guarantee of the incomes which it is the object to reduce. For the bonds must be at least as good as an investment in order to be worth as much as the stocks they are issued to pay for. In fact it is possible to get government ownership only by taxing in the largest proportion the very people who own the properties the government would buy. The capitalists oppose with all their might having the money taken from them by taxation to pay for the properties taxed. It is in fact confiscation. By no means will they be tricked or urged into supporting a political party for any such purpose, though they might gladly exchange their stocks for government bonds. The great capitalists show no hesitation in declaring themselves opposed to government ownership and will present a powerful and determined opposition to it. On every field of industrial and political conflict they have defeated the little business man who renews his hope of self preservation by this movement for government ownership of the big capitalist's business. Into the world wide titanic struggle it comes with no more inspiring motive than the business interests of the petty traders and no other definite principle to determine its course. Its advocates among the petty traders have no new weapons and none so good that their old opponents do not have much better. This movement trims its course to the wavering and conflicting purposes of the little capitalists, a demoralized and failing class. It possesses no principle that is not equally well adopted by any old political machine whenever it becomes useful for political purposes. It can pursue no definite course, therefore, with steadiness and confidence. Its contemptible weapons of trading for what it can get and compromising where no honorable and lasting compromise is possible will be soon lost in the confusion of its indecision. Nor is it by any means possible that the matter will be left to rest with its failure. Some relief from the increas-



ing economic pressure will be gotten. And failure of half-hearted measures can but make the demand for it more uncompromising and peremptory. Compromise after compromise will indeed be wrung from the great capitalists, but not by those who seek compromise. Compromise they will yield only to blunt the sharpness of the demand for much more and to prevent the immediate effectiveness of socialist agitation. And, indeed, is the approaching climax of capitalism in this most advanced of capitalist nations so slow and so far off that relief can be felt from such a doubtful and trifling concession as this government ownership? It has been yielded already by the less developed capitalism of Europe without preventing the rapid increase in the socialist vote there. If no war or other world calamity intervenes to relieve the overproduction of capitalism and postpone again the industrial depression which Mr. Rockefeller says may be expected in the next two years, the socialistic sentiment that expresses itself in a hesitating demand for government ownership may crystallize suddenly into socialist conviction and determination. We may then expect here what has happened abroad, first in Germany, then in France, and now in England, a magnificent increase in the socialist vote.

WARREN ATKINSON.

New York, September, 1906.

## Socialist Organization for the Young.

THE organization of the young has now become an international movement. It has taken various forms corresponding to the political conditions in the various countries. In Austria the youths' organization already embraces over 3,300 members, and this in spite of the fact that students, and especially those under age have no legal right to organize. Their organ, the *Jugendliche Arbeiter*, offers the best proof of how effectively the young graduates of the schools can be trained for socialism. Protest meetings were held in nearly all the great cities in opposition to the proposed "reform" of the factory law which would have essentially injured the condition of the young workers. The Austrian organizations have decided that economic activity united to political education produces the most satisfactory results. A special organization is also maintained in Austria for the Bohemian young men. This has its headquarters in Prague and pursues the same lines of work.

In Holland the organization of the young is directly affiliated with the Socialist Party, has considerable strength, and has its own organ, *De Zaaier* (The Sower).

France, Norway and Denmark have similar unions of the young, all of which are active politically, and some of which devote especial attention to the anti-military propaganda. The battle against militarism is also carried on by the "Union of Young Socialists" in Italy, whose members, because of this activity, have recently been subject to most brutal attacks — so much so that a great meeting was recently held in Rome to protest to the government against such treatment.

At the present time the strongest existing organization of the young is the "Socialist Young Guard" of Belgium, which at the present time has over 13,000 members. Here also the anti-military propaganda plays the most prominent part.

In Germany the river Main marks the boundary of the activity of such organizations. In southern Germany where there is still something of right of free union, the organizations of the young have combined into a general organization, possessing its own organ, *Die Junge Garde*. (The Young Guard). This organization is also permitted to teach its members politically. In northern Germany, on the contrary, the scope of organizations of the young is very limited. Consequently the police exercise their tyrannous power to the utmost in order to cripple even what little activity is legally permissible.

In this way the foolish officials give a practical illustration of the existence of a class state, which is much more effective than the mere statement of that fact which they forbid the socialists making. While our south German organizations are principally occupied with political activity, those of north Germany are compelled to confine themselves exclusively to economic action, with a little educational work. But this education is always in accord with the modern labor movement, and is especially effective when combined with practical union activity. When the young are assembled in purely educational organizations, only a few of those who are especially studious will remain true to the flag; but when the miserable condition of the young is kept constantly before their eyes, with the long hours of labor, the miserable wages, the insufficient schooling, with the impossibility of any higher intellectual training, etc., then the young pour into our ranks filled with a determination to better their condition.

They learn to grasp the idea of organization and to recognize the power of knowledge. The growth of the Berlin organization, now numbering over 1,000 members is an excellent illustration of the application of the proper tactics to Prussian conditions.

FRITZ MASCHKE *in Gleichheit.*

*Translated by A. M. Simons.*

## Socialism the Goal of Evolution.

**T**HAT critical moment when some primitive, semi-human, savage first picked up a stone from the ground with his hairy hand or broke off the convenient limb of a tree to use as a weapon against some one of the numerous and ferocious rivals and enemies by whom he was surrounded and with whom he strove for existence, marked the opening of a new era in the history of life upon the globe. Up till that moment evolution had proceeded exclusively upon the plane of physical changes and the concomitant psychical changes within the bodies of the particular organisms or species of organisms effected. There had been constant adaptation and re-adaptation of life in its manifold forms to the condition of its varied and ever varying environment but there had never been the attempt to adapt the environment or the forces and materials of the environment into harmony with the needs of life. For the first time, by that act, the awakening consciousness of life began to utilize the materials and energies external to itself to supplement its own native organs and energies in seeking to provide for the satisfaction of its desires. Man, the king of nature, was born when he first began to enslave nature. The limits of physical or purely biologic development had been reached. Henceforth, the further evolution of life was to be essentially dependent upon and characterized by the evolution of the artificially produced means and appliances ministering to the use and comfort of that race of beings which by the combination of favorable circumstances had alone been enabled to rise above the level of the possibilities of purely brute development. With the aid of the few simple and crude tools and implements of primitive industry, which he slowly learned to fashion by rude processes out of the raw material supplied to him by nature, and which with the growth of his experience and of the mental power which the use of these tools fostered gradually increased in variety and in the degree of their adaptation to the purposes for which they were intended, man's power of production and of destruction became enormously enlarged.

No longer confined to the slender resources and limited sum total of physical energy of his bare body and bodily organs he was no longer completely at the mercy of the elements and of the beasts of prey. With the speeding centuries he quickly spread towards the uttermost limits of the habitable earth, driving before him or subduing to his use the four-footed denizens of the forest and the plain. Thus, having fairly entered upon

that path of progress which was to lead him from the hopeless darkness and stagnating helplessness of animality to the ever broadening fields of future culture and civilization, early man in time accumulated out of his dearly bought experiences so large a stock of methods and instruments for the satisfaction of his expanding wants and for meeting the more complex conditions of his new environment, that it became impossible for the individual in attempting to satisfy his various individual needs to utilize advantageously or, later, even to attempt to utilize at all, directly and by himself, the whole or any large portion of these concrete results of the race experience.

Division of labor, in this higher stage of human advancement, thus became the indispensable foundation of the industrial structure of the race life. As no one could with his own labor find the time to construct and keep in good repair all the tools of industry; procure and properly prepare and store all the raw material required; acquire sufficient degree of skill in the manipulation of all these various tools together with a full working knowledge of all the processes of all of the arts and crafts; as, moreover, the aptitudes of men for various kinds of labor was soon found to differ, and as it was also discovered to be most advantageous from the point of view of economy in time, labor and material for each worker to apply himself to one set of tasks; the differentiation of industry into the various trades and occupations became inevitable and marked the opening of a new period, which we might call the secondary period, in the history of human industrial progress.

The time came, however, when this secondary stage in the progress of production, constituting the handicraft period of industry, in which each worker, practicing his particular craft, was an independent producer, working with the aid of his own few simple and inexpensive tools and receiving the full value of the product of his labor, gave way to that still more productive system of industry, wherein, as at the present day, hundreds and thousands of workers, each occupied with an almost infinitesimal process in the general labor of the whole body and working upon tools which are but parts of one vast and intricate machine or system of machinery, toil though alas, not for themselves or to receive the value of their own proportionate share in the product of their joint labor, but for the benefit and profit and under the control of the non-laboring capitalist, owner of the machine.

It was not that the handicraft worker had grown weary of his independent status and that the privilege of keeping the full fruits of his industry had lost its value in his eyes that he enlisted in the ranks of the army of wage-laborers to toil for the profit of a master, but that the technical forces accumulating during the period of handicraft industry had gradually outgrown

the limitations of individualistic production that drove the erst-while self-employing artisan from his little shop, which was also his home, and out into that open market, where he had nothing to sell but that most precious and yet cheapest of all commodities — his labor power — the most precious of commodities because it is that commodity which alone produces all other commodities, yet the cheapest, because the only commodity which is always and everywhere sold — so long as it continues to be sold — below its value in use.

The growth and accumulation of technical knowledge, embodying itself in ever more costly, complex and colossal but, also, proportionately, ever more productive tools or machinery wherewith to aid human industry, has given the modern tool or machinery such a continuously increasing importance and value in the process of production, as to enable it to finally completely overshadow the individual user of the machine. It may thus, not without truth, be said that the essential difference between mediæval or handicraft industry and modern or machine industry, in so far as concerns the most important matter affecting the interests of the producing class, namely, the changed relation between the producer and the means of production, consists in this, that in the former type of human economy man is the master of the tool whereas in the latter the tool or machine has become the master of the man.

The period of individualistic or handicraft production having passed away, the individual producer, being unable to labor for himself, must join himself to a modern "captain of industry," the owner of the social machinery of production, as the serf of Feudal times joined himself to the lord of the manor, and even as the serf toiled three days in the week for his lord and three days for himself, so must the modern wage-serf, straining and sweating at his task, devote a fraction of his work-time in producing the equivalent of the wages he receives and the remainder in creating profits — "net income" — for his master.

With the further and certain development of the present industrial system we can expect no other outcome than the further intensification of the characteristic and inherent evils of that system. Labor constantly being displaced by machinery must become ever more dependent upon the owners of the machinery for the opportunities of continued employment, and in creating an ever increasing total product must be content to accept as the full reward of its exertion an ever decreasing absolute and relative share of such product. As the concentration of control over the processes of production and distribution continues, the laboring classes having less and less voice in the determination of the terms and conditions for the disposition of their labor power must become equally as helpless, both individu-

ally and collectively, in determining the prices of those necessities of life which their own labor has brought into existence. On the one hand, the "market price of labor," as set by the "free competition" of a vast standing army of machine displaced, starving unemployed must come to determine the remuneration to be paid an ever increasing proportion of the producers of the nation, and on the other hand, the "one price" or monopoly price system of "charging all that the traffic will bear" must come to be the prevailing system in the distribution of the general industrial product. The monopoly by the capitalist class, gradually narrowing and consolidating into a single but immensely powerful capitalist company or group of affiliated capitalist interests, of all the means and resources of social production and of the entire product of the general industry, resulting as this must, in intense suffering and discontent among the masses, must give rise to increasingly violent social paroxysms in the form of universal strikes, lockouts, panics and other industrial and social disturbances marking the inevitable and approaching breakdown and dissolution of the capitalist system of industry and the advent of a new and higher system.

The two opposing social classes: on the one side, the capitalist class, a mere handful, owning and disposing of everything, but itself producing nothing; and on the other side, the laborers, the whole of the effective and socially necessary part of the population, producing all the wealth of society, maintaining society, yet scarcely accounted as a part of society, and having no share or portion in the inheritance of society; these two opposing social classes, confronting each other, must each become conscious of their mutual antagonism of interests, and the workers, aroused to a sense of their anomalous situation and to a consciousness of their class duty and historic class destiny, must finally, in the might of their overwhelming numbers and in the might of their organization as the producing units of society, arise and overthrow the rule and dominion of the capitalist class, the owners of the social means of production, together with the entire system of private ownership in the means of production, and establish upon the ruins of that system the system of universal social or public ownership and operation, by and for all the members of society, of all the means and resources for the production and distribution of all those things ministering to or satisfying the needs and requirements of society.

We have seen before, when viewing the beginnings of human industry, that human development differs in its nature from brute or purely biologic development, in that while the latter represents the effects of the actions of the environment upon the organism the former consists essentially in the modification and subjection of the environment in harmony with the

needs and requirements of man. This modification and subjection of the environment by man; in other words, man's control over nature, becomes more complete and perfect in proportion to the closeness of human co-operation and the unity of human interests. The advance in the arts and forms of production has always been dependent upon and run parallel with the growth of human association and co-operation. Increasing division of labor within society, which is one of the main characteristics of industrial progress, necessarily involves the division of labor between a larger number of laborers, all co-operating whether consciously and voluntarily, or otherwise, towards the same end. So long, however, as upon his economic side, that is, the side where man wars with nature for the means of his existence, the race continues to be in any degree divided against itself, its forces being wasted in competitive struggle and internecine class strife, it is impossible to make the most of the environment or to raise the economic level of race life to its highest point of perfection; efficient control of the environment and full development of the natural and social resources for the greatest benefit of the whole of society requiring unity of action and being inconsistent with a system of economic warfare and conflicting private interests. Only when all opposing and competing individual and class interests will have been fused and amalgamated into the general social or racial interests; only when man will stand united and with all his forces massed in a solid phalanx against the circumstances and forces of his environment, the strength of each individual in society being multiplied by the combined strength of every other individual, will he have risen to be the supreme and unchallenged master of his planet, the unrivalled and triumphant conqueror of the earth. Only then, and not till then, will his dominion over nature have become complete, and only then will have begun the Reign of Man, the Era of Man, the era of the new born social man, of the man realizing the ideal of the god in the splendor of his glory, his freedom and his power.

We have seen that the final and inevitable outcome of industrial evolution, the goal towards which humanity is being hurried along by the current of economic progress, is the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism. The task we have set before ourselves, however, is to show that Socialism is the result of that general and, as it were, preordained progress of mankind of which economic progress is but the most striking and the all pervasive manifestation, and that, in other words, in the development of any of those things which go to make up human civilization and which help to lift mankind higher in the scale of existence we have that which contributes also to the development of Socialism.

Let us consider, for example, the effect upon the progress



of the Socialist movement of improvements in the means of communication; and, assuredly, none will deny that the development of the means of communication constitutes one of the most influential factors in the advancement of civilization. What, now, must be the ultimate effect upon the political and economic state of mankind of these modern improved means of communication, the transcontinental express train, the fast ocean steamship, the telegraph, the submarine cable and the telephone, which by annihilating distances and bringing the ends of the earth together turn the human race into one family and the whole world into a single city? Is it not inevitable that the fading away of the senseless hatreds and jealousies of rival nationalities and the awakening of the spirit of human fellowship which must follow the increasing intercourse between and the increasing intermingling of the peoples of the earth must beget also that spirit of solidarity among the workers of all nations which must lead them to unite against their common oppressors and despoilers, the international parasites upon the tree of the world's productivity, the international capitalist and labor consuming class, whose continued domination is made possible only by the division in the ranks of the toilers? Collective man can not come to know himself, can not come to be at one with himself, while the locomotive pioneers of the race and the facilities for the transmission of intelligence are bounded by the limitations of animal and wind power. Socialism as a mass movement of collective humanity and as a movement for increasing the value, the security and the dignity of human life by the union of the isolated or individual life into the collective or common life becomes increasingly possible only with the advance of those arts which abridging space and binding all races and regions in the ties of intimate physical contact and mutual dependence make all men neighbors and co-workers and all the nations of the earth partakers of a common and inseparable destiny.

That general progress of the arts which manifests itself in the increase in the productivity of labor and which is another characteristic of advancing civilization, is also an indispensable requisite to the growth of Socialism and to the practical working out of the Socialist ideal. So long as the entire time and energy of the masses of the population must be absorbed in toil to provide the absolute necessities of individual existence, control of the collective affairs must remain in the hands of a special governing class, but government by a class, however necessary or unavoidable it may be at a certain stage of social development, is incompatible with that spirit of democracy which is the animating principle of the Socialist movement, and it is, therefore, only when the progress of industry has reached the point where, under a just system of distribution of wealth, some degree

of leisure and refined ease may be insured to all that the ideal of Socialism becomes capable of realization.

Another factor of the highest value in preparing the race for its rebirth through the social revolution is the advance in the knowledge of natural phenomena and the accompanying rise of that spirit of free criticism which in turn is so necessary to the continued progress of scientific inquiry. As men obtain a clearer conception of the universe in which they live and of their own relationship to surrounding nature, as they come to learn something of cause and effect and of the universality, the all-sufficiency and the unbending uniformity of natural law, they begin to perceive the baselessness and utter unreasonableness of the theological prejudices and practices which divide them into mutually abhorring sects and factions and bar the way to co-operation and brotherhood. With minds freed from the terror and domination of the phantoms of the skies, now recognized as the creatures of the unenlightened imagination of the childhood of the race, and awakened by the new knowledge to a consciousness of the oneness of mankind in origin and destiny, and of its oneness, too, as well in its freedom from control by any power external to nature or to itself as in its freedom to control and exploit for its own uttermost benefit all of the powers and resources residing within nature, men now become ready to join hands in the building of that co-operative commonwealth which shall enable each to share the joys of comradeship with all and which shall bring to each the blessings of a world that shall be the joint inheritance of all. Ceasing to recognize the authority claimed on behalf of the gods above, they laugh to scorn the kindred claim of the divine right of privilege to authority here below. "The powers that be," declare the priestly and apostolic upholders of the right of might to govern, "are ordained of God;" but as faith in the supernatural as a moving principle of human activity passes away, the rule of the few, always bolstered up by the dogma of divine grace, likewise begins to crumble. No form of despotism or of class domination can long maintain itself when men have become intellectually free. The rise of modern science and the accompanying spread of the spirit of rationalism, by leading to the decay of theocracy, the main support alike of autocracy, aristocracy and plutocracy, must result in the breakdown of the entire system of authoritarianism in government and society.

In another way, again, is the progress of Socialism dependent upon the progress of science and upon the changes in the mental attitude of men towards things in general consequent upon the development of scientific knowledge. As discovery is added to discovery, and as, one by one, in every field of human thought and experience, what were believed to be self-evident

truths are found to be fundamental errors, the presumption gains ground that the social and economic system under which men live and which on every hand is seen to be so fruitful of misery and suffering is instead of being the product of special creation or the result of the operation of necessary and beneficent natural law the outcome of centuries of injustice and usurpation perpetrated by the possessing and power holding classes. No longer deeming any subject affecting the interests of mankind to be too sacred for critical investigation, a careful analysis of the existing social and economic institutions and a survey of their gradual development through the past, soon discloses to inquiring minds the absolutely iniquitous basis upon which rests the structure of modern society, while setting in motion the current of a revolutionary agitation which must lead to its inevitable overthrow. Accustomed as men become to radical innovations and improvements in all departments of human life and thought and in the practical everyday affairs of trade and industry, they become prepared for that greatest of all changes in the history of progress, the change involved in the transformation of society from a capitalist to a Socialist basis, from the state in which men wildly and desperately struggle with one another for the day's bread and the day's job and where the many sow that the few may reap to the state where all in fraternal concord and unity live and labor in security and honor upon their common inheritance jointly occupied and co-operatively administered by all.

Still another factor which we must not pass over as contributing in a most important measure to the development of the Socialist ideal and to the bringing men into fitness for the Socialist state is the growth of the ethical spirit or spirit of justice. The increasing density of population which since the beginning of history has been forcing men more and more into each other's society and made it ever more necessary for the larger number to seek their livelihood by the peaceful and orderly activities of productive industry rather than by the chase and by deeds of violence and bloodshed has slowly been instilling into the minds of men that sentiment of regard for the rights of others without some rudiments of which no society can exist. Early man just emerging from the period of animality and continuing for an immense interval of time in the stage of semi-brutality had no conception of the possession by his fellows, save those of his own immediate kith and kin, of any rights which he was bound to respect. Might was then the only recognized source of right. Hence cannibalism, chattel slavery, serfdom, despotism and class rule in every shape and disguise, as they respectively made their appearance at different periods of the world's history, far from being regarded as in any way wrong or improper, were each in

turn universally considered as the most normal, legitimate and divinely ordained form of social polity.

Gradually, among the masses held down in the chains of abject slavery by the great and powerful, there grew up the ethics of brotherhood. Mutual sympathy with each other's suffering led to mutual helpfulness. The consolidation of authority and the division of mankind everywhere into the two social classes of oppressors and oppressed, despoilers and despoiled, privileged and enslaved, the legalized and divinely ordained idle robber class and the outlawed and heaven accursed toiling victim class, led to a similar differentiation in the ethical development of these two classes. While the right of might to its prey was from the beginning and continued to be to the last the central though more or less veiled principle in the moral system of the ruling classes, the right of labor to its product, the right of the weak to succor, the right of man to life, liberty and happiness, the right of the despised and downtrodden workers to participate upon the terms of comradeship and co-operative equality in the administration of the affairs of society, this was the ethical code which gradually unfolded itself before the collective mind and conscience of the world's toilers.

The very growth in the dominion and power of a given ruling class, by throwing the inhabitants of widely separated regions and of widely separated branches of the human family together and by putting an end throughout a vast extent of territory to all mutual warlike activities, while crushing out all local, creedal, ethnic and linguistic differences and prejudices beneath the leveling weight of a common tyranny and system of exploitation, served to bring home to the minds of the subjected and oppressed classes and peoples their community and identity of interests and served to build up that sentiment of fellowship with and compassion for all of suffering humanity which is the essence of the higher morality and the foundation stone of the co-operative state.

An interesting example of this favorable ethical reaction upon the masses of mankind of the triumphant extension over a wide territory of the dominion and authority of a single power and of the consequent substitution among the subjugated populations of the sentiments suited to a life of peaceful industry for those adapted to the life of chronic war and mutual aggression is to be seen in the case of the Roman Empire, when the absorption of all the nations of the Western world under the rule of Rome led to the rise of Christianity, which at its inception was a purely humanitarian, proletarian and communistic movement though vitiated and soon turned out of its original course by the element of Messianism and general religious fanaticism with which it was associated. Under modern conditions of life, the

process of exploitation being no longer carried on by the military but by the economic subjugation of nations, the destruction of the economic independence of the working population means their withdrawal from the brutalizing strife and warfare of commercial competition, and in being thus confined to the sole economic function of the production of wealth while the capitalist class undertakes the labor and "risk" of its acquisition. Each member of the latter class succeeded in his self appointed task according to the degree of his guile, unscrupulousness and overbearing economic might. The ethical standard of the working class tends to become ever purer and more exalted. That of the capitalist class, the class whose entire revenue and possessions consist but of the unearned profit upon the unpaid labor of the workers, tends to fall to an ever lower level.

Again, with the spread of the modern industrial system to all parts of the world and the conversion of the workers of all countries into wage slaves of the international capitalist class, the ensuing world-wide class struggle, arising from the inherent and inextinguishable antagonism of interests between capital and labor and from the ceaseless encroachments of capital upon labor, and calling for the utmost strengthening of the forces of the working class, results in the sympathetic union and welcome admission upon equal terms into the organizations and federations of the laborers of all workers and bodies of workers without regard to distinctions of race, color, creed or nationality and in wholesome forgetfulness of all ancient misunderstandings and enmities.

Thus, the very process by which the workers are brought down to a position of hopeless economic inferiority to and abject dependence upon the ruling capitalist class tends to that gradual elevation of their moral standard and to the sharpening of their political vision whereby coming to recognize the injustice and inexpediency of all class rule, political oppression and ethnic discrimination they become fully fitted to undertake the mighty and gigantic task of the emancipation of their own class, and thereby, of the emancipation of humanity in general.

Turn which way we will, examine under any and every aspect the process of human development, on all sides we are met by multiplied and unmistakable evidence of the movement of the current of progress in the direction of the socialization of the race. For mankind now to stop short in its path of manifest destiny or to retrace the steps of its historic advance is as impossible as for the earth to stop short in its orbit or to change the direction of its orbital motion.

Socialism must come and is coming because otherwise history would be without meaning and all the long struggle and martyrdom of the ages would be in vain. It must come and is

coming as surely as the sun must rise in the morning dispelling the darkness of the night, as surely as the spring must come after the bleak and dreary winter. It is unthinkable that the final outcome and the climax of the age-long process of evolution is to be the creation of a race of "blonde beasts" having dominion, indeed, over the beasts of the field but also engaged in an eternal war for dominion over each other. Not by striving for mutual mastery will mankind attain in the highest measure the mastery of the earth and of the forces of nature.

Not by the narrow way of individualistic effort and private enterprise can the race achieve its grandest victories and rise to the highest pinnacle of its glorious possibilities. The future of man lies in co-operation. Co-operation is the key that will unlock the gates of the cosmos, that will uncover its mysteries and that will open up its hoarded treasures, and there are no gods in the skies above that can destroy the heaven scaling Tower of Babel which the co-operative sons of men shall come to build. Armed with the might of co-operation, man, myriad headed and myriad handed man, will rise to a higher plane of being, becoming as a new race, the co-operative race, sole heir to the wealth of the universe, sole claimant to the sovereignty of the worlds, master and architect of the destinies of his species and riding from victory to victory and from triumph to triumph. Having eaten of the wondrous fruit of the tree of co-operation, man will become as a god, knowing all the secrets of the universe, and there will be no bounds to his powers and achievements, and overcoming the limitations of his physical organism he will spurn the restraints of his terrestrial habitation and voyage to the conquest of the stars and constellations, defying the fury of the celestial maelstrom and fearlessly sailing through the wreckage of suns.

Such is the future, big with promise, sublime and immeasurably glorious, which the forces of evolution, working through all the long ages of the past, have been preparing for humanity. Shall we, the sons of men, grasp this heaven that is within our reach? Shall we accept this divine gift which the cosmos holds out to us? Shall we rise to the grandeur of our opportunity? Or shall we in this mighty test of our spiritual adolescence prove ourselves unworthy? Nor is it given us long to hesitate in our choice or to postpone our decision to some later occasion. There are critical moments in the life of a race as of an individual when one false step may lead to irretrievable disaster, and just as a healthy and beautiful infant may meet with disease, deformity or premature death, so, too, may growing society, normally destined to vigor and long life, succumb to parasitic enemies, crippling and dwarfing it and preventing its development.

There is, therefore, no time to be lost if we are to strive for

the coming of the day of emancipation, for however confident we may be of the ultimate triumph of the forces of justice and progress, yet the catastrophe of the postponement of the social revolution by it matters not how short a period, much more so by generations or by a whole historical epoch, is too terrible to contemplate. The destinies of countless millions yet unborn, and, in a measure not to be calculated, the destiny of humanity at large, rests upon the people of the present generation. It is for each of us to decide whether we shall act like men, worthy successors of those who in the past and at the price of their lives prepared for us our present measure of political and intellectual freedom; worthy successors of those who proclaimed it to be the right and the duty of the people to alter or abolish their form of government when it could no longer secure their rights, or whether we shall act like slaves, unworthy of freedom, by refusing to raise a hand in our own deliverance. It is for each of us to decide whether our influence shall be cast for the system which strangles progress, breeding endless strife, hatred, misery and wrong; the system of inequality, injustice, wage slavery and all that is ugly, foul, sordid, and wretched; the system which debases and brutalizes, bringing down the many to poverty and destruction for the enrichment and aggrandizement of the few; the system which is responsible for nine-tenths of all the crime, vice, immorality, ignorance, drunkenness and degeneracy that we see around us, or whether our influence shall go forth to aid in the establishment of a new social order in which there shall be no slaves and no masters; no paupers and no millionaires; a social order in which none shall live without labor and in which none shall labor without obtaining his full and certain reward; a social order in which the interests of each shall be in perfect harmony with the interests of all; a social order which shall realize the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

RAPHAEL BUCK.

## An Endless Task.

I N "AN Endless Task," I compared Comrade Boudin's statements among themselves and showed that he was at variance with himself. I also compared his statements with the corresponding statements of Marx and showed that he had not, as he claimed, presented the Marxian theories according to Marx.

I claimed that he had given a confusing presentation of Marx's cost-price and price of production, that he had not presented the relation between the price of production and the average rate of profit in the same light as Marx, and that he had not made a clear distinction between Marx's ideal values and prices, the industrial price of production, the commercial price of production, and the actual prices paid for commodities.

In his reply, Comrade Boudin claims that I have attributed to him a position which he does not hold. That is easily possible, for it is hard to tell from his running comment on the vagaries of the Marx critics and from his own contradictions, just what position he *does* hold.

In one instance he summarizes a passage (p. 150) which he claims I summarized inaccurately. His summary, however, does not summarize the points on which we disagree, but only one point to which I have not raised any objection. The reader can easily locate this passage.

In another instance (p. 154), where the typesetter made a mistake and garbled a quotation of mine from Comrade Boudin's article, Comrade Boudin insinuates, that it was I who made this change in order to confuse the reader. This is typical of his method of controversy. I have no need of such tricks to make my points.

In this case I criticised Comrade Boudin's meaningless use of the terms "absolute." He makes me say that this term is absolutely meaningless. Here, and in other similar cases, his powers of analysis fail completely. I think the difference between *his* meaningless use of a term and the absolute meaninglessness of a term is so palpable that even a Marx critic might see it. However, our critic of Marx critics, usually so brilliant, goes all to pieces here and turns clownish somersaults between "absolute" and "relative."

Aside from other unwarranted personal insinuations, to which I will not pay any attention, Comrade Boudin meets my criticisms by attributing to me the very mistakes for which I



have criticised him. In this way he reduces the entire debate to the level of the ridiculous. If I have the discernment to distinguish between his intentions to represent Marx fairly and his inability to do so, it is not likely that I should make this very same mistake while I am criticising him. This is simply another declaration of mental poverty on his part.

Comrade Boudin puts the reader under the impression, that I regard Marx's theory of value as inconsistent, and that I charge Marx with the same incongruities which the revisionists claim to have discovered. This is pure assumption on Comrade Boudin's part. I hold that Marx's theory of value is consistent and sustained throughout all three volumes of "Capital." In volumes I and II, Marx developed his theory under assumed ideal conditions, and in volume III he applied the results of his abstract analyses to the actual conditions of capitalist competition. I do not disagree with Marx, but with Comrade Boudin. I do not claim that Marx is inconsistent, but that Comrade Boudin, in his efforts to defend the consistency of Marx's theory of value, makes it look inconsistent. Here we find him again displaying the same impotence of analytical grasp, which I have just exposed. There is method in this madness.

It would be useless to continue the discussion on the present basis. So long as neither Comrade Boudin nor myself have stated their own positions in a connected form, we might continue debating till doomsday, and no reader would know what we are talking about.

I have fully stated my own conception of Marxian economic theories in my work on "Marxian Economics," which Comrade Kerr will publish in a short while. I will refer the readers of this magazine to that work.

In reply to my criticism of his position on the role of the individual in historical materialism, Comrade Boudin says that this is a very important point and complains about the limited space which I devote to it. Well, I could not get the whole *REVIEW* for my reply to him. And this is so important a point that I preferred to content myself with a mere hint and reserve it for separate discussion at some other opportunity. The fact is, this is a point which has never been fully cleared by discussion in socialist literature. Comrade Boudin's quotation from Kautsky (p 157) is very nice, only it does not apply to me. I guess I can distinguish between the *actions* of individuals and the *views* of whole classes without the aid of Comrade Boudin, whose powers of distinction, as we have just seen, are not very remarkable. What does such a random quotation amount to, anyway? If Comrade Boudin quotes Comrade Kautsky to the effect that "the materialist conception of history does not always explain to us

the necessity of each individual action, although it recognizes it," someone else might quote another random passage, in which Comrade Kautsky says that "the laws of social science are found by mass observations and apply only to mass phenomena," (*Neue Zeit*, XXIV, No. 50, p. 783). Neither passage would be necessarily in contradiction with my claim that individual actions must be explained by historical materialism as well as mass actions. This sort of quotation is too childish to merit any serious consideration.

However, it is very likely that there is a difference of opinion between Comrade Kautsky and myself on this point. How serious a difference I do not know as yet as we have never discussed it. It would not be very strange if there were such disagreement. For Comrade Kautsky has devoted his life almost exclusively to the economic and historical side of Marxism, and at that only to the sociological parts in the strict meaning, while my own specialties, even in school, have been the theory of cognition, physiological psychology, and philosophy which I have studied in their relations to Marxism ever since I became a socialist.

But Comrade Boudin is mistaken, if he thinks that any difference of opinion between Comrade Kautsky and myself would show what my "so-called support of Marxian theories really amounts to." I think I can disagree with Comrade Kautsky and still be a Marxian and a supporter of Marxian theories. Yes, I might even disagree with Marx and come to such a disagreement by means of Marxian methods and in support of Marxian theories.

So far as there is any real difference between Comrade Kautsky and myself, on this point, I hope it will be discussed when my study of "The Will Problem" will appear which is almost completed.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

## The Rising Star of H. Huntington Moreland.

“DEVIL of a fix I’m in,” growled Jack Lester out of his wrath and vexation before an audience of seven stalwart men who had assembled in the corner saloon for the usual Saturday night meeting. “Devil of a fix I’m in. I’ve worked in the shops here for twenty years, and, saving my wages, have put quite a little money into the place where I’m living. And now just when the house has become mine and that five acre lot next to it, they’ve got to up and move the shops to a place a hundred miles east of here, cuss ‘em. What good’s the home to me now? Won’t rent for anything in Millford with empty houses all over the city.”

“Pretty tough,” broke in Tad Wilkins, “but remember, a good many of us are in the same fix, old man. The boys was countin’ up tonight on the way home from work, and they figured fifty out of the two hundred of us that own our homes. You’ve got plenty of comp’ny in your misery, if that helps any.”

“I shay-(hic)-fel-lowsh,” put in Mike Donovan who had again started out on a drunken spree, “tell you whash lesh do,-(hic)-lesh tell zshe mayor,-(hic)-zshe mayor write,-(hic)-make zshe comp-(hic)-ny keep zshe contrack. (Pause). Aw naw (hic). Who caresh? T’Hell wish shopsh-(hic) enn ‘way. ‘S have nuzzsher drink.”

Mike’s latter words were irrelevant and so received no serious attention from the crowd but the main part of his remarks was picked up by those present.

“The mayor’s written,” said Jack, “reminded the Central that when the city gave the grounds to the railroad thirty years ago, it did so under a contract which made it clear that the shops should always remain here. He ain’t got a reply yet from the company and he won’t get one either. The repairing is going to Wheelington. The shops there will be enlarged. A hundred men from this place will move there and the rest of us will be up against it. We’ll be here without jobs.”

The closing of the Central railroad’s repair shops was the last in a series of industrial disasters which had in ten years reduced Millford from a thriving little manufacturing centre of twelve thousand to a town of barely six thousand inhabitants. Fifteen years ago it had had a casket factory employing one hundred men. The “trust,” as people in the little town said, had bought up the flourishing little business and the hundred

employees and their families had been forced to move to larger cities.

Millford had had a school seat factory from which throughout the entire four seasons year after year had rung out the buzzing metallic cry of the ceaselessly whirling saws. The city had given this industry a \$7,000 bonus on the start, beside remitting the taxes for twelve years. But the doors of the factory had been closed and forever. Bullward, promoter and president, who had, in return for throwing his "experience" into the business, secured at the start controlling interest in the concern, about two years ago had sold himself to the school seat trust and was, according to generally accepted report, being paid a handsome salary to keep his factory closed.

Millford had had its breakfast food factories, too, — four of them. Hastily organized companies had started out boldly on the open sea of industrial life, confident of success. Hundreds of thousands of dollars had been spent in advertising the "sawdust" products which had been turned out in hastily constructed factories employing a few dozen men and about two hundred half-paid girls. But the crash had come shortly and now the factory buildings stood there in the city empty.

In like manner had others of the town's industries disappeared, leaving the little centre financially crippled. Beside all this the rise of the Chicago mail order houses had worked their injuries with increasing effectiveness. Within the past ten years their business had steadily grown in the farming community about Millford.

At first the Millford merchants had laughed good naturedly at the idea that the competition of the catalogue firm would hurt their business. That was before free rural mail delivery had been established. Now, however, they fairly went blue in the face with rage at the mere mention of the name, mail order house. About five years ago Tilford James, clothier, Josiah Greene, shoe retailer, and Matthew Elston, hardware dealer, had become conscious of the new competition and had worked a remedy for the threatened condition of greatly reduced sales of the farming community.

"Here's what we must do to kill this thing," said Tilford James to the other two on the way home from lodge meeting one night. "Use the local press, — the weekly papers. Begin a campaign of education on the subject of mail order goods and keep it up everlastingly. Don't fail to present every possible argument in favor of supporting the local retail trade, — better goods, no deception, local merchant pays taxes for local schools, employees clerk help, etc."

"You're right," had asserted Josiah Greene, "Tomorrow let's

get together and plan a series of articles for the News and the Chronicle."

And the three taking upon themselves the responsibilities of a campaign in behalf of Millford merchants had kept the editorial columns of the two local papers hot with arguments against the mail order house for about a year. Then, disheartened, they gave up the struggle. The community, after being "educated," was still buying its cheaper clothing, stoves and shoes by catalogue. Of course, James, Greene, and Elston had concluded that human beings were mostly either knaves or fools.

But bad as the competition of the mail order house had been for the merchants of Millford, they had found a little later a worse enemy in a new combination of industrial forces accompanying progress. This combination had consisted of a splendidly constructed and equipped interurban electric railroad and an enormous department store in Jackson fifteen miles away, said department store being connected with Millford by said interurban line. For almost six months after the first car had run between the two cities the well-to-do ladies of Millford had continued to patronize the local merchants exclusively, not being aware of the fact that at the other end of a pleasant ride might be found an almost endless variety of "bargains,"—in fact a "perfectly delightful hour of shopping in the city." But on the very first evening of the first week of the seventh month this most welcome fact had been brought to their consciousness with unexpected suddenness. When they had picked up their local papers after supper on that night, in both Chronicle and News full page ads standing out in big black letters had struck their eyes with telling force. A new world for the aspiring femininity of Millford to conquer! "Go to Murdison's for bargains. Don't miss the big sale May 5th and 6th. They go at reduced prices,—silk petticoats, silk shirt waists, elegant oriental rugs and carpets, etc." And May 5th and 6th a goodly number of Millford ladies had attended the sale.

Well, this was the reason for the department store invasion. Editor Conrad of the News and Editor Johnston of the Chronicle had failed of late years to secure the advertising patronage they believed they were entitled to in the little town and had in their mutual soreness temporarily suspended hostilities with each other to come secretly together and talk over the local situation thoroughly. They decided that they would be justified in taking up Jackson advertising as a means to getting the local merchants to "shell out," to "wake up" and to try to "draw business into the city." And so during the first week in May, they boldly crossed the Rubicon, so to speak, rendering themselves in the

eyes of the Millford merchant class traitors to the community in which they lived.

It was shortly after the closing of the railway repair shops that the bright star of H. Huntington Moreland flashed brilliantly across the horizon of Millford, disappearing shortly, however, but only to rise immediately and shine with more constancy and greater brilliancy on a larger industrial world.

H. Huntington Moreland was, when he first stepped foot in Millford, some six years previous to the time with which we are now dealing, a young traveling salesman, fluent and smooth of speech, persuasive, with much promise of developing into a mighty competent all-around business man. True to indications he did so develop and during his six years of travel in Michigan territory he got a good unrelaxing clutch on all the business in sight. But H. Huntington sighed for larger worlds to conquer. He wanted to get off the road and into some business that would offer an opportunity for advancement along executive lines. And so when H. Huntington Moreland, being keen of insight and not overly scrupulous of morals, felt that opportunity was about to knock at his door one evening in Millford in the form of a magnificent graft, he prepared to welcome her. In such right royal fashion did he welcome her that she, being very much pleased, fairly deluged him with favors.

It happened this way: H. Huntington Moreland had invited his customer, Josiah Greene, and Greene's two friends, Tilford James and Matthew Elston over to a late evening spread at the hotel at which he was stopping. He had just wound up an eloquent speech in favor of the formation of business men's associations in the smaller towns in somewhat the following fashion: "They're all coming to it, gentlemen. They have to organize for aggressive campaigns if they want to continue their existence—these smaller towns. Look at Charlottesville, Climax, Three Waters and South Leroy. All of them have business men's organizations which have come into existence within the last two years. The merchants there are prepared to labor for a brighter industrial future for their cities. They've set right to work to bring industries and business into their cities and keep them there when they've once got them. Time will prove the wisdom of their course of action. Yes, it costs. There's an expense attached to it, but these towns are shrewd enough to see that they can't get something for nothing. And they know that some effort has got to be made and that soon."

Well, that night after the three had left H. Huntington Moreland, they discussed the subject at hand in all of its bearings.

"We've got to do something," was Greene's conclusion, "or we'll be totally a town of the past."

"Moreland would be the right man to put in charge of the association," Tilford James had admitted, "but wouldn't he come a little high at two thousand a year?"

"We can afford the price," Elston had answered, "if the work will show results, — if we can only get the factories here, if we can do things. I for one am in favor of launching the association. I believe with Moreland at the helm it will have a most successful career."

And so in the course of a month, due to the efforts of James, Elston and Greene the Millford Business Men's Association was an organized fact. Six thousand dollars had been subscribed among thirty odd merchants and placed in the treasury and H. Huntington Moreland had been unanimously elected secretary of the organization with a salary of \$3,000 a year.

It is not necessary to relate in detail the history of that momentous year following the organization of the association. Suffice it to characterize the period as one of high hopes that were early doomed to disappointment, — of reckless dreams that were never to be realized. The local papers had been swung into line and every other issue had contained fanciful tales about this and that capitalist that was interested in Millford's industrial advantages and would surely bring such and such a business to the town before the year was over. All this made good copy for the papers, the people reading it with avidity and discussing "prospects" with much eagerness in stores and on street corners. Many words of praise were spoken for H. Huntington Moreland. "An energetic fellow," was the statement generally passed around, "He'll land something for us before long."

Meanwhile Moreland was drawing his comparatively generous monthly stipend and was making a thorough study of industrial conditions in Millford and the neighboring city of Jackson, — to serve his own individual purposes. He had noted the similarity in fundamental processes between a manufacturing institution in Jackson and one in Millford and was quietly arming himself with facts and figures.

At the end of the year Millford found itself in the same circumstances as at the beginning, — save for this important difference. The one growing industry in the town, — an industry that had been for the past three years constantly reaching out for a wider market for its product, a well-known cement block machine, and was employing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men at high wages, had been snatched utterly without warning away from the town. A consolidation had been effected between this concern and a Jackson foundry and the reorganized

company was building a new plant in the larger city. H. Huntington Moreland who had promoted the deal had suddenly resigned his position as secretary of the Millford Business Men's Association and in triumph had accepted the secretaryship of the consolidated company which had been tendered him out of appreciation for the invaluable services he had rendered.

For a full year thereafter the Millford papers continued to attack the erstwhile head of the Millford Business Men's Association through their columns as an "unprincipled scoundrel," a "vile ingrate" and an "abominable traitor."

But not in the least did this abuse tend to dim the luster of the star of H. Huntington Moreland which was rising high above the horizon of the industrial life of Jackson in ever increasing brilliancy.

R. W. BOROUGH.



## The Philosophy of Socialism.

WHILE socialists have often pointed out that their doctrines constituted a cosmic philosophy, yet this philosophy has never been elaborated to any extent. With the appearance of the works of Joseph Dietzgen we have the foundation of a really philosophical view of the world from the socialist standpoint.

The introductory essay to the present work is by Dr. Anton Pannekoek and is a discussion of the position and significance of Dietzgen's philosophical work. This work is the natural outcome of the same industrial revolution which produced the economics of socialism, and Dietzgen is shown to be, equally with Marx, in a direct line of descent with Hegel, Kant and the bourgeois philosophers, exactly in the same way as socialism is the legitimate child of capitalism.

"It is the merit of Dietzgen to have raised philosophy to the position of a natural science, the same as Marx did with history. The human faculty of thought is thereby stripped of its fantastic garb. It is regarded as a part of nature, and by means of experience a progressive understanding of its concrete and ever changing historical nature must be gained."

The central thought of Dietzgen's work is to be found in his idea of a complete and eternal unity of all things. Thought, the foundation of the brain, the active cognition, — all these that had been looked upon by bourgeois philosophers as more or less in the light of transcendental or supernatural phenomena, are now restored to the world of actual fact. For him the absolute, truth, God, all equal the universe, the whole of things. While thought itself is a phenomenon composed of "a sum of attributes collected by brain processes," yet it has for its field the entire universe outside of itself. It does not of course take these things into itself in their actual form; with but only their images, their general outlines; this material then makes up the stuff upon which the brain works. While this material is universal, its apprehension and treatment are always relative, consequently nothing is "reasonable and practical" for all men at all times and under all conditions.

This same relativity holds true of mortality. Dietzgen sums up his definition of mortality as follows:

"Mortality is the aggregate of the most contradictory ethical laws which serve the common purpose of regulating the conduct of man toward himself and others in such a way that the future

is considered as well as the present, the one as well as the other, the individual as well as the genus. The individual man finds himself lacking, inadequate, limited in many ways. He requires for his complement other people, society, and must therefore live and let live. The mutual concessions which arise out of these relative needs are called morality."

It will be noted that in this concept he lacks the idea of social progress which is now generally accepted by socialist writers on ethics, his being rather a static than a dynamic view. In regard to this morality he accepts and justifies the so-called Jesuitic maxim that "The End Sanctifies the Means." The only and sole absolute aim is human welfare and it is an end which sanctifies all rules and actions, all means, so long as they are subservient to it, but reviles it as soon as they go their own way without serving it. . . . No means, no action is positively sanctified or aims for human welfare under all circumstances. According to circumstances and relations one and the same means may be good or bad. A thing is good only to the extent that its results are good, only to the extent that there is good in its aim.

Over and over again the author repeats the central thought that all things are one and that "although we cannot get a true picture of universal truth, yet we can obtain clear pictures of individual truth; in other words we can picture the infinite in its parts. Under these conditions knowledge is simply classification. The red thread winding through all these letters deals with the following points. The instrument of thought is a thing like all other common things, a part or attribute of the universe. It belongs particularly to the general category of Being and is an apparatus which produces a detailed picture of human experience by categorical classification of distinctions.

"And now we come to the moral of it all. The human reason, the special object of logical research, partakes of the nature of the universe. It is nothing in itself. As an isolated being, it is wholly void and incapable of producing any understanding or knowledge. Only in connection, not merely with the material brain, but with the entire universe, is the intellect capable of existing and acting. It is not the mere brain which thinks, but the whole man is required for that purpose; and not man alone, but the total interrelation with the universe is necessary for the purpose of thinking. Reason itself reveals no truths. The truths which are revealed to us by means of reason are revelations of the general nature of the absolute universe."

In this view of science that all knowledge is classification, the author points out the interesting fact that the old "museum scientists" classified their facts in space only, while the scientists of evolution added the category of time. A. M. SIMONS.

## A Dialogue.

"What are their fine philosophies to proletarians who are forced to sell themselves for a living to the nearest master? What are the great ideals of human minds to those whose thoughts are bound for life to the animal plane of daily cares? In the land of want, the stomach rules the human soul. In the land of slavery, all emblems of freedom are a cruel mockery to the slaves."

*From Comrade Ernest Untermann's essays "The World Process."*

SOUL.

I'm starving and starving and starving to death!  
I'm groping for room and I'm gasping for breath!  
I'm pleading for life in a bountiful world,  
To use, just a little, the wings that are furled!.

BODY.

I'm bound to the wheels of a terrible car;  
I'm broken and faint with the wound and the scar;  
I've worked and I've worked through the days and the years,  
And now, O my Soul, I can give you but tears!

SOUL.

Our interdependence, my body, is this:  
I drive you to death and you keep me from bliss!  
I strive with the strength of infinite might  
To light up the temple I hold for a night!

BODY.

The intricate threads of our destiny twined,  
Entangled and twisted, no hand can unwind;  
And they who would save you and leave me to die,  
In wisdom's unwisdom are preaching a lie.

SOUL.

And why, in a world that is lavishly filled,  
Should you, who are master of nature, be killed?  
The fruit of the earth it was planted to give  
The body the means that the spirit might live.

BODY.

The fruit is another's, the water and wine;—  
In all of the earth there is nothing that is mine!  
You ask me for bread and I give you a stone,—  
The emblem of all that the workers now own.

SOUL.

And why should we live like a beast in a pen  
When labor is feeding the masters of men?  
Awaken! Awaken! With your brothers unite,  
And march with the soul on the fortress of Night!

BODY.

The preachers have told and the statesmen have said,  
That he who dares to touch it, that instant is dead!  
I fear and I tremble,—'twere better to die  
Than prove that the priesthood had uttered a lie.

SOUL.

O fool in your folly! let be with such cries!  
Unravel your brain and unfasten your eyes!  
But use for a moment the gifts of the gods,  
And shake from your shoulders the burden of clods!

BODY.

I see! O I see! What a wonderful place!  
What a beautiful world! What an infinite space!  
O soul of my soul! — O my brothers, unite!  
And march with the soul on the fortress of Night!

SOUL.

The worker! The worker! He's risen at last!  
The day is at hand and the darkness is past!  
I'm fastened no more to a pitiful slave—  
I'm master of earth and the lord of the grave!

COVINGTON HALL.

## Religion, Education and Monopoly.

ONE of the many accusations that it is possible to bring against present system is that under its rule Religion and Education, instead of being used to uplift the masses of the people, are used to keep them ignorant of their conditions, and of the position that they rightfully should occupy. It is not that we would accuse Religion itself of having lower ideals than it has held in the past; not that, for undoubtedly religious ideas have developed and grown with the race. The ideals of the average Christian are in all probability a trifle higher than those of the savage hordes, who came out of Asia, and like a great tidal wave, inundated western Europe; and if they exercise those ideals only once a week, on Sundays, shall we blame them, or shall we not also "go and do likewise"? The man with the highest ideals is quite likely to wrap them up in oil-cloth for future reference, if there be a chance for a deal or a swap; and if he belong to a corporation, lo! "the wind bloweth over them, and the place thereof knows them no more."

But if religion is a growth, so also is its monopoly. There have been times in history when the tree of monopoly in religion has grown so large that it has become necessary for someone to lop off some of the branches and start a tree of their own; of course, the monopolists have deprived many of them of their heads, eyes, ears, noses, etc., but they have invariably returned the compliment at the first opportunity.

Religion has always had great power over men. Man is the animal that thinks; but when things get beyond the grasp of his thinkery he is very apt to bow down and worship. Thus, there was a time when man worshiped every tree and bush, the storm, the sun, the moon, and different animals, later on he lumped things of the same variety together and gave each lump a god. This was when he had learned to group himself into little cliques or clans, each group having its own little special god who fought with and for them. He was a very good duplicate of themselves, and he usually had a very devil of a temper; if you dared to disagree with him he wiped you off the slate, or his priests did it for him, which amounted to the same thing: you got wiped.

I understand that in some remote regions of the world such gods still exist.

Later on down the calendar, after the groups had accomplished the gastronomic feat of swallowing each other one by one, Rome came along and swallowed all the rest, just as Moses'

walking stick swallowed the serpents of the Egyptian magicians and priests. Then, Rome having conquered the entire known world and proved herself mistress of the world, the world finding it possible to have one world-wide power, abolished the idea of many gods and accepted the rule of the Hebrew God, and incidentally the Hebrew devil; just to account for the bad things in the world. Man had always had to fight with hand and brain against the beasts, against other men, and against the elements, and, of course, could not conceive of anything but strife; so naturally God had to have the devil to fight.

But what most strikes one in studying this development is the tremendous power of the priests. They were the deputy-sheriffs of the God, great or small, whom they served, and they always carried a whole armory of anathemas, curses, bulls, and such other small ammunition as they thought might prove useful. For many centuries they and their gods or god were quite the cock of the walk, ruling kings and princes as well as ordinary mortals made from common clay with a mere bend of the little finger. But gradually king and priest got quite mixed up, till finally a king here and there grew rich and powerful enough to successfully defy the priest. Thus Henry VIII. of England defied the pope and helped himself to the riches of the monasteries. Finally the priests made a compromise with the ruling class. The king and nobles were to support the priests, and in return, the priest, who was the educator as well as a monk, agreed to support the ruling class by every means in his power. So the ruling class skins the dear public, presumably for the good of their souls; for everyone knows that heaven is only for the poor people, only such of the rich as are able to squeeze through the eye of a needle, being allowed to enter. But probably quite a few will get in. They are used to getting through tight places, and they have a way of crawling around the wall of the law that to a disinterested spectator is truly marvelous. For my own part, I quite expect to see Mr. Rockefeller there, and before many years are past he will probably have a corner on spirits—but this is a digression; however, it is kind of them to run such a risk in order to assure us eternal bliss.

Lately the priest has lost his job as educator; but the game goes on just the same. The teacher and scientist holds his job at the will of the ruling class, and he walks very carefully, well within the limits of the "straight and narrow way." If he gets too inquisitive about what is over the wall, well! he finds himself swinging a pick to the tune of a dollar and a half a day, or he quickly gets back into line. Besides, the trust prints the books, and so has a lead-pipe cinch on what the children are to learn. So, with education or schooling limited in most cases to the years

between six and fifteen, and religion made a matter for Sundays and evenings, while priest, king, president, politician, business man and laborer engage in the universal game of grab, why knowledge and truth take a seat very much in the background.

But what are we going to do about it? While monopoly lasts, while it is possible for one man or a small clique of men to monopolize or control interests or things which concern all the people, religion and education will be a farce to the worker. He will not go to church when in that one place he is made to feel the inferiority of his position more than in any other; especially when he is told that it is God's will that he lost his job, and his wife and children have not enough to eat, to wear, and little or no education. It is an insult added to injury which he will not stand or sit quietly under.

Again, he cannot go to school, or send his children there; it takes the combined efforts of man, wife and children to keep enough stew in the pot; it is no magic pot like the widow's cruse, but takes long hours of weary toil to fill it. What education he does obtain is so mixed up with admonitions to be good and give due respect to his betters (aside from the fact that it is mostly composed of directions as to the best way to get the advantage of the other fellow) that it is no wonder that it generally does very little good either to the individual or to the people at large, but only serves to accentuate the struggle that is at present the dominant note of the age.

In a piece of music it very often happens that near the close of the piece, or one of its parts, there occurs a long series of chords which in themselves are apparently good, but inasmuch as below them all there is held from bar to bar a continued or pedal note, which is the dominant note of the tonic or original key, while they are in an entirely different key, the result is often very harsh; but finally they resolve into the chord of the dominant and so back to harmony and peace. So, nowadays, such a passage is occurring in the great world symphony. We have wandered far away from the true key, the original motive is apparently forgotten, and the ear is almost shattered by the succession of harsh chords that are now resounding. Chief among these, from out of which all the rest grow, is the chord of the great struggle, founded on the dominant note of the key of strife, the key in which we live; while, sometimes sobbing, sometimes wailing, often rising to a shriek, and again filled with a threat, rises and falls the chord of poverty, now loud and defiant and now again a cry of utter helplessness and hopelessness; and jarring through it all rings out the chord of the rich, of those that have won in the fight, the chord of monopoly, the chord of heedless inconsequence; full of the jeer and the gibe of the ignor-

ant victor. the clash of the wine-cup, the laughter and joy of those who eat and drink and are merry in a house built on a slumbering but active volcano. Here and there sounds out a snatch of lovely melody, the laugh of merry children, the songs of happy birds, the hum of the machines, and ever and anon we hear the solemn chant rise through the crash and turmoil from out of some cloistered monastery or great high-spired cathedral where men keep up a mockery of what was once religion. But high above them all sounds out the crashing chord of strife, which hounds us on to struggle for our life and brings out all the evil thoughts that man is heir to.

Yet deep below, full-chested, strong and clear, sounds out the pedal note, the cry "Co-operate," the dominant of the true key, the slogan of the Socialist. Solid it sounds from bar to bar, from year to year, full with a sense of peace, great with the strength of justice and truth, strong with the power of love. It only seems to add to, to accentuate the discords crashing round and yet it holds the ear. Swelling from eight million throats, with all the power of the universe behind it, it gradually dominates the harmonies that crash above, bends them, draws them down, rises and permeates them until at last they turn and rush through the dominant chord of the original key, through "Co-operation" back to the original key: the key of Brotherhood.

HUBERT WHITEHEAD.



## The Cry of Freedom.

O Comrades, you who feel bold tyrant's hands  
Upon your backs with throbs of pain,  
Who bend and break beneath despot's commands,  
And toil for ages for their gain,—  
O you whose brows are bleeding with red blood  
For all the world are crowned with thorns,  
Whose hearts through suffering ages ached and bled,  
For whom the God of pity mourns,—  
How long, how long, shall we submit like slaves,  
Be driven by the scorpion rod  
And rank and strain and labor to our graves—  
How long, how long, how long—Great God!

Imbruted by the toil of many years,  
A loathsome, dead, uncanny thing,  
His poor mind haunted with dark dreads and fears,  
—He cannot laugh, nor smile, nor sing—  
The toiler of the world plods on and toils,  
His voice grown dumb no more complains;  
The Master Tyrant follows and despoils  
And thrives on these ill-gotten gains  
And centuries, from night to morn, from morn  
To weary night again he drags  
His faltering form—the tyrant's lofty scorn  
Leers at his hunger and his rags.

No souls has this—of earth it is. No more  
On pinions bright its souls soars high;  
No more its ardent spirit can adore  
The glories of the earth and sky.  
Debased, his aim's to feed, and breed, and drink—  
With mind unstirred by gloom or glee—  
O God, this has no power to feel, to think—  
Can this an image be of Thee?  
O Comrades, is this then our future fate—  
This creature with the sodden brain?  
Shall we dream on until it is too late,  
The prices of the tyrants' gain?

Ah, have you never seen your children moan,  
And wailing die of pain and cold?  
Or heard your loved ones with fierce hunger groan  
In agonies and pains untold?  
Has destitution's stinging whip ne'er lashed  
And cut and stung and made you bend?  
Have tribulation and despair ne'er crashed  
Upon your souls as if to rend  
You into atoms of fierce discontent,  
That raging mad and wild desire  
Throughout the firmament to spread dissent  
And Revolution hot as fire,

Will we be shackled slaves, and only whine  
And fret about our right and wrong?  
Or freeborn men, shall not our weapons shine  
And go to fight with hearty song!  
Away with Law—Law partial and unfair  
By which the despot's will is done!  
Our hope it is to be free—free as the air—  
Free as the sunlight of the sun.  
Shall we submit, or shall we not prevail?  
Of God in heaven we question Thee?  
Again we shout—we know we shall not fail—  
Our Nation must and shall be free!

T. EVERETT HARRY.

# EDITORIAL

## The General Strike.

Back and forth swings the pendulum. To suggest a general strike as a part of socialist tactics five years ago would have been to arouse scoffs and sneers in most of the divisions of the international socialist movement. Then came Russia and the apparent success of these tactics. Two or three other countries had also tried the general strike, with a more or less limited success. The result was a wave of enthusiasm in favor of the general strike until it came to be looked upon as a short cut in social evolution. Even Germany was carried along in this wave, and last year at Jena adopted a resolution which was commonly felt to imply a threat to adopt the general strike as a part of the general tactics of the German Social Democracy. Then the *Syndicalists* of France and Italy and the little bunch of *Impossibilists* in Germany, with a few fanatics in this country went crazy on the subject and talked such a mass of nonsense as to arouse a reaction. The result of this is seen in the adoption by the last German congress of a much more conservative resolution concerning the general strike, and a general tendency in Europe to go back to the old position. However, as has often been noticed, the pendulum never swings quite back to the original position and it is sufficient to say that the general strike will never be banished from the armory of socialism. It will take its place as one of the weapons to be used when the special circumstance for which it is suited demands it.

\* \* \*

## Need of Organization.

The one lesson which has been most emphatically preached by the campaign which has just ended was the need of better organization of the socialist forces.

The work of education, or at least of agitation has run far ahead of the organization of the Socialist Party. The whole country has been "going to school to socialism" during the past year. Socialism

has become the "livest" topic for lecturers, writers and all those who are seeking to attract public attention. We have been longing for this stage for many years. Now it is here, it is for us to use it.

The reason for this condition is found largely in the fact that the forces of agitation, and to some extent those of education, are to a great degree inherent in the progress of capitalism. Socialists have always recognized this since Marx first observed that the capitalists are their own grave diggers. So it is that the propaganda of socialism has become an almost automatic reaction from capitalism. The process of concentration and exploitation carries with it a course of elementary lessons in socialist philosophy which he who lives within the scope of that process must read.

As every other avenue of reaction is closed the literature of revolt is forced to rest more and more upon the basis of socialist philosophy. So it has come about that great masses of the population are beginning to think in a crude way with the premises of socialism as a party of their psychology.

Newspaper and magazine writers speak glibly of a "government by interests," all unconscious, in a majority of cases that they are using the very language of the classics of socialism. The presses of the world have poured forth hundreds of volumes during the last few years based upon a crude conception of the materialistic interpretation of history. Yet many of their writers never heard the name of the philosophy which they unconsciously use—and often abuse. Fewer still have risen to a recognition of the fact that a logical consequence of the acceptance of that philosophy is the recognition of the class struggle, the domination of the proletariat, and consequently the whole socialist program.

With many of these persons this failure to proceed to the logical conclusions is due to their own ignorance. For that ignorance the socialists of this country are partially to blame. It indicates some loop hole in their work of education and agitation that these who are seeking for light have not perceived it.

Wherever there is ignorance there are always those who seek to fatten upon it. Nowhere is this more true than in the field of political action. With such a tremendous stake to be played for as the surplus value produced by a world of wage-slaves it is certain that every advantage will be sought for and played to the utmost. It is, of course, upon this blind unconscious revolt, and partial understanding of socialism that Hearst and his like are trading. Another outgrowth of the same forces is the Gompersonian political tactics. Millions of laborers have proceeded to the point where they understand the necessity of working-class political action. They have not yet learned that to be effective, working-class politics must be based upon working class principles. Hence they can still be forced to turn the political mills of their oppressors if they are only blinded with a triflingly different bandage.

While all this growth of sentiment has been to a certain extent an automatic reflex from capitalism, the Socialist Party grows only through conscious intelligent effort. It does not come of itself. Yet by just so far as that organization falls behind the growth of socialist sentiment will that sentiment express itself, as undirected sentiment has always done in wild vagaries, and be used to grind the grist of capitalism. Unorganized socialist sentiment is like steam while it is still in the boiler—liable to either escape uselessly into the atmosphere, or even to blow the whole works up with an explosion. The Socialist Party organization is the engine that puts the sentimental steam at work and compels it to perform the task of freeing the workers.

The ineffectiveness of this organization has been seen during the past campaign not only in the various freak movements that have exploited forces that belonged of right to socialism, but also, to a certain extent by the ineffective application of what forces were at the disposal of the party. The improvement in the management of the campaign has presented a great advance over previous years. Yet it left much to be desired. It was impossible to focus efforts where they were needed in any such thoroughly effective way as a better organization would have made possible. Literature and speakers were constantly handicapped by a lack of the organized machinery which would have multiplied their effect many fold.

One of the handicaps under which the socialists of this country labor, which is not suffered by the socialists of other countries, is that the trade union movement is still largely dominated by capitalism. In Belgium, Germany, Denmark, and indeed a majority of the other countries of the world, to say trade unionist is to say socialist, and it goes without saying that wherever the economic organization can be used to further the interest of the political movement it can and will be used. Just how long this condition will continue here, and when the members of the organizations of laborers will insist that the machinery of their organization shall not be used to injure the political interests of those members, cannot be foretold with any certainty at the present moment. There are signs of change that promise much for the future, but the future like the past is not with us now, and we must deal with what we have—the present.

These facts render the burdens, responsibilities and duties of the political organization of even greater importance in the United States than in countries where a portion of the work which the party must do here is performed by the economic organizations.

The next two years will make peculiarly pressing demands upon the machinery of the Socialist Party. The way in which it meets those demands will decide its entire future. It may decide much of the whole course of future evolution in the next decade of United States history.

A confused Hearst movement can side-track the revolutionary

energy of the nation only in case the Socialist Party proves to be incapable of meeting the emergency of the next twelve months. At present Hearst possesses no national organization. He is little more than a howl. It is difficult for him to crystallize that howl into an organization outside of the few weeks of a campaign, because he must depend upon workers who expect a reward in solid currency or in the immediate prospect of the spoils of office.

It is the boast of the Socialist Party that it keeps up a continuous campaign. If it makes good on that boast during the next year the Hearst ghost will be laid, and it is within the bounds of possibility that the Socialist Party will move up to second place in the line of political parties struggling for power.

To accomplish this will require strenuous efforts. Organization is a business proposition and not sentimental enthusiasm. A definite plan of campaign for organizing work must be elaborated by national, state and local organizations. Special funds must be raised for this one purpose. Special literature must be prepared of a distinctly different character from that suited for the work of agitation.

Men must be secured who are not agitators but organizers, and who can carry out a definite plan of work. They must not be sent on one night soap box stands through the country, but must proceed steadily from definite centers, and remain in each locality until they have accomplished the work assigned them.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## RUSSIA.

That Russia is in an actual state of civil war in which the battles have an extremely high casualty list is seen by the fact that a Russian paper estimates that, during the year 1906, 14,130 persons have been killed in massacres, 900 have been executed under the forms of law and 19,524 have been wounded. This is the casualty list on the side of the people. But the government has not escaped without losses. The same paper estimates that of government officials, 720 persons have been killed and 810 wounded.

Further word has just been received concerning the exiling of Deutsch and "Parvus", by the Russian government. These two men have long been known as among the ablest writers and workers in the international socialist movement. Both were living in Germany at the outbreak of the Russian revolution, and both returned to their native country to assist in the battle for freedom. They were exiled to the extreme north of Siberia under the Arctic circle. With twenty-six other exiles they were crowded into the foul hold of a freight ship leaving Nijn i Novogorod, for Turuchanski, the place of their exile. The well-known writer Tann was a prisoner at this same place for eight years and a half and in his story "Oko" he has told something of its horrors. He says "Fifty of us were huddled together in a half ruined house. Clothing and fuel were both scant to the point where freezing was always threatened. Eternal hunger ruled over us. Rye meal cost forty kopeks a pound and the exiles ate decayed fish, and frozen raw meat, with occasional fresh frozen fish. But when all was combined there was always too little. When the dogs died of hunger they too were devoured. I once tore the leather hinges from the door and for two days lived upon the soup which we made from them." Into this polar inferno Parvus and Deutsch are now going.

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Famine rules in Russia. The measureless sweeps of land of the Russian kingdom have been given over to misery. Thirty-three provinces have been affected by the failure of the crops, a number greater than any previous crop failure has affected in Russia. The number of starving cannot be given with any accuracy but there is no doubt that it reaches high into the millions. In the province of Ufa alone over 1,200,000 starving have already registered their names in application for relief, and in the province of Vladimir registers have exceeded a million. Heartbreaking news appears daily in the periodicals. From the province of Samara, the central organization of the Zemstvo telegraphed "Starvation in its worst form has ap-

peared. Many peasant families are eating only on alternate days." The wealthy farmers who have had any excess of grain have exported it beyond the reach of the needy because they feared they would be plundered by the starving peasants. From the same province the "Nowaja Mysl" telegraphed that as a result of the famine in that province hunger-typhoid had already appeared. In the province of Wornesch all the symptoms of the famine have appeared. Driven by sickness and hunger the peasants are pushing into the cities in search of employment. In the peasant villages universal despair and horror of the future reigns. The suffering of the peasant children, who for many days have tasted no warm food, is horrible. As the result of the insufficient nourishment the death rate has risen in a startling degree.

In the province of Saratow the failure of crops is so complete that the peasants have literally neither bread nor seed and therefore are unable to eat or to sow for the coming crop. From the province of Jaroslow the message comes that the villages present a most pitiful appearance. The rye harvest is extremely poor. The hay crop was a failure so that there is no feed for the cattle. There is no labor to be obtained to offer relief and the whole country population is confronted with the frightful menace of starvation.

In the Ural district also a total crop failure must be reckoned with. In a few places there remains barely sufficient for seed while in many neighborhoods the grain was mowed only to obtain straw with which to feed the cattle. Even the Cossack population which has so long known prosperity is ruined and must now rest its entire hope on governmental assistance. Similar reports come from many other provinces.

The paralysis of trade and industry, which has brought about so great unemployment in the cities has extended its injurious effect out into the country also. All this tends to paralyze what social activity might otherwise have been possible.

This growing misery has naturally widened the field of the socialists and arouses the peasants to revolutionary activity. All the energies of the socialist organizations are now directed toward controlling and utilizing this revolutionary attitude along effective channels.

Union Of The Bund And The Russian Social Democratic Party.

As long as there has been a revolutionary movement in Russia there have been two factions, the existence of which has tended to weaken any effective action. To be sure there have been other factions but these have been much smaller than either The Bund or the Social Democratic Party and could effect but little the general revolutionary activity. Every socialist welcomes the news that at last The Bund which represents the Russian Jewish Socialists has at last united with the regular Socialist Democratic Party. The Bund organization will be preserved to some extent as a means of carrying on agitation among the Jewish population, but henceforth the two organizations will work in close harmony.

## GERMANY.

### Socialist Traveling Libraries.

One of the socialist representatives in the Reichstag, Dr. Sudekum, has recently, at great personal sacrifice endowed a number of traveling libraries for the use of socialist locals incapable of accumulating such books out of their own funds. A number of volumes,



composed of the socialist classics, are sent out in a chest to remain for three weeks, when they are replaced by another list.

The capitalist press of Germany are raising the alarm because all the printers, stereotypers, etc. are socialists, and declares that unless steps are soon taken to counteract this fact the whole press of Germany will be practically under the control of the Socialists. The capitalist papers are making most dire suggestions of what might happen if the socialists should ever undertake to establish a press censorship by means of the power which this control of the printing industry gives them.

The expenditures for colonial expenses during the year 1906 reached 132,000,000 marks. This expenditure is offset by an income of only about 11,000,000 marks. As a consequence the colonial minister has made a request for an appropriation of over 100,000,000 marks to meet the deficit. Some idea of how rapidly this colonial burden is increasing in Germany is shown by the fact that the total expenditures of the German Empire for colonial purposes up to 1904 was only 318,000,000 marks, while in the two years since that time it has reached 750,000,000 marks. All this has been expended for the purpose of maintaining outposts and strategic commercial points and for the opening up of expected markets for German capitalists. Consequently the socialists have stood in steady antagonism to this increasing burden.

The Imperial Union against Social Democrats, which corresponds very closely to the Citizens' Alliance in the United States, has recently announced its willingness to supply campaign funds and other assistance for opponents of the socialists. Its general policy is to select the "best men" among the various capitalist candidates and support them in the hope of thereby defeating the socialist candidate. It will be noticed that this policy has a close resemblance to that followed by President Gompers of the A. F. of L. in this country, with the important exception that the German Employers Organization picks the "best men" in its own class instead of going over into the ranks of its opponents.

One of the most important phases of the German socialist movement is the activity of the women members. They have a paper which is their special organ, the "Gleichheit," which during the past year has increased its circulation from 12,000 to 46,000. The women raise the complaint that the socialist men are altogether too much inclined to look upon the woman movement as something less necessary and to belittle the activity which they are carrying on. However, the women have accepted the proletarian motto that "They who would be free must themselves strike the blow," and are asking no favors, but are themselves conducting so active a campaign that they are forcing the attention of not only the capitalists but also their socialist comrades.

## ITALY.

### Unions among Italian Farmers.

The sudden setback which the Italian Farmers' Unions received immediately after their first rapid rise and their victorious battles during 1900 and 1901 has created the impression not only in Italy but throughout the world that they were merely an impulsive mob-like uprising without any firm foundation. The official statistics which have just been issued by the government labor bureau show that the unions of agricultural workers have really been steadily growing ever since their first sudden decline. According to this report there were

982 such unions on the first day of January 1906 with 221,913 members. These unions stand absolutely on the basis of the class struggle and in this are distinguished from the catholic unions which have been formed alongside them. With the single exception of the organization in Romagne which inclines toward republicanism, they rest on a socialist basis and are dominated by socialist ideas. As a consequence of this the socialist vote bears a direct proportion to the strength of the organized workers throughout Italy. The province of Emilia in Central Italy has the largest per cent of its agricultural workers organized; 11.5 per cent of all those engaged in agriculture being members of the union. An interesting feature of these unions is the large number of women members. At the present time 39,677 women are members of agricultural unions. An analysis of the different phases of agricultural labor and the extent to which it is organized shows that the day laborers form two-thirds of the total membership. Next to these come the tenants and renters although they exceed the number of land owners by only a few hundred.

#### FINLAND.

The socialist party of Finland makes up one of the strongest divisions of the international movement. It has over 80,000 members in 462 local organizations, possesses an extensive press and is waging an active battle at all points. Its relations with the organized labor movement are such that there is practically identity of action. At a recent congress 380 delegates were present, including several from various parts of Russia and from Sweden, Norway and Denmark. These delegates from other countries were invited because the Finnish movement is taking an extremely active part in the Russian revolution and it was felt that consultation with all the nationalities most directly affected was necessary. It is in no small degree owing to the existence of this powerful, well organized socialist movement in Finland that the Baltic provinces have taken the lead throughout Russia's struggle for freedom.

#### HOLLAND.

The socialists of Holland are keeping up an active fight for universal suffrage. They recently held a demonstration in Amsterdam which for size and enthusiasm exceeded any political meeting ever held in that country. Over 1,100 delegates, representing 700 unions and having a membership of over 60,000 laborers were present, while over 15,000 persons attended the meeting. In spite of a heavy rain storm a great parade was held and participated in by thousands of workers. Some idea of their numbers may be gained from the fact that over 400 banners, each one representing a different organization, was carried in the parade.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

About the time this number of the Review reaches its readers the Federation of Labor will be in session at Minneapolis and going over the well-beaten path of considering perfunctory reports, renew jurisdiction controversies, discuss capitalistic politics, re-elect the old officials, and then adjourn and return home to give the delegates an opportunity to wonder what it was all about. It is doubtful whether any radical action will be taken to adjust the jurisdictional disputes between contending organizations for the reason that some of the "leaders" hate each other more than they do their capitalistic masters. If such fossilized reactionaries as Gompers, who will hobnob with and whitewash a Carnegie or Belmont, had their way they would rip the brewery workers to pieces, although the latter are doing just what the miners are doing, viz., organizing all the workers in their trade into one union, each branch having their separate locals. Gompers fears the miners, and not for a moment would he dispute Mitchell's claim that the engineers, firemen, teamsters or laborer's in and about the mines must be members of the United Mine Workers. But unions less powerful feel the iron heel of the "Little Napoleon," who appears to have adopted the snobocratic policy of licking the boots of those who are strong and kicking those who are weak. The regrettable thing about it all is that the miners and carpenters and other large national organizations approve of the unfair, tricky methods that are resorted to by Gompers, and thus keep the labor movement in endless confusion.

The old story that Gompers is to be retired this year is out again as usual, but somewhat embellished. The claim is made that at the last quarterly meeting of the executive council in Washington there was some friction among the members regarding the Gompsonian political policy of "punishing your friends and rewarding your enemies." Duncan and Mitchell, first and second vice-presidents, respectively, are said to have spoken their minds upon the Maine campaign, in which neither participated, although solicited to do so. The program of Duncan, Mitchell, Keefe and others who are known as having no great love for Gompers was to abstain from active participation in the punishing and rewarding scheme that was born in the brilliant mind of Gompers, and if the latter could show no results at Minneapolis, to jump on him with both feet. But aside from this being newspaper talk largely, the Hon. Samuel has received so much attention in the public prints recently that it is a question whether he could be defeated if the effort were really made, and so long as the Federation accepts and endorses his peculiar methods there is little reason why he should be dumped. That his political campaign

was, as far as results are concerned, a monumental failure, even though some "friend" here or some "enemy" there was elected or defeated, no student of political or economic development will attempt to dispute. The one bright lining to the whole innovation was the solid, substantial growth of the Socialist movement, not because any assistance was obtained from Gompers and his machine of professional organizers (or disorganizers), but in spite of them, and for the reason that the rank and file are becoming aroused and are striking out on right lines. Gompers is merely a labor politician, and anyone who has read his Federationist during the past couple of months and noted the manner in which he boomed himself cannot help but come to the conclusion that he is determined to be the perpetual head of the A. F. of L. His one great gallery play to rally his reactionary supporters is to bullrag and browbeat the Socialist element in the unions, believing that he stands to gain the assistance of sufficient republicans, democrats and mugwumps to win, not only over the Socialists, but also over his opponents in his own camp. Any and every honest criticism of Gompers or his methods is twisted into "abuse," "vilification," and so forth, and the manner in which he and his crowd can whine for sympathy would almost shame Uriah Heep. Every time you question Gompers or his policies you attack the labor movement, according to that gentleman and his cuckoos, and, depending upon and having the support of ignorance and prejudice to maintain his grip, it is no easy task to overthrow him. Therefore until such time as all the progressive elements outside of the Federation get inside and a strong group is formed, no great change need be looked for. The revolution must come from below. The rank and file, who are now becoming more tolerant on political questions, must be converted. Then the fossilized leaders will naturally be dropped by the wayside.

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If there were any working people who looked with hope to the Industrial Workers of the World to escape from the reactionary and conservative tactics that are enervating the American Federation of Labor they were surely doomed to disappointment. After an experiment of a little over a year the I. W. W. appears to have gone the same route as the late lamented S. T. and L. A. The meager reports sent out from the Chicago convention indicate that that prince of disrupters, Dan DeLeon, again disported himself in his natural element. Dan is never happier than when he can "clarify" something. He is always looking about for new Augean stables to clean, "fakirs" to chew up with his "buzz-saw," and new worlds to conquer. To read in DeLeon's funny old People that "the housecleaning began in Chicago by the clear cut revolutionary delegates," etc., etc., indicates that, having only "begun," the job will continue until all but Dan shall have fled. Nowadays Dan's People reads practically word for word as it did in the good old days of "riot and revolution" in the Knights of Labor, also when the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was at the height of its power a decade ago, and when the "kangaroo revolt" occurred in the Socialist Labor Party. Dan having "clarified" the K. of L., the S. T. and L. A. and the S. L. P. out of business, he saw at once that the Industrial Workers of the World needed his valuable services, and, as a class-conscious, clear-cut, revolutionary, blown-in-the-bottle, all-wool-and-a-yard-wide scientific expert on surgery from Timbuctoo, what could he do but carry his trusty buzz-saw to Chicago and amputate "the fakir Sherman-McCabe-Kirkpat-

rick-Mahoney-Cronin crew?" Having thrown the constitution of the I. W. W. in the air (and what's a constitution among friends, anyhow?), and divorced the fakirs from their graft, Dan is once more contented as he sits in his den, in New Reade street, New York, and observes how the "revolutionists" and the "reactionists" are "nobly waging the class struggle." Just why Gilbert and Sullivan or Charles Hoyt passed from the scenes of their theatrical triumphs before having the opportunity of building a screaming farce comedy or burlesque, with a guarantee of a laugh every minute, entitled "From Dan to Beer-Sheba," with the professor in the role of star comedian, is one of the mysteries of fate. Of course, during the next few months we shall hear a great deal through the People how the fakirs are being routed all along the line, until the purifying and clarifying is complete. Just now the Western Federation of Miners appears to be receiving DeLeon's kindly attention, and he is instructing that organization at long range how to conduct itself and "kick out" the traitors. The miners haven't got enough troubles fighting the combined capitalists of the country; they must waste valuable time and money to combat a few dancing dervishes in their own ranks who have become inoculated with DeLeon dope, to the great joy of the plutocrats. Why the American labor movement has ever been cursed by becoming the prey of this meddling old fool in New York, who seems never more pleased than when he is ripping some organization up the back, is past finding out. The marvel of it is that enough idiots can be found outside of an insane asylum to listen to and to follow the freak. Either he has been driven mad by his own egotism or he is a scheming corruptionist, for certainly no person in the United States has done more to cause internal strife and disruption in the labor movement, political and industrial, than the humbug professor and all-around adventurer, DeLeon. That the I. W. W. received its death-blow at Chicago and will gradually disintegrate no careful observer of labor affairs will attempt to dispute. But watch and see, after that organization has disappeared, whether DeLeon doesn't crouch in wait for some new victim. It is to be deplored that a good many earnest, honest, conscientious Socialists and trade unionists sacrificed their energies in a movement that was stamped with failure the moment that the impossibilists were countenanced, and that some of the former even sought to defend or apologize for the unreasonable and repudiated tactics that are commonly known as deleonism. The modern economic development, the evolution of capitalism, will and is educating the working class, and it doesn't make a particle of difference whether labor organizations are labeled A. F. of L., or I. W. W., or X. Y. Z., final and complete emancipation will not come until the time is ripe, until the workers have learned their lessons, and they will not be taught with a club and by any one group proclaiming war upon another. If half as much effort were made by some of the swell-headed leaders, so-called, to unify and harmonize the labor forces as there is to boss, divide and disrupt them, the American movement would be further advanced. The rank and file ought to place less reliance in all things that come from their alleged spokesmen, make a more careful study of every phase of the situation, adopt some such slogan as, "To hell with the leaders!" declare their independence and their opposition to be regarded as children and become their own leaders.

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There is no material change in the national strikes that are being

waged by the printers, bridge and structural iron workers and lithographers. The printers are making slight gains in their eight-hour fight, it seems almost inch by inch, and have reduced their assessments of 10 per cent to 7 per cent on wages earned. A further reduction to 5 per cent will probably be made in the near future. The bridge and structural iron workers held a conference recently with representatives of the bridge trust, but were unable to reach an agreement on the open shop question, and the battle will be continued indefinitely. Like the printers, the lithographers are struggling to enforce the eight hour day and have been partially successful, but the bosses still hope to starve them into submission. The men have decided to levy an assessment of one-quarter of all wages earned on those who are employed, and the European lithographers are also sending funds to maintain the contest to a finish. The railway workers are becoming restless and widespread strikes are not improbable, while in the building trades important moves are expected the coming season. The molders report a number of hard fights against the open shop bosses, and other metal trades strengthening themselves in anticipation of trouble. Altogether the class struggle continues to rage as of yore.

## BOOK REVIEWS

RING IN THE NEW, by *Richard Whiteing*. *The Century Co., Cloth*, 374 pp., \$1.50

We have had stories in plenty showing the horrors of "how the other half lives." We have had utopias that described a dreamland future in almost equal number. But this is one of the first really high class novels to show us the stirring of the forces of revolution, to make a study of socialists in the making—psychologically and socially. Pure is a young girl suddenly thrown upon her own resources, who comes to London to find her fortune. A common enough story so far, and indeed there is little in the life of the heroine that might not happen to any one of thousands of girls in a great city. There is not over much of tragedy in the telling. The whole round of life is there and not its horrors alone. But into her life there comes a young socialist, Leonard, who first makes his appearance in the story through a little paper, *The Branding Iron*, which he is printing on a duplicator and circulating by means of a sort of circulating servant Sarah, who does odd jobs in house keeping for several lodgers. Incidentally Sarah, who acts as a sort of connecting link between the various personages of the book, is one of the most interesting characters presented. Yet, for the socialist reader at least, the principal interest must center around Leonard, who is kept mysteriously in the background until near the close of the book, so that we make his acquaintance mainly through *The Branding Iron*. This affords an excellent device by which to get some first class socialist material into the book in a perfectly natural and interesting manner. The Evolution of "The Bloke," for instance, is a burning indictment of the criminal will of modern capitalist slums. Of many books we have said "Here is something every socialist ought to read," of this one we can truly say "Here is a book that every socialist will *want* to read."

IN THE DAYS OF THE COMET, by *H. G. Wells*. *New York: The Century Co., Cloth*, 350 pages, \$1.50.

Of writing utopias there will probably never be an end. When the co-operative commonwealth shall have been realized there will still be things to dream over in the days to come after that.

More and more the utopias of today are taking on the characteristics of the international socialist movement. This work by the well-known English comrade bears everywhere evidence of the fact that its author is in close touch with the active socialist movement. Yet this influence shows itself rather in the criticism of existing society, in his analysis of the evils that spring from competition, than in his pictures of the future. The hideousness of capitalism appeals

to him, as it does to everyone of artistic temperament, even more than the terrible exploitation of the working class.

When it comes to the method of the change, we cannot feel but there is a distinct weakness. "The Great Change" is brought about by contact between the earth and a comet. The comet gives forth a strange gas which changes the whole character of humankind and makes them all enthusiastic, altruistic co-operators. This utter blindness to the function of the proletariat and to the real forces of the social revolution is a decided blemish upon the work from the socialist point of view. Neither do we believe that it is artistically a desirable thing. We do not believe a writer is justified in introducing a *deus ex machina* in order to accomplish his ends.

This whole portion of the book is distinctly bourgeois. It is the idea that you must first change human nature and that once you have succeeded in reaching the minds of the people that everybody can be converted. Some of his suggestions of the future society are also more fantastic than probable and in many cases are of a character that will undoubtedly be used against the socialists. This is much more true because of the fact previously mentioned that Comrade Wells takes an active part in the socialist movement.



## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### NEW SOCIALIST BOOKS.

The four new books announced in last month's Review were published early in October and a good supply of each title is on hand.

**The Positive Outcome of Philosophy**, by Joseph Dietzgen, is the most important addition that has been made for years to the socialist literature available to American readers. Joseph Dietzgen ranks with Marx and Engels as one of the first to give definite shape to the socialist philosophy. We published in June a volume entitled "Philosophical Essays", containing Dietzgen's shorter works. The present volume contains his three principal writings, "The Nature of Human Brain Work", "Letters on Logic" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy". These are large, handsomely printed volumes, containing 362 and 444 pages respectively, and if they had been issued by a capitalist publishing house, the price would have been fixed at not less than two dollars a volume. But this publishing house is run not for profit but to make intelligent socialists. And the liberality of Eugene Dietzgen, son of the author, who has paid for the translating, type-setting and electrotyping of these two volumes, enables us to offer them at \$1.00 each postpaid to any address; to our stockholders 60c postpaid.

**The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals**, by M. H. Fitch, is Vol. 11 of the International Library of Social Science, of which the Dietzgen books are volumes 5 and 9. This work by Mr. Fitch is an important contribution to the theory of materialist monism generally accepted by socialist writers. Mr. Fitch, however, has reached his conclusions independently from the study of Darwin, Spencer and their successors. A valuable feature of the work is the chapter on Herbert Spencer and his Mistaken Disciples, showing how the bourgeois followers of Spencer deify the Unknowable and make it the center of their philosophy, instead of centering their study on things that can be known. (\$1.00.)

**Social and Philosophical Studies**, by Paul Lafargue, translated

by Charles H. Kerr, contains a striking analysis of the economic causes for the theological habit of mind found among capitalists and their hangers-on. This from a distinguished socialist writer corroborates, and explains the chapter by Mr. Fitch to which we have just referred. Lafargue also explains why the city wage-workers are indifferent to theology and are predisposed toward materialism. In this book the author also studies the origin of abstract ideas, especially the ideas of justice and goodness. His conclusions will be startling to conventional people and entertaining to socialists. (50c.)

**What's So and What Isn't**, by John M. Work, is the most thorough kind of a reply to the numerous objections, both sincere and captious, that are urged against socialism. For propaganda, there is no better book to give an inquirer who has read a general statement of our position and is beginning to ask questions. And any socialist who wishes to talk either from the soap-box or among his friends will find fruitful suggestions here. (50c.)

These four books are ready for delivery and will be mailed on receipt of price.

#### BOOKS IN PRESS.

**Marx's Capital** will, unless some unforeseen accident delays us, be ready on or about November 15. This means the first volume complete, in other words, the whole book which has previously been sold in the English language under the name of "Capital", besides some additions made by Frederick Engels to the last German edition. Moreover our edition is the first to contain an alphabetical index of topics, making the whole work far more convenient for reference. This is the greatest socialist book of the greatest socialist writer. It should be in every socialist library, however small. Ours is the best edition to be had at any price, and our price, postage included, is \$1.20 to our stockholders, \$2.00 to others. The second volume will be announced soon.

**Labriola's "Socialism and Philosophy"**, translated by Ernest Untermann, is all in type, but the final corrections have still to be made, and copies can hardly be ready before December. This volume is easier reading than the author's former work, and is full of interest. There is an appendix by the translator giving a most suggestive and instructive comparison of the writings of Labriola and Dietzgen. (\$1.00.)

**Kautsky's "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History"** will also be ready early in December. Kautsky is perhaps the ablest living interpreter of Marxism, and his subject is one not yet sufficiently covered in our literature, so that the book will be eagerly awaited by advanced students. On the other hand, it is not difficult reading, and

can be understood by any one who has read a few good books on socialism. (50c.)

Simons' "Class Struggles in America", with references proving beyond a doubt the startling assertions he has made, is now in the hands of the printers, and will be ready for delivery some time in December. (50c.)

Morgan's "Ancient Society" is already in type, but as it is a large book the corrections and electrotyping will still take some time. We expect to have copies ready for delivery by the middle of December. This great work has always sold and still sells in New York for \$4.00. Our price to our stockholders will be 90c postpaid, to others \$1.50.

Other important books are in preparation, but we will not solicit advance orders until we can announce the approximate dates of publication.

**What to Read on Socialism.** The new edition of this book, fully described on page 254 of last month's Review, is now ready. A single copy will be mailed free to any one requesting it; extra copies will be mailed for one cent each, or will be sent by express at purchaser's expense for 50c a hundred.

**Confessions of a Drone.** This striking indictment of the capitalist system by Joseph Medill Patterson, originally published in the New York "Independent", is now ready as No. 45 of the Pocket Library of Socialism (5c.) With it are printed "Marshall Field's Will" and "The Socialist Machine", by the same author. The booklet is one that is sure to be read, and the last section of it is the best popular explanation of the socialist party organization that has ever been circulated. Either 45 copies of this booklet or a full set of the 45 numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism will be mailed to any address for \$1.00. Our stockholders, however, can have 100 copies of the Pocket Library of Socialism, either one kind or assorted, postpaid for \$1.00. Ten dollars will pay for a share of stock; it gives the privilege of buying all our books at cost.

### THE FINANCES OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE.

In September, as announced in last month's Review, we broke all previous records, and in October, the month just closed, we have set a new record. Our book sales for the month were \$1,940.04, our receipts from the sale of stock \$382.15 and from the International Socialist Review \$180.06,—a total of \$2,502.25.

This means that the publishing house is now on a self-supporting basis. The book sales are sufficient to cover the running ex-

penses, and the proceeds from the sale of stock can be put into the plates of new books. We are, however, publishing so many new books at the same time that more money is urgently needed within the next two weeks to pay the printing bills that are coming due and to save the cash discount on our paper bills. The plates of "Capital" and "Ancient Society" together will cost over \$1,200. The publishing house is now owned by 1,540 socialist locals and individual socialists. If each of these will send \$1.80 for the four books published last month, \$1.20 for "Capital", and 90c for "Ancient Society", the cost of the plates would easily be covered. But new editions of the books would have to be printed, and that would take more money. Besides, not all the stockholders are book-buyers.

At least half the money ought to be raised this month from the sale of new stock. An investment of \$10.00 gives the privilege of buying all our books at cost, and at the same time helps us in the most effective possible way to increase the output of real socialist books, the kind that will help the socialist party, not Mr. Hearst. Probably a thousand of the socialists who read this announcement have already decided to subscribe for stock some day. Do it now and help us keep things moving.

### THE REVIEW.

The International Socialist Review is going to be a great deal better next year than it ever has been yet. More people are interested in it, there are going to be more subscribers, and that will give more money to pay for improving it.

The one complaint has been that the Review is hard reading. Now we never intended nor do we intend in the future to make it a kindergarten magazine. If you want to convert a workingman who knows nothing of socialism, the Review is not what you should start him with; give him Spargo's book "The Socialists" or some of the booklets in the "Pocket Library of Socialism."

There are also plenty of weekly papers, besides the Chicago Daily Socialist, all of which are excellent for the kindergarten class, while many socialists find pleasure in reading them.

But there are a few socialists, and not so few as formerly, who realize that socialism has hard problems to deal with, and want to know more about these problems. The Review is meant for these socialists, and also for students who wish to make an impartial study of the scientific basis of socialism and its application to current problems.

The main difficulty we have had thus far has been that few socialist writers are at once clear thinkers and masters of literary style, while such writers often have to live off their literary work and could not afford to contribute unpaid articles. We shall begin-

ning with the first of the year be able to make a small expenditure each month toward paying for articles that could not otherwise be secured, and we shall give preference to those written in a style that will readily be understood by any party member.

We believe that every socialist local would be immensely strengthened in its working effectiveness if each member were to become a regular reader of the Review. We can not take any subscription for less than \$1.00 a year, but for \$2.00 we will send postpaid Marx's "Capital" or any of our other books to the amount of \$2.00 at retail prices, with the Review one year. If every reader will find us one new subscriber this month, the deficit will be a thing of the past, and the Review will be more attractive and equally instructive.

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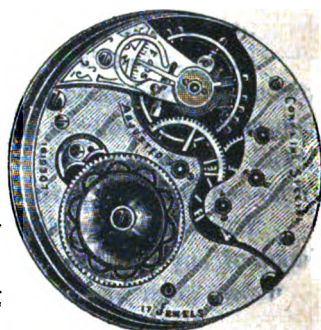
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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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# The International Socialist Review

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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## At the German Congress.

**I**T is rather startling to one, whose impressions of socialist movements have been confined almost entirely to the United States, to enter into one of the largest and most beautiful halls in the world—a hall seating 10,000 persons—and find it packed to the point of suffocation with delegates, party members, and friends of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. I speak of entering; as a matter of fact it took me two hours to enter. Relying upon my experience at home for guidance I went a half hour late. When I came near the hall I saw an immense throng of people, surely not less than three or four thousand, standing before the doors. I congratulated myself on not being any later and hurriedly elbowed my way among the people in order to be as near the entrance as possible when the doors should be opened. But before I had gone far, I discovered that the hall was already over-crowded and that we were shut out! None of us was of a mind for that and so we broke a few window panes; but it was of no avail—we were informed that the hall would support no more and that the authorities would permit no one else to enter. Fortunately however for me most of those outside went away after a time, and somewhat later, as a few of those inside began to come out, I slipped in.

Inside and outside it was an impressive sight. They were workmen—to a man. And they were of that type of workman which one too rarely sees outside of Germany. They were not pale, anemic and undersized such as one sees in the East End of London, or in the factory districts of Lancashire, nor were they the tense, exhausted workmen that issue from the factories of the United States. It seemed as if they had escaped

somehow the perfected system of labor-exploitation which exists with us. They looked as if they were getting a loaf or two of bread the best of the struggle with the capitalists. They were serious-minded, ruddy-faced, muscular and one could see that they had saved from the exploitation of the capitalists enough physical and mental strength to live like men during their leisure hours. I should be willing to wager that physically or mentally they could hold their own in the essentials with any other class in Germany. These were my observations shoulder to shoulder with the mass outside.

Inside other things impressed me. I was squeezed so tight amongst the fellows about me that I could not see them and I contented myself with looking across a sea of faces such as I had never seen massed in one place before. Clear and resonant over this sea came the voice of Bebel. A few months ago I saw in New York a convention of American citizens standing on chairs and for twenty minutes waving their hats and arms, as if they had lost completely their senses, in order to show their appreciation of a candidate for office. They were mal-contented, they were in fear lest their liberties should be lost them, and they wanted a Moses to save them; this they thought was he. Here in Mannheim I see an old man talking to his sons. He has seen the movement grow up from its childhood. For nearly half a century he has served it with faithfulness and with power. He has worked his entire life for this thing; yes more, he has over-worked and not seldom has he been vexed, wearied and out of heart. In this service he has grown grey, and furrowed, and great. Today he is the ablest man in the German Reichstag and one of the ablest and most powerful debaters in the world. Every man in this gigantic hall knows his worth, knows his greatness, and loves him; but instead of grovel and hysteria they give him the good round applause of fellowship and of affection. It lasts perhaps fifty seconds and then they stop *to listen to what he has to say*. If what he says were nonsense I think they would let him know, for they have not intoxicated themselves with a frenzied and worked-up emotion. It was admirable. Without hysteria and without the worshipping of heroes or the seeking of a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness this German proletariat is coming to its own. They know their wilderness and they are sure of their own capacity for hewing the paths and bridging the streams out of the miasma of forest and swamp into the warmth and Sunshine of the New Time.

Such was the first general gathering, the night before the regular opening of the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The next day at 8 o'clock sharp the delegates assembled for their regular work. The entire floor of a large theatre was occupied by the delegates, from 385 electoral

districts of Germany and by about 80 members of the Reichstag. The representatives of the press to the number of a hundred sat about the tribune and the galleries were crowded with visitors. The guests from other countries occupied positions upon the platform. Most of the session was taken up with hearing from the foreign delegates and with the report of the Executive committee of the Party. Perhaps the most interesting news in this report is that the Party is to open a school in Berlin to train the editors, lecturers and secretaries for the movement. It was also given out that 348,237 or 12.67 per cent of those voting the socialist ticket are affiliated with the party organization, and that the socialist press has 837,000 subscribers.

It is of course quite impossible to discuss in any adequate way the work of the congress, in space which is necessarily as limited as that of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. For instance two entire days were given to the discussion of questions arising out of the administration of the party's affairs. After that two days were given to the debate upon the General Strike or what the Germans significantly call the *politischen Massenstreik*. Within recent years the idea of the General Strike has gained many adherents in the European Movement. In Belgium it has been used twice; once with signal success, and the immense revolutionary power resting in its natural and proper use was shown once in Russia. As a result there has been a demand on the part of the more extreme sections of the party, the hotter heads and especially the anarcho-socialists, for its adoption as an ordinary weapon of the working classes against the power of the State and the tyrannies of the capitalist class. It is known to the readers of the REVIEW that at the Congress of the Trade Unions at Cologne, several months previous to the Congress of the Social Democratic Party at Jena in 1905, all idea of the propaganda for the General Strike was rejected. But the socialist congress at Jena nevertheless gave recognition to its value and advocated its use. Bebel had himself spoken in its favor. Later however when the party was considering the development of an immense propaganda to conquer universal suffrage for election to the Prussian Landtag and to retort to the assaults directed against universal suffrage in certain other German states, and violent outbreaks were feared, Bebel declared that the moment for a General Strike had not come and that he would oppose all propaganda looking to immediate action of that character. The way in which this series of events transpired created a lively discussion and to clear up the entire matter the subject of the General Strike was put upon the program for this congress.

Bebel's discourse was interesting, instructive and convincing as always. It is probable that it will be translated in full

and therefore it is unnecessary to give more than a few significant sentences which seem to me to be the essence of his position. It was an address of two hours in length, and after summing up the recent history of the subject, he said:

"The general strike can not be organized artificially. It is possible only when the masses are in a high ferment. In Russia the general strike has become stranded. The successful strikes there have not been artificially organized by the workingmen's associations. They have been provoked by events. Last August the workers refused to participate in the strike because they considered it inopportune."

Bebel's position as stated above and especially his opposition to the use of the general strike, except under the most extraordinary conditions and with the accompaniment of a revolutionary state of mind on the part of the masses, called forth a heated discussion. Young Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg especially attacking Bebel's position, but at the closure of the debate Bebel's position was supported by a large vote. Bebel's resolution upon which this debate took place was as follows:

1. "The congress reaffirms the resolutions of the Congress of Jena concerning the general strike.

"The congress recommends again with particular insistence the consideration of those resolutions which favor the reinforcement and development of the party organization, the diffusion of the party press and the reciprocal affiliation of the members of the party to the trade unions and of the members of the trade unions to the political groups.

"As soon as the National Committee of the party recognizes the necessity of a general strike, it must put itself in relation with the National Committee of the trade unions in order to take all the measures necessary to assure the action a fruitful result.

2. "The trade unions are organizations indispensable to the bettering of the conditions of the workers under the present state of society. These organizations do not concede a position of greater importance to the Social Democratic Party, which carries on the struggle for the uplifting of the working class and for its political rights, in opposition to the other classes. The Social Democratic Party has for its mission, besides these immediate tasks, the deliverance of the working class from all oppression and exploitation, by the abolition of the wage-system and by the organization of a system of production, distribution and exchange based upon a social equality. This is an end which the trade union workman, having a class conscience, should equally pursue. The two organizations are therefore frequently called upon to understand and to co-operate with each other in their struggles.

"To bring about co-operation in actions, which concern equal-

ly the unions and the party, the committees of direction of both parties should seek to understand one another.

"The invitation for the joint meeting of the two National Committees should be issued by that organization which particularly desires the joint meeting."

Kautsky created an important discussion by proposing an amendment to this resolution saying: "The trade unions are not less necessary than the socialist party" and to the paragraph which follows the following addition:

"In order to assure the unity of thought and of action of the party and of the unions, who can powerfully co-operate in the victorious march of the proletariat, it is necessary that the unions should be dominated by the spirit of the Social Democratic Party. It is therefore the duty of each member of the party to act in this sense in the unions, and to feel themselves bound by the decisions of the congresses of the party as much in their unions as in their political action. This is conformable to the interest even of the trade union movement, because the social democratic movement is the most elevated and the most extensive form of the class struggle of the proletariat and no proletarian organization can answer for its end if it is not inspired by the socialist spirit."

This resolution brought up the much discussed question of the neutrality of trade unions. It proposed to put the unions, at least so far as their general tendencies were concerned, under the domination of the socialist party. It is of course known that Kautsky is a partisan of the view that the unions should not be neutral politically. But after a discussion of his amendment the last part, the important part, was withdrawn and a new amendment as follows put and carried by a large majority:

"To assure the unity of thought and of action of the party and of the unions, which is supremely necessary to the victorious march of the proletarian class struggle, it is indispensable that the unions should be permeated by the spirit of social democracy. It is the duty of all members of the party to work toward this end."

Such were, or at least it seemed so to me, the most important decisions of the Congress. In any case I am not endeavoring here to mention in any comprehensive way the detailed work of the Congress. I am giving my general impression of its personnel and strength.

The thing that impressed me most in the German movement was its distinct proletarian character. I spoke of this to Ledebour, the member of the Reichstag from Liebnicht's old constituency. He agreed with me and remarked that it had become noticeably more so in recent years. The opposition to the party on the part of the middle class parents, the instructors in the

schools and universities had been effective in keeping men of better education out of the movement and it was now quite necessary to have a school of their own to train the youth of the working classes as editors for their party press and as secretaries to the party. But as the proletarian character of the movement struck me so did the independent and free discussion which took place. The leaders, the editors and the representatives in the Reichstag were called to account for every act that could justly be questioned or was of a controversial character. The German rank and file are not being blindly led anywhere and while Bebel's power is immense it results—aside from his exceptional ability—from the scrupulous care with which he presents his side of any case. To those who hear Bebel there can be no mistaking of his position. His sincerity and the way an idea dominates his mind so that he can present it from every conceivable point of view to his audience enables him to carry his party with him. Thorough, painstaking thinking, clear and forceful repetition of his thought with exhausting care to make his position clear to the most obstinate opponent or the most stupid auditor is to my mind the great secret of this extraordinary man's success. It is a power which Lincoln had, only to my mind Lincoln had it in a more gifted way. He was usually able to make his position clear in a few words. Bebel attains the same end but at times only by the most laborious means.

It struck me also that the party was to all outward appearances extremely conservative, (Some one will please hold down the editor of the REVIEW! I am not through my sentences.) I do not mean that they do not take the most advanced ground in their political programme or that they dilute in any way the revolutionary aim of the movement. What I mean is that they are not uselessly offending anyone. Inside the party they are extremely careful not to offend the more backward and slow-moving elements. They are even willing to sacrifice some positions which they would otherwise take or hold in order to retain the adhesion of the less revolutionary elements. They are scrupulously careful not to offend the trade unions. I suppose a majority of the congress wished to have Kautsky's resolution adopted but they were afraid to press it.

Outside the party they are quite as careful not to give the reactionary elements in the Empire any unnecessary excuse for their attacks. For instance it is unquestionable that Bebel, aside from, what seems to me, his sound theory of the *milieu* which must exist as a soil for the proper incitement and development of the successful *Massenstreik*, fears the power of the reaction if it should be too much harassed. For instance, in his speech on the general strike he said:

"My opinion at bottom has never varied. I have always said

that the general strike can not be organized in Prussia as in other countries. We are in the presence of a violent reaction, malicious and brutal, against which we can not launch an organization such as so important a struggle demands. To attempt such an adventure with out being prepared, is to furnish to the reactionaries, to the *agents provocateurs*, the very occasion they desire to reduce still further that which remains of our liberties."

That it seems to me is a pretty conservative stand for the leader of so great a party to take. But Bebel unquestionably relies upon parliamentary methods and strength for the attainment of the socialist ends. Perhaps he is so extremely cautious just now because he wants nothing to interfere with the prospect the party has at the next election of taking from the conservatives several seats in the eastern provinces and from the clericals some of their seats in Westphalia. Indeed only by doing so can the prophecy of Bebel, that they would poll at the next general election 6,000,000 votes, be realized. So far as I can judge Bebel is not yet ready to hold a test of strength with the opposition. They are losing in strength; social democracy is every day gaining. The workingmen must still further unite and become conscious of the historic role which they are to play before they can throw off "their chains." Until both of these objects of the party are more completely attained it might lose much that it has already gained if it were to attempt to move now by revolutionary methods. This attitude of the party is both conciliatory and conservative. It seems to me both far seeing and profoundly wise. It is the peace, calm and power of a youthful giant. He is like Siegfried. He can wait for he is growing. Others may bluster and bluff. He has no weakness to conceal and no organic disease gnawing at his vitals. When he moves every one is conscious of his presence and their breasts are agitated. They too know that day by day this Titan grows.

•        ROBERT HUNTER.



## Starting a Daily Socialist Paper.

Most of the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW are probably aware that at last we have a daily socialist newspaper in the English language. Not many of them, however, know the story of its birth and its rapid growth.

A few weeks before the last election some of the Chicago comrades decided to attempt the publication of a daily campaign sheet. It was proposed to run this for only the two weeks before election day and to make it largely a means of local propaganda. As soon as the project was announced it began to grow. The demand for it was larger than was anticipated. Comrade Joseph Medill Patterson was secured as editor, and then it was decided to include some news. The service of the Scripps-McRea Press Association was secured, and a small corps of correspondents enlisted.

Then began a strange story that shows over again the boundless capacities of the working-class movement. From every corner of the country the subscriptions began to pour in. While a circulation of five or six thousand, or perhaps ten thousand at the most, had been expected, the mail subscriptions alone soon passed that point, with bundle and street sales still to be heard from.

Then arose a new problem, born of this very excess of prosperity—a problem that well-nigh proved the undoing of the whole project. The Chicago subscriptions had reached a point where the original idea of distribution by voluntary efforts became out of the question. The time was too short to perfect the necessary arrangements for a proper handling by the regular carriers, although the most strenuous efforts were made in this line,—many of the comrades working twenty-four hours at a stretch. So it was that hundreds who had subscribed for the paper for the original two weeks were unable to obtain their papers. This could not but cause much dissatisfaction in spite of all explanations.

Nevertheless there began to arise a cry for permanent publication. At first those who were most closely connected with the paper, and who therefore knew the difficulties of such an undertaking, frowned upon this idea. Then took place a stranger phenomenon. From almost every state in the Union there came letters, literally by the hundreds, demanding that the paper be not allowed to stop. Many of these contained money for continuous subscriptions, although no regular paper had been an-

nounced. Others contained pledges of assistance to establish permanent publication.

In the face of this very evident demand the Chicago comrades decided to announce the continuance of the Chicago Daily Socialist. At once a mass of subscriptions began to pour in. Almost no advertising had been done. Indeed there was absolutely no capital at hand with which to advertise. For some time the subscriptions coming in by mail alone were sufficient to pay all the running expenses. A stock company was organized and a considerable sum has been realized in this way to meet the necessary expenses of preliminary organization.

Of course it is recognized that this rush of "prosperity" will not probably be continuous,—that is unless the paper continues to break all precedents in journalism. There will probably come times of struggle and difficulty, but the eagerness with which the paper has been received would seem to indicate that there will be a ready response when these times come.

A word about the character of the paper. It was intended in the beginning to issue an eight page paper, but this was soon given up in favor of a more "live" four page. The watch-word of the editorial and news department has been "condense and make alive". Cartoons are used liberally, a continued story is run, and numerous "features" are "played up". Socialist propaganda is confined to the editorial page, and to the headlines.

In the gathering of news the paper will stand a fair comparison with any evening paper. At least that has been the verdict of some of the best non-socialist newspaper men in the United States. A striking feature has been the publication of a number of "stories" each day that no other paper would dare to print. These have been largely obtained through the assistance of the thousands of readers of the paper who are employed in the institutions and industries exposed. Throughout the paper has adopted the policy of fearlessly publishing facts, and its reporters have been congratulated over and over again by men and women who had no sympathy with the editorial policy because it was the only paper in Chicago that dared to tell the truth on matters before the public.

Although at the present time only four pages are published, because of very little space being occupied by advertising, there is nearly as much actual news matter published as in the average evening daily, and this in a much more condensed form. Advertising patronage is now on the increase, and it is proposed to increase the size of the paper so that it will publish more and more matter. But it is not now intended to ever compete with the padded pages of most capitalist dailies.

One of the most interesting phases of the paper has been the immense amount of volunteer assistance received. Men

whose names are known though out the English speaking world have contributed articles free of charge. Well known newspaper writers have given assistance and advice, and written regularly for weeks without remuneration, merely for the sake of speaking what they wished. Reporters from other papers supply the *Socialist* with "tips" and news. Most striking of all has been the great amount of material sent in by the readers. When the paper was first proposed someone stated that it was expected that everyone of the 30,000 members of the Socialist Party would help edit. At once the Chicago dailies saw an opportunity to poke fun at the project, and numerous paragraphs and at least one lengthy editorial appeared ridiculing or philosophizing upon these "thirty thousand editors". Yet this feature soon ceased to be a joke. Every day a large number of letters come to the editorial office from every section of the country giving suggestions, news items, clippings, etc., all of which is the very best of material from which to construct an interesting paper. It is safe to say that almost any daily would pay well could it secure the services of these "thirty-thousand editors."

So much for the past and present, which alone is certain. It has been the policy of the paper up to present time to neither apologize or promise. Yet I am violating no confidence in saying that a large number of features and plans are under consideration for improving future issues. It is not intended to henceforth introduce any new thing however until it has been well thought out, and until it is certain that it can be carried out effectively.

A. M. SIMONS.

## Class Struggles in the Italian Socialist Movement.

FROM a purely numerical point of view the Italian Socialist party with its 45,000 dues paying members, organized in over 1200 local branches, is one of the strongest in Europe, being exceeded only by the German and Belgian parties.

Dr. R. Mitchels has recently made a careful analysis of the membership of this party. He secured answers from 803 branches with 33,686 members. This was in 1903, and showed that 72.18 per cent of the membership belonged to the proletariat, either of the city or the country, while 14.29 per cent were little bourgeois and 38 per cent were designated as intellectuals. The remaining 9.73 per cent were impossible of classification.

In view of the preponderance of the proletarian elements the influence exercised by the intellectuals is certainly remarkable. At the last parliamentary election the Italian socialist party polled 326,000 votes. In addition to this there is also a large number who do not consider political action of such great importance and whose members would be added to the vote cast. Moreover there are many restrictions on universal suffrage which disfranchise a large portion of the Italian proletariat. While in France 28 per cent, in Germany 26 per cent of the adult population have the right to vote, in Italy only 8 per cent are able to enjoy this privilege—4,121,863 Italian citizens belonging to the proletariat are debarred from the right of suffrage. Of the over two million and a half Italian voters only 1,593,886 took part in the last election. Of these 21.34 per cent voted for the socialist party, electing 29 members to parliament. Of these votes Dr. Mitchels shows that 256,874 out of the 326,016 socialist votes came from proletarians while the balance were cast by members of other social classes.

It must be remembered that a large part of the proletarian votes comes from agrarian and not from industrial districts. The little peasants and farm laborers in north and middle Italy are rapidly becoming socialists. The agrarian centers (Bologna, Mantova, Reggio Emilia, etc.) are the strongholds of the party.

The Italian parliamentary elections of 1904 broke across old lines of party division. In nearly all the districts the socialists carried on their fight independently of all other parties. This change was brought about by the first great Italian general strike, which broke out spontaneously as an elementary protest against the repeated military interference of

the government in the struggles between capital and labor. This strike was the "political baptism of the proletariat", as Lombroso has said. It was the first resistance of the independent revolutionary class. The government was so frightened at the display of force that it yielded to the pressure of reaction, dissolved parliament and ordered reelections. Thanks to the assistance of the worst reactionary elements the socialist parliamentary group was reduced.

#### EFFECT OF GENERAL STRIKE.

But while the representation in parliament was weakened by the general strike the vote of the party was almost doubled and the proletariat gained in strength and revolutionary consciousness, to an extent which is almost incalculable. For the first time the unions realized their power and real mission. It was especially in the great cities of northern Italy, where the bourgeois elements had been somewhat friendly to socialism that the vote fell off.

The increase in the vote means an increase of the proletarian elements of the party. Very few of the bourgeois voted for socialism since its revolutionary aim and its distinct class character were now clearly evident. Many of the little farmers and of the underpaid state employes of the railroads, post and telegraph service, the majority of whom are organized in unions, voted the socialist ticket. The same was also true of the elementary school teachers. It was the intellectuals who laid the foundation for the Italian Socialist Party. Their heroic conduct in the early days was marked with the same unselfishness that we see today in the Russian intellectuals. Their convictions, however, were largely of an ethical nature and it was natural that their propaganda should be influenced by this fact.

Thus the ideological and sentimental origin of the Italian Socialist Party is evident but this does not prevent that party from being clearly proletarian, and this notwithstanding its strong bourgeois following.

Arturo Labriola when analyzing the modern socialist tendencies shows that in almost all countries the time comes when the separation of the socialist party from the strictly economic movement leads to a conflict. "The moral lead of the proletariat passes to the socialist party which represents the interest of the working men. Yet the socialist party is not a class organism composed of persons living under the same general economic conditions but rather a normal organism composed of persons brought together by acceptance of a common ideological standpoint independent of their class position. It is granted that the ideal standpoint must serve certain definite class interest and whatever may be the class origin of the components of a party

It is always understood that they would sacrifice their original class interests for the ideals they have chosen to defend. But it can never be definitely determined in how far the primitive class instinct which subsists in every man identifying him with the class in which he was born still exists. This gives rise to the peril that the socialist party might be dominated by men of bourgeois origin until the whole workingman's movement might be turned over to serve interests antagonistic to those of the class of workingmen. There has always been a certain antagonism in the Italian Socialist movement between the intellectuals and bourgeois elements on the one side and the proletariat on the other."

The intellectuals have almost exclusively dominated the Italian socialist parliamentary fraction. They play the leading part in almost all local political branches of the party. They are editors of the party papers and secretaries of union and labor exchanges. These men come from the rank of the real intellectual proletariat compelled to earn their living. Hundreds of them are employed by the party and by workingmen's organizations. Because of this situation the Italian Socialist Party has never shown much enthusiasm for anything but political questions.

The bloody revolution of Milan (1898) was followed by a great repression on the part of the government. Especially the anarchists were persecuted and sent in large numbers to jail or into exile. The reaction, instead of strengthening the movement, depressed it. The large bourgeois element of the party got scared; they did not want to be troubled on account of their ideas and from that time they have used all their influence to accentuate the elective and legal character of the party. Political action becomes more and more degraded to and identified with electioneering. But at the same time many workingmen have joined the party whose influence began to be felt, for they commenced to take active leading parts.

#### FIGHTING SOCIALISM WITH REFORM.

Soon the government realized the futility of fighting socialism with brutal force and changed its tactics. Saracco's cabinet (1900) began to propagate social reforms on a large scale, trying to pacify the workingmen by promising slight reforms of the present system, which might procure them fairly good conditions of existence. Military interference in the struggles between capital and labor ceased, while hitherto the government had always defended the capitalist side.

The socialist party soon lost its orientation. It was accustomed to politics of oppression and knew the arms with which

to fight it. Now it did not know what attitude was to be taken toward the politics of concession. There were divergent opinions in the party in and out of parliament. We can distinguish two main currents. The first wanted to exploit the offered help and freedom, was friendly toward the government and has more than once suggested active participation in its action. This current, represented by Turati and his followers, is called revisionism. The other side led by Enrico Ferri and the revolutionists, represented the class-struggle standpoint. It refused to lend support to the government. Though it was for accepting all propositions concerning the people's welfare, it has always rejected the idea of a systematical support of the regime of the "menio peggio" (lesser evil).

Both fractions, almost equally strong, contested the supremacy of the party. Their tactics being diametrically opposed, it was impossible to have a unified socialist political action.

An acute crisis has arrived within the party.

Discussions, at first objective, soon degenerated into a campaign of personal denunciation. Revisionists charged revolutionists with incapacity to understand the immediate necessities of the workingmen and accused them of coming to the party in the hope of getting a position. It was easy for the revolutionists to throw the same charge upon the other side, stigmatizing the revolutionists as being political climbers and traitors to the cause. They labeled each other with the significant adjective "socialistic bourgeois".

#### COMPLAINT OF THE PROLETARIAT.

These mutual denunciations of the bourgeois elements and intellectuals have degraded their position in the eyes of the proletariat. The harmful consequences of the ephemeral victory of the revisionists had their reaction upon the workingmen. While the workers have not forgotten the early services of the bourgeois intellectuals, they could not but see that in the struggles led by the intellectuals, their own interests have not been recognized but neglected; that their movement of emancipation served only as a vehicle to carry interests essentially differing from theirs. The animosity on the part of the workingmen against the bourgeois elements within the party grew apace with the growth of the party among workingmen as the organized laborers came to realize their class situation. The leadership of the intellectuals began to be disputed by workingmen who, stirred up by the quarrel, have realized more and more that their influence hitherto exercised upon the party affairs had been altogether ineffective. The animosity grew into hostility. The stagnation in the progress

of the movement was ascribed to the personal quarrels of the bourgeois elements and leaders.

Meanwhile the revisionist or ministerialist current has been victorious. The majority of the party, convinced by the revisionist propaganda, came to believe in the illusion of the democracy of government. At the party convention of Timola (1902) the majority approved and justified the work of the ministerialist parliamentary groups. No wonder, for at that time the liberal cabinet, the promoter of reforms, was in all its splendor, and the revolutionary membership was not yet organized into a strong resisting body.

But ministerialist reform proved to be a solemn fiasco. Workingmen never suffered so much from governmental and military persecution as under the Zanardelli-Giolitti Cabinet, which was supported by the socialist party. Military expenses, for the reduction of which the socialist fraction spent a great deal of effort, were greatly increased. Social legislation was a mere bluff. Ministerialism suffered a crushing defeat along all lines. And then came the answer. At the party convention in Bologna (1904) the anti-reformist proletarian elements marched in closed ranks against ministerialism and their resolution proposed by Ferri was carried by a great majority.<sup>1</sup>

But as Labriola very correctly notes, the real moral crisis of the Italian Socialist Party does not lie in the fact that the parliamentary group has voted in favor of the cabinet, but in the possibility that the socialist parliamentary group and the party organization were the means of writing, declaring and scattering notions which diverged entirely from the revolutionary ideas of socialism and the tactics of a revolutionary movement.

To define the socialism of the Italian reformists is very easy. It consists in affirming that the working classes should work in accordance with the other classes of society and with the liberal and democratic parties in order to realize certain definite reforms. By such reforms the various public services should be turned over to and operated by the state or city. The reforms are for the promotion of a great but not definite work of social legislation. The workingmen must actively participate in public life to prepare themselves for the management of collective affairs. With absolute respect for the present legal order, they must seek to prevail in electoral assemblies in order to effect other but not the specified reforms. Finally the goal of all these efforts is collectivism, postponed to a very far off epoch, and to be realized by

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<sup>1</sup>) Rendiconto dell' VIII. Congresso Nazionale. Rome 1904. These proceedings are one of the most important documents of the Italian Socialist Party, for here we find the best theoretical presentation of the various tendencies. See the speeches by Lazzari, Marangoni, Labriola, Mocchi, Ferri, Turati, Bissolati.



the gradual extension of state and municipal ownership of industries. Consequently at present the Socialist Party ought to act as a constitutional party of the government. Then in the future it ought to establish a species of state collectivism, respecting acquired possessions and in no ways opposing the capitalist interests. (Labriola.)

With this kind of socialism the Italian Socialist Party has lost practically all its revolutionary color. The reformist activity was encouraged by those whose class interests were favored by the reforms, and largely by those who were won over to socialism through the propaganda of intellectuals and their followers. The reciprocal obligations arising from this situation are clear. The peasants, but especially the little farmers, came to socialism through the evangelic propaganda of the intellectuals, and, not realizing exactly the revolutionary content of socialism yet knowing that socialism means transformation, a betterment, gave their support to the party, hoping for immediate reforms. Their state of mind reacts upon the leaders who are endeavoring to increase the parliamentary representation of the party and induces them to take the way of immediate reforms. From the same intentions originate the work of the party, focused in the struggle against sterile state expenses, against all kinds of corruption and against protective tariff; the demand for the revision of the taxing system, and the claim for better salaries for the state employees. The party transfers the center of gravity of its parliamentary activity to the conquest of advantages benefiting middle-class, little bourgeois and proletarian interests.

The vital interests of the proletariat have been neglected. First of all the voters must be satisfied. The socialist party ceased to be, if it ever was, the representative of the workingmen. The heterogeneity of the human material within the socialist movement resulted in the neutralization of the revolutionary spirit and scope.

#### RESISTANCE TO REFORMISM.

The growing reformism unchained passions and called forth a formidable resistance. The decadent tendency and its supporters were attacked from two different sides; on the one side were the "integralists" on the other the "syndicalists," the revolutionary unionists.

Ferri, the leader of the integralists, who before called themselves revolutionists, not only attacked the attitude of the reformists toward the government, but even denounced as futile their hitherto proposed social legislation.<sup>1</sup> Ferri's propaganda, which emphasized the necessity of evolving a multiform action in order

1) E. Ferri. *II metodo rivoluzionario*. Rome 1902.

to conquer the public powers, was finally successful, inasmuch as the integralists carried a resolution,—the resolution of the golden middle way,—at the last socialist convention, defeating the resolutions of the reformists and revolutionists.

The resolution proposed by Ferri reads as follows:<sup>1</sup>

“The convention, maintaining that the method of class struggle does not admit the support of any governmental program, a participation of the socialists in the cabinet,

“Affirms that the accomplishment of the complex work of the socialist party requires a multiform daily activity intended for the education of socialist consciousness for the critical demolition of the systems of exploitation and parasitism and directed toward the conquest of economic, political and administrative reforms,

“And with the respect of the minority for the resolutions of the majority, affirms the unity of the party in the common work of all socialists.”

Thus the unitary tendency won a formal victory. The resolution passed has not decided anything. It insisted upon a unity of the party, which in reality did not exist. It was equivocal, and, as we shall prove, left open the way for all future ministerialism.

Resolutions cannot master the whirl of events. The Zanardelli-Giolitti cabinet was followed by another period of political mistification. After Giolitti and the double incarnation of Fortis came the Cabinet of Sonnino, greeted by conservatives as well as socialists as the great government of real reforms. The socialist parliamentary groups became very enthusiastic and with the co-operation of the “revolutionist” Ferri passed a resolution to the effect that while the proletariat could put no faith in the politics of any government of the bourgeois classes, the group resolved to give a favorable vote in order to put the new cabinet to the test of facts.

By accepting the program of the government, the parliamentary group violated the discipline of the party. And Ferri's revolutionism proved to be only a formal distinction. While he declares that the resolution of the group cannot be judged as being a systematical support of the government, but only a transitory approving of its policies, it is undeniable that this last move of his brings him down to the level of the reformists. All essential difference between integralists and reformists has been wiped out.

#### THE GENERAL STRIKE.

This new ministerialistic idyl was soon swept away by the elementary power of a workingmen's manifestation. Under Son-

<sup>1</sup>) Rendiconto dell' VIII. Congresso Nazionale. Rome 1904, P. 134.

nino's short regime military force repeatedly interfered in the case of strikes, shooting down some workingmen. Last May a workingman was killed in Torino. Great excitement seized the proletariat. Under the pressure of an impending upheaval, Turati proposed a law in parliament which should have regulated but not decidedly prohibited military interference at strikes. The proposal was rejected by the "socialistic cabinet." A general strike was the answer. For five days bourgeois society trembled once more for its existence. The direct action of the proletariat made itself felt.

The socialistic members of parliament resigned. There was no other way out of the dilemma. The government they supported left them. They did not approve a general strike, even decidedly opposed it, and it broke out against their will. They lost the ground under their feet. The dissonance between parliamentary and proletarian action, between intellectuals and workingmen never has been so keen as now.

A few days later the cabinet was obliged to resign because one of its propositions was rejected by a majority precisely equal to the number of votes the socialist party could have cast. Thus the cabinet succumbed under the indirect pressure of the action of the organized proletariat. The new premier—again Giolitti—ordered new elections. The socialists returned to parliament weakened by the loss of a few seats.

As early as 1899 began the formation of the other oppositional group already mentioned. It gathered around the socialist weekly, *L'Avanguardia Socialista* of Milan. The group was led by Arturo Labriola,<sup>1</sup> professor in the University of Naples, W. Mocchi, Lazzari and a few other intellectuals. But the proletarian elements prevailed and had a decided influence upon its activity. This group gathered around its banners the majority of the Milanese branch of the Socialist Party and conquered the most powerful of Italian local unions, the Labor Exchange of Milan. A bitter fight was carried on against the predominance of bourgeois elements and their interests in the socialist movement. To this intensive propaganda is due the defeat of the revisionists at Bologna.<sup>2</sup>

Tremendous rapidity characterized the growth of this movement. The spontaneous general strike of 1904 set the workingmen to thinking. They recognized the power of their hitherto latent energies and dormant faculties. At the convention of Labor Exchanges (1905) the majority of the hitherto reformist

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<sup>1</sup>) This writer should not be confused with Antonio Labriola, professor in the University of Rome and author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History" and "Socialism and Philosophy," who died early in 1905. Editor.

<sup>2</sup>) The adherents of this current voted for Ferri's resolution when they saw that their own could not be carried.

unions declared for a general strike in the case of military interference in the conflicts of capital and labor, which attitude involved almost the whole union movement in the new revolutionary drift. Strike upon strike followed. In September 1905 the railroad men surprised the country with a general strike and forced the cabinet to resign. The political and economical potentiality and range of the general strike was fully revealed last May.

The proletariat came to feel at last the productive force of its great collective efforts. It realized that its acts of defense can be evolved into those of offense. It entered a new period in its life. The workingmen have finally learned through the lesson of a series of eventful fights how to demonstrate the force of their will; they finally have found a way of directly asserting their initiative. They will not wait any more for the benevolent decisions of a distinctively class parliament when their very life is in question, but shall henceforth act upon their own account.

The last general strike, more than the previous ones, and the attitude of the different currents of the parliamentary body of the Italian Socialist Party clearly proved the divorce that has come about between the proletariat and its so-called representatives, the existing perilous dissonance between the Socialist Party and the tendencies of the unions.<sup>1</sup> The action of the socialist party culminates in capturing the powers of the state. Consequently it disdains any attempt which could disturb its function of gathering votes and despises any attitude which would enfeeble its capacity of penetration into the very powers of the bourgeois state. The unions by the reality of social life are forced to combat face to face the capitalists and their legal institutions.<sup>2</sup> Now it became perfectly clear that the action of the proletariat by its very nature is directed against the state and culminates in the expropriating general strike.

It is irrevocably proved that unions are the most important decisive co-efficients of proletarian politics and that consequently it is necessary to gradually transfer to them the functions of the socialist movement. The socialist party might maintain its function only under one condition, that is, of following the anti-state revolutionary method, unless it returns to its proletarian origins, to its function as being the executive power of the proletariat organized in its unions. Otherwise the socialist party becomes an appendix of bourgeois democracy. The socialist party must choose between two ways; it either goes with democracy toward

1) "Dopo l'Ultimo Sciopero Generale" by the editors of the Socialist Review. *Il Divenire Sociale*. Anno II, Num. 10. Roma.

2) In 1904 as well as last May the unions officially called the workmen to a general strike. In both cases the number of strikers surpassed the number of socialist voters.

conquering the state, or with the revolutionary unions toward the abolition of all bourgeois institutions centered in the state.

The action of the revolutionary organizations has produced unexpected results. All traditional conceptions of the party have been upset. The syndicalist conception, and above all the practical activity of the workingmen's socialism brought back to the labor exchanges, was the weapon with which the old parliamentary and legal socialism has been stricken,—the old socialism which now seemed to have secured its domination in the soul of the Italian working class. These facts brought about a new crisis in the socialist party and movement, the durability, extension and modality of which is difficult to foresee. The old personal and ideological hegemonies seem to be finally overthrown. (Labriola.)

I give here in a few lines the theoretical conceptions which have been deduced from the new facts.<sup>1</sup>

#### ARGUMENT AGAINST PARLIAMENTARISM.

Parliaments are not and cannot become organs of social revolution. The inherent social and economical qualities and tendencies of parliamentarism limit the possibilities of reforms. The reformist conception that revolution is the result of an accumulation of reforms is absurd. It is practically and scientifically false. It is a most ridiculous utopian supposition that a socialist party ever can obtain a majority in the parliaments of any country. The social revolution which shall establish the "autonomous government of production managed by the associated working class" (Labriola) is above all a technical and economic fact which cannot be called into existence by an incompetent assembly such as the parliaments of all countries are; but must result from the autonomous development of the capacity and from the spontaneous initiative of those who attend to the process of production. The fundamental economic relations of the successive economic forms of society are infinitely rigid. In spite of the various and intensive transformations the capitalist society has undergone, the juridical relations between capitalist and wage-worker have not suffered any essential mutation. That shows that the social environment, within which an economic organism operates, might be reformed without affecting the economic organism. The revolutionary work must be an inner work, a series of mutations in the balance of the several parts of the economic organism and cannot be an outer process, a result of a series of legislative influences and friendly transactions between the various parliamentary parties.

<sup>1</sup>) I shall try in a separate essay to explain the scientific system of French and Italian syndicalism. The limits of this article, already outgrown—forbid by going deeper into this subject.

Thus the mission of revolutionary unionism, as the bearer of the emancipation of the workingmen, is not that of capturing the powers of government. Its political role is to empty the bourgeois political organism of all its life and transfer all valuable features it contains to the unions.

The economic task of the unions, which are losing more and more their purely corporative character to become organs embracing all interests of the workingmen, is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, the wage system. Its political mission is the absorption of the state, which is nothing else but the collective capitalist. Revolutionary unionism cannot co-operate in furthering the growth of the state. It cannot further the extension of state activity, for it would mean the extension of capitalism's rule. Everything which reduces the powers of the state is done in the interest of the movement of the workingmen. Everything which weakens the force of the state gives more force to the unions, intensifies the class struggle, accelerates the process of taking possession of the means of production by the associated workingmen.<sup>1</sup> It must be emphasized that the political function of revolutionary unionism is purely negative, tending to eliminate the obstacles which hinder the face to face fight of capitalism and unionism and the development of the working-class.

The revolutionary act of taking possession of the means of production of each industry by the unions of each industry, determines the passage from capitalism to socialism. The transformation is brought to a close by an expropriating general strike, the only modern form which permits the proletariat to become its own directing actor and factor of its own history.

The mechanical conception of capturing the powers of government through parliaments has been replaced by a larger, more multiform, more organic conception of the class struggle, which culminates in the thought that the unions, fraught with revolutionary aims are the instruments and bearers of social revolution.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Sorel. "L'Avenir Socialiste des Syndicats" Paris 1901, p. 51 and 60.

ODON POR.

*Florence, September 1906.*

## The Italian Socialist Convention.

I TRIED to express above\* that practice has eliminated all essential differences between the integralists, the fraction holding the traditional revolutionary notions and the reformists. The political activity of the socialist party,—prescribed and determined by the various diverging interests of the numerous and dissimilar elements the party embraces—necessarily arrives at a point where it must use all means offered by the present system, especially that of legislation, to realize immediate advantages favoring classes largely depending upon the extension of the powers of the state, while the vital proletarian interests, which cannot be realized unless through direct pressure upon capital, must be neglected, pushed into the background; for the actual effective inner forces of the party tend to a political and not to an economical struggle.

Reformism has been justified through the test of practice. The traditional revolutionary party now faces a dilemma. It either endorses reformism and extends its parliamentary work or else returns to the proletarian origins of the movement, renounces all acquired parliamentary prestige, abandons as the central activity the gathering of votes, dissolves the old forms of political organizations and resumes the revolutionary work upon the basis of purely proletarian organizations and pronouncedly workingmen interests.

However, the socialist party, not being virile enough to face the problem with an explicit decision, has taken the more comfortable way of compromise. This kind of solution has suited the peaceful spirit of the predominant bourgeois aspirations.

The resolution of the integralists, compiled by Ferri and his worshipers, has been accepted by the last congress of the party. Twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-seven votes carried the propositions of unitary integralism, against 5,278 votes given for revolutionary unionism.

No wonder! The victorious resolution is a marvelous compilation of Marxism, the theories of Benoit Malon, of reformism and syndicalism. The integralist proposition, through its formal oneness attracts the untrained and immature minds of the unconscious workingmen, and charms the aesthetic sense of the bourgeois, who abhors straight opposition and is always seeking reconciliation. And by restoring harmony between contradicting

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\*) This part of the article is written the day after the last socialist convention, Rome, October 7th—10th, 1906.

theories and between vitally different practical activities it presumes to save the unity of the party.

Integralism, though leaving out some practical exaggerations of reformism, embodies the reformist activity, and by accepting some minor syndicalist conceptions it flirts with revolutionary unionism. The reformists and all their most prominent leaders withdrew their resolution and endorsed integralism. The fusion of the traditional revolutionists with the reformists, long ago accomplished in practice, has been at last officially announced. The syndicalists have all voted for Labriola's resolution. The discussion between revisionism and traditional revolutionism is closed. The horizon is cleared. The problems of Italian socialism became simplified, but in the meantime sharpened. Henceforth only two fractions face each other: integralists and syndicalists. The fight has not been brought to an end. Living issues keep it alive,—living issues brought forth by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Conventions represent a moment of transitory excitement, of psychological effervescence, created by many causes and infinite elements which are unfamiliar to the homogeneous functions and continuance of the organisms which live the every day life. Conventions might formally resolve upon questions which have been solved long ago in practice, but resolutions cannot check the growth of inflexible social tendencies. They might retard or interrupt their progress but never shall impede their march toward a final realization.

Syndicalism has been defeated at the convention. But it lies in the consciousness of the infinite elements of the workingmen, who do not want to be protected and taken in tow by people who cannot understand their very interests and their revolutionary spirit tempered by the every day fight they wage against capital.

Labriola has precisely translated this proletarian consciousness, exclaiming in his passionate defense of revolutionary unionism: "We do not want labor legislation! We do not care that the workingmen should work more or less! We want the struggle! Struggle means life. And underneath the struggle lies victory." The convention applauded furiously this conscious confession. The syndicalists will not give up their fight. Fight means life to them.

Here follows the integralist resolution:

"The general principles of the socialist party are: The final aim of the socialization of the means of production, the method of the class struggle and the faith in a gradual development of socialism within the bourgeois society.

"In order to realize this scope the socialist party uses all legal means, reserving the use of violence when the dominating classes should hinder the use of legal means.



"The socialist party is unfolding a practical action tending:

"To propagate the general principles of socialism: to consider as its greatest task the development of the economic organizations (unions, co-operatives, mutual aid societies, etc.) and to conquer from the public powers a labor legislation which should integrate and generalize the fragmentary conquests of the economic organization, unifying them, confirming the decisions of the proletarian organization.

"To extend the collective dominion in the form of democratic municipalization and nationalization.

"To elevate the conditions of the social environment through conquering the political liberties, by increasing the culture of the proletariat, by the struggle against political and administrative corruption, through the development of the economic powers of the country.

"To use the pressure of the general strike also when the question of greater demands comes up, to accentuate the antimonarchical and anticlerical propaganda and also that of antimilitarism in order to educate the Italian youth in the socialist spirit, to neutralize the tendency of the dominating classes to use the army as an organ of antiproletarian repression.

"To control the correct application of laws favoring the proletariat.

"Consequently the party refuses.

"To abandon the propaganda of the general principles; and rejects obligatory co-operation with the government;

The systematical alliance with the radical parties;

The excessive and absorbing care for local questions which are not specifically proletarian or concern the general interests of the country;

Any action which is or seems to be an acquiescence to the form of monarchical government;

The frequent and excessive use of the general strike;

The insistent call to violence which disturbs and handicaps the practical worth of proletarian organizations;

The exaltation of the direct action, which is directed to discredit and not to integrate the representative action;

The anti-state premise in so far as it signifies discrediting or rejecting social legislation or means the negation of a socialist state;

The tendency to eliminate from the party the socialists who are not manual laborers;

The conception of transferring abolished private property to the unions.

The party realizes as its most urgent necessity to increase the forces and better rapidly the conditions of the proletariat and the social environment, this activity needs: unison and discipline.

Therefore the party appeals to all comrades for intense activity, stigmatizes evil polemics and in order to leave the greatest liberty for discussion it demands from the minority respect for the deliberations of the majority."

"Regarding the parliamentary and electoral tactics the party decides:

"a. that in the electoral struggles inflexibleness (intransigenza) should be the maxim, and flexibleness (transigenza) the exception;

"b. that the parliamentary group of the party cannot approve a governmental program; however, when an exceptional case comes up in which the group finds it necessary to endorse the program of a cabinet, it must consult the direction of the party, the member-

ship of which should be increased, and the congress should elect them with the consideration to include in the direction comrades belonging to the greater economic organizations."

This historical document speaks for itself. Everybody, if unprejudiced, at once realizes its equivocal character, its ambiguous phrasing which leaves open the way to different interpretations and to materially different activities. This resolution does not guarantee that the socialist party shall be henceforth a mere revolutionary party; on the contrary, emanating from the preconception of a successful reconciliation and pacification of contradictory forces and interests, it would exclude a priori every possibility of a revolutionary struggle. It certainly will hinder for a while the development of revolutionary spirit, but shall not kill its already far reaching roots.

The rejected syndicalist resolution is a clearer, a more determined platform of proletarian class struggle. It is an honest declaration of principles, a brave call to arms.

"Considering that the aims of socialist revolution: 1, the expropriation of the capitalist class; 2, the decomposition of the public powers, are the natural results of the increasing potentiality of the working classes and have their instruments in the union organism, which realizes the union of the wage laborers.

"That this process of development of the working class is conditioned by the successive transformation of the trade organisms in organs which represent the totality of the interests and of the movement of the working classes, as well as their immediate practical action, directed to acquire the betterments compatible with the existence of the present society, as well as in the final revolutionary action.

"That the success of the socialist revolution and its proximity depend upon the degree in which the movement of the laboring classes is kept in hostile separation from the other social classes and upon the degree in which the proletariat is constantly directed toward its revolutionary scope.

"That the revolutionary mission is not yet perfectly understood by the Italian union organizations;

"The congress declares:

"1. The socialist party represents purely proletarian interests, interests of workmen dependent upon the capitalist regime;

"2. Its duty is to educate and prompt the union, consequently the class organization of the proletariat, and the socialist party represents the most radical fraction of the proletariat;

"3. The parliamentary action of the party is directed to safeguard the use of the common right for the working classes and to support the legislative desires of the proletariat, firmly sustaining the principle of the separation of the proletariat from any active or passive governmental office;

"4. The revolutionary action of the party is expressed through the specific means of the unional organization, consequently through the general strike, perfected with all means which revolutionary experience shall successively advise, and transfers the functions of the state to the unional organs or to the individual;

"5. According to the things affirmed in the preceding paragraph,

the Italian proletariat finds a particular interest in an active anti-monarchical, antimilitarist and anticlerical propaganda."

The difference between the two resolutions is obvious. The revolutionary activity of the integralists centers in legislative work, the syndicalists believe in the direct activity of the proletariat. The movement of the integralists should be a parliamentary, a political one, while that of the syndicalists one of continual direct action. Integralism is essentially a legislative action, its philosophy is evolution, positivism. Syndicalism is an essentially practical method, lives only with action. Action is its principle and its essence. "Syndicalism does not expect anything from history, but wants to make history. Here lies all its philosophy."

.ODON POR.

October, 1906.

## Reform.

**I**T was Ben Hanford who said something to the effect that our strength is tested not by the way we conduct ourselves in time of adversity, but in time of success. The "unexpectedly large vote" of the Socialist Party in 1904 presented a striking example of the soundness of Hanford's observation. For the vote of over 400,000 offered an irresistible temptation to every sunshine Socialist to calculate by the laws of arithmetical and geometrical progression that the Socialist vote in 1906 would come between 600,000 and 1,000,000 (the difference of half a million in these estimates being of minor importance), and, furthermore, that the Socialist Party would poll anywhere from 2,000,000 to — well, electing a Socialist president in 1908. In fact, the thing that should have been concerning us most all this time is the selection of a committee to arrange the details of the co-operative commonwealth, that there might be no hitch or delay when our president reached the White House.

The fact that modern Socialists are presumed to be thorough-going scientists did not at all seem to militate against some of our number being thorough-going utopians to the extent of rushing into print, especially in professional periodicals, to warn the ruling class that their day of reckoning was at hand. It was no longer a question of the inevitability of Socialism; it was a question of the inevitability of Socialism in 1908—or at least in 1912.

Now, there is no particular harm in prophesying what the Socialist vote is going to be from election to election. It is a source of idle amusement, and if the Socialist movement can be harmed to any great degree, it will likely be not through regarding everything with a sense of humor, so much so as through taking ourselves too seriously and winding up as howling fanatics, engaged in clarifying our ranks by heresy hunting, expulsions and demoralization in general. So let us not be too hard on the self-appointed captains of the proletarian army when their calculations go awry. The more so can we afford to do this since the "army" has manifested no inclination of taking the self-appointed captains seriously.

The reason why the Socialist vote in 1906 was not uniformly greater than that of 1903, we are told, was because of the "reform" movement. Sure enough, whether by coincidence or not, no sooner had the "unprecedented vote of the Socialist Party" finished being commented upon by every capitalist editor

in the country than tremblings and rumblings of reform were heard at various places as though a political earthquake were going to shake the whole country. But in 1905 the reform wave struck only certain states, in 1906 a greater number, and indications point to the movement's coming to a head in 1908.

There are a great many tendencies grouped under the caption "reform." Hearst or "friend-of-labor" politics are reform politics. Schmitz or "union-labor" politics are reform politics. La Follette or "smash-the-machine" politics are reform politics. Dunne or "municipal-ownership" politics are reform politics. Focht—Hoch—Colby and Fagan—Berry and Emery—still reformers completely absorbed with the desire to purify the common life and give us a full dinner pail of civic righteousness. All reform.

To analyze these different reforms and ascertain their distinguishing features would be valueless. We might learn that the leading spirits consisted in unequal parts of disgruntled leaders, politicians on the "outs" trying to break "in"; professional reformers, who dedicate their soul's best energy to the holy cause—for a pecuniary consideration; business men, prompted by the desire to create competition in the legislative labor market, and others who devote themselves from unselfish motives to whatever party they expect to win. But to learn in just what proportion these elements constituted the movements in different localities and climates would avail little. What might more likely be of service, for the purpose of coping with the reform movement in the future, would be to learn just what element there is underlying all reform movements, what element predominates, the element that is really essential to their existence, whatever aspects they may assume according to the character of different peoples.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the increasing of wages after the 1906 election is but a repetition of the action taken after the 1904 election. This may or may not warrant the belief that the Socialist vote had something to do with it.

But let us take the other extreme, the Hearst movement, which is supposed to have been building for many years back. Hearst is the legitimate fruit of the present order as much so as is Rockefeller. The Hearst papers have not outdistanced their rivals because Hearst has less business acumen than Pulitzer and Bennett nor yet because Brisbane is an abler editor than those exploited by Pulitzer and Bennett. The success of the Hearst papers lies in the fact that they cater to the crowd. They understand the psychology of the crowd—and nature moves easiest in the line of least resistance. The kind of stuff that Brisbane writes and the way he writes it is what the crowd wants, and that's the only reason the Hearst papers are the go. The

Hearst papers—with Brisbane—could not be the go in England, which has a different crowd psychology, nor would it have been the go in America fifty years ago.

Let us understand the situation. The masses of the people think they think. That is to say, that while they deplore and condemn existing conditions, they deplore and condemn to no purpose. An insignificantly small percentage are hearty advocates of any specific remedy such as municipal ownership, income tax, eight hour law, abolition of child labor, anarchy, single tax, state capitalism or Socialism. The masses are stirred by the "revelations" of newspaper and magazine scribbling revelators because the mind's eye of the masses can picture the carnival of crime and corruption. If their mind's eye were not peeled, so to speak, they couldn't be made to understand. You can't shock a two year old babe by reading it one of Brisbane's gushes. In the same way the Hearst papers have not created the present discontent and outlook anymore so than has Hearst created the millions of which he happens to be possessed. The discontent was here. The Hearst papers start very few people thinking. The Hearst papers do not make Socialists or unmake them. The truth of the matter is that a host of people vote the Socialist ticket for just as good a reason that a greater lot of people do not vote it. These votes Hearst takes from the Socialist Party, because the voters want *it*—whatever they imagine they want—*now*. Hearst gives *it* to them *now*. And not knowing the difference, their ideas having been very hazy in the first place, they are satisfied until they grow restless again. Then they get *it* again under a new form, being none the wiser. For that reason the votes the Socialist Party lost in the Hearst campaigns were not Socialist votes. There is no such thing as a Hearst Socialist. As we shall see later, it is a contradiction in terms. Hearst doesn't represent Socialism, secured no Socialist votes and did not and cannot hurt the Socialist movement.

A little further. The twentieth century requires twentieth century methods, and the twentieth century produced that specimen of intellectual bankrupt and nincompöop hailed by the crowd as the genius of all time, Willie Randolph Hoist.

Hearst is a composite up-to-date P. T. Barnum. F!a Wheeler Wilcox, Beatrice Fairfax, Dorothy Dix, Arthur Brisbane, Oppen, Carter, and the rest are about as good freaks as Barnum ever imposed upon a gullible public. And the Hearst freaks are to be assured that they are no more to be blamed for being freaks than were the two-headed ladies, human pincushions and wild men from Borneo to be blamed for having been created by God in his own image.

Hearst satisfies New York. Schmitz satisfies San Francisco. Dunne satisfies Chicago. Colby and Fagan satisfy New Jersey.

La Follette satisfies Wisconsin. Berry and Emery satisfy Pennsylvania. All for just a little while. But the people want reform—and they get it. And the people create their own deities, whether Hearst, Schmitz, Colby, La Follette or Berry. And they create them after their own image.

What is to be found in all reform movements? This. The capacity to give the crowd capitalism, under new names, because the crowd while drifting about is not ready for Socialism. It makes little difference to capitalism whether it secures its tariffs, purporting to spring from McKinley statesmanship, or national progress, honor and integrity, so long as it gets the tariffs. And it makes little difference to the capitalist class of New York, in procuring the measures it must and will have, whether it gets them as a result of "plunderbund corruption" or "government by the people". Hearst reform, like all reform, can only mean capitalism (big, not small) growing bigger with the kindly assistance of the Old Parties. Reform means smoothing the way for the industrial juggernaut in its destruction of the life, limb and everything designated by the old school moralists as the soul, virtue, mind, honor, etc., of the human family. For just as in every historical epoch the intellectual superstructure is based upon the method employed by the people in producing and exchanging goods and the social relations following from it, just so every government is bound to be a reflex of the economic status of different classes in society. So a monopolized, centralized, despotic economic system will not tolerate a diversified, democratic and republican form of government. So, as the capitalist system develops, as the ownership of the country concentrates into fewer and fewer hands, so the political powers will concentrate into fewer and fewer hands. The tendency is for the ruling class to also become the governing class.

This is somewhat unique. Where once upon a time the ambitions of submerged ruling classes appealed to the toilers by concessions promised and given them, nowadays the reformers improve their opportunities while fastening the chains tighter upon the toilers from whose shoulders they rise into power. The present economic despotism must needs have political despotism, and it looks as though "reform" would usher in our political slavery. It would be brutally frank for the capitalist class to deprive us of our political liberties in boldly asserting their intentions. But it can be accomplished more smoothly and more agreeably to all parties concerned by being a little more deft about it. More refinement and taste. The people demand it; children cry for it. None genuine without this label—*reform*.

Let us take Pennsylvania for example. And if our analysis proves to be true of Pennsylvania, if it be scientifically accurate, then it will prove true upon application to conditions elsewhere.

Well then. "Never was a state so corrupt and contented as the banner Republican state! Machine made majorities! Legislatures bought and sold! Bank manipulations! Capital building scandal! Rights of the people overridden by predatory corporations! Etc.! Etc.!! Etc.!!!" So we got reform. And a special session of the legislature to "reform" the election laws. What reform? The proposal of a measure to require every candidate to pay a fee running from \$10 to \$50. (Aping the English.) This measure failed of enactment only because the country members are not quite so big capitalists as their city cousins. Wouldn't it have been *reform* for the working class if last November (1906) it would have had to pay about \$3,000 in fees to place a ticket in the field in Philadelphia alone? Talk about reform! That measure has not become law. But a new registration and a reformed primary law were enacted. Their purpose is to make it easy for an uncompromising party, necessarily the class conscious party of the working class, to cease to exist. How the working class will glory in this achievement for reform when (in the due course of time, give them time) they awaken to their class interests! Will not the workers jump with joy when they learn that any ignorant or knavish voter can enter the primaries, get a Socialist ballot, and proceed to place on the regular election ticket and in the offices of the Socialist Party, too, the unconscious or conscious enemies of Socialism? Will there not be a day of rejoicing? And—which will come home to them a little sooner—will they not simply get intoxicated with delight at the prospect of their boss' knowing what ticket they vote, thanks to the registration and primary laws? O, the joy of reform is unmeasurable! . . . What the reform movement means, then, in addition to permitting capitalist development to proceed (which, for that matter, no man or party can stop) is to make it as difficult as possible for the workers to unite into a party of their own for the purpose of capturing the powers of government to be employed in their class interests having for a goal the overtoppling of capitalist class mastery. Yet, we are often told, that reform is the way to get Socialism. That this is mere hearsay will be manifested when we compare the tactics of the Socialist and reform movements.

While the Socialist does not vote for Debs or Hearst, but votes the straight ticket, whether the election be one for president or surveyor of sewers in Swanee Township, the capitalist political "reformer's" mission is to teach the philosophy of the "split ticket". When Pres. Eliot called the scab the type of American hero, he committed a grievous fault. The man who manifests the highest courage, American spirit of independence, etc., etc., etc., is not the scab. Not that the scab is not all right in his way. But he does not deserve the highest pedestal. Not he.



It is the man who dares throw off all party yoke—and vote the split ticket! Eliot, join the revisionists!

The capitalist press fairly teems with clarion calls to assert our manhood, by splitting our votes. And if, as often happens, the public is uncertain as to this being the necessary course to pursue to be unselfish, public spirited and patriotic, the clarion call to duty is reinforced and directed in the proper channel by statute. In this connection, let us quote the opinion of the right honorable John H. Fow, counsel for the City Commissioners of Philadelphia. Says Johnny Fow:

‘Hereafter there will be no nominations on any party ticket of minority number of candidates for a public office, where the voter is confined by law to voting for a limited number.

“Six magistrates are to be elected (in February). Each party, under the primary election law, must necessarily have six candidates, but the electors will only be allowed to vote for four; so, therefore, if a voter should put a vote in his party square and nowhere else on the ballot, he would lose his vote for magistrates altogether.”

So there! It may be that man-made laws can be circumvented by man, but that is beside the question. And it may be that the Socialist Party will be equal to the occasion (and here’s saying that it will), but that, too, is beside the question. The fact remains that reform aims to hinder labor in expressing its demands in the only way it can properly express them—by voting the *straight* Socialist ticket.

Another phase of the split-ticket racket is the attempt to make the issue one of “good men.” So Hughes and Stuart put a quietus to the ambitions of Hearst and Emery because they were “clean, honest men”. And while this means the relegating to the rear of the crooked political heeler and must needs come, the peculiarity of it is that clean, honest men are expected to spring from the present system, ever growing more rotten. Really, nature works by paradoxes.

Furthermore, the reform movement being a capitalist class movement cannot help partaking of capitalist class political economy. Only such as are ignorant of Socialist economics or opposed to it, vote the reform ticket. When it came to a show down in the Hearst papers as elsewhere it was the same old cry of Hearst being able to benefit the whole people, of the business men’s interests being the same as that of the workers’, etc. Where, as in Pennsylvania, the capitalist organs didn’t have to be so hypocritical as does Hearst (because the people are more backward), the appeal was almost invariably addressed to the civic pride of the *tax-payers*. The worker was to be benefited indirectly, through the tax-payer, the landlord.

Just a word in regard to the matter of “who pays the taxes”.

Of course, we need not recur to the fact that Marx established that wares exchange at about their value, that there is little or no robbery when the worker exchanges his wages for roof, fodder and shoddy; that all exploitation takes place in production when the worker sells his labor power as a commodity; that surplus value is unpaid labor. The worker does not pay the taxes through the landlord; the worker has little interest in the rise or fall of taxes. Let us anticipate a little. Does not the Socialist know that when once the workers secure political power and are able to relieve the labor market, so that wages will not be determined by roof, fodder and shoddy, that one of the most effective, legal and gentlemanly (?) methods of "expropriating the expropriators" would be to tax the capitalist class and tax them well? Then is not Socialist economics opposed to those of reform? Then how can reform be said to be a step along the line of working class victory?

Let us not say that reform movements get the votes of Socialists who "want something now". Let us not say that Hearst steals our "thunder". The votes taken by reform from Milwaukee Social-Democratic opportunism, S. L. P. impossibilism and Socialist party sanity are not Socialist votes. The things that are vital and fundamental with us, the class struggle and the class tactics, remain with us. But only to the extent that the working class learns Socialist philosophy and tactics will it withstand the beating of reform storms and to that extent will the Socialist movement grow.

Should the reform wave continue to rise, should it assume national proportions in 1908, and the two Old Parties having no issue over the tariff, use the cry of "reform" to befuddle the workers into voting to perpetuate capitalism, it may be that the Socialist vote will not rise much above that of 1904. But what if we do not get Socialism in 1908? What if the vote of 1904 be not doubled? What if the calculations of the self-appointed captains of the proletarian army be not realized? It will not be disproving our philosophy; will it? And that's all we need bother about. For one thing is certain: reform is but a part of the capitalist political system. And when the working class are prepared for the social revolution, all the forces of reaction, confusion and reform will not prevail against them.

JOS. E. COHEN.

## New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

### I.

THE newest stream of Jewish immigration, driven to these shores by the waves of the Russian Revolution, and its counterpart, the atrocious massacres of Jews, has brought in its wake an undercurrent of new ideas and ideals which of late has excited the interest of the Jews in their old homes.

As a result the little world in the so-called Ghetto is teeming with new life, new aspirations, new problems and new hopes.

Until recently the intellectual life of the great East Side of New York was absorbed mainly in social questions of a general nature, or, to be more correct, in Socialism.

To be sure no great event of contemporary life escaped the philosophic mind of the East Side, neither did the inhabitants thereof forget their unfortunate brethren at home, but all these were, so to say, secondary questions. The great problem which has moved the heart of the East Side was Socialism. The victories and the defeats of the proletariat in any part of the world were of greater importance to them than the victory of the Japanese at Port Arthur, or any like event.

This has now been changed to a great extent. The general spread of socialist thought throughout Russia, the deathly struggle now raging between the entire Russian people and the despotic regime, and the cowardly outrages perpetrated against the Jews by the "Black Hundreds" organized and supported by the bureaucracy for the purpose of combating the revolution—all these have made their imprint upon the psychology of the Russian Jews and gave impetus to the organization of innumerable parties, the consequence of which is a mosaic of theories and movements which have for their end the establishment of an independent Jewish state on the one hand and the social revolution on the other. With the newest immigration these theories have now been transplanted to our shores and the little Jewish world was beset by a host of new parties of different descriptions and denominations: we have now Zionists and Territorialists, Zionist-Socialists and Socialists-Territorialists, Poalei Zion, (Workingmen-Zionist) Socialist Revolutionary Territorialists, etc. And it goes without saying that each has its own theory,

which is of course the only true one, with its own newspaper and party organization; and it also goes without saying that everlasting discussions, squabbles, quarrels and all sorts of friction is the order of the day.

Upon a close examination we find that these theories and movements, notwithstanding their high-sounding and unpronounceable names, all emanate from, and are very much connected with, the old-fashioned Zionism, are indeed only variations of the same. Our accounts must therefore be settled, first of all, with Zionism proper. And Zionism is as old as the Exile itself. From the day when the Jews lost their independence and were dispersed among the nations—from that day to this they have never ceased to hope for a return to their country, and their hopes for a restoration of their Kingdom have never been abandoned. Various ways have they tried and different means employed towards the realization of that everlasting dream of theirs; they have taken advantage of the political condition of their neighbors in the time of Assur and Babel; they have employed "diplomacy" in the time of Cyrus and later on in the time of Darius under the leadership of Ezra and Nehemiah; they made an attempt at the sword under Bar Kochba, until at last they have given up all hope of ever acquiring the land by their own might, and have instead turned over the whole job to the Almighty Father to send his Messiah disguised as a "Beggar riding a mule", while they themselves, in one way or another, settled in exile for good, at times even comfortably.

But the thought and the hope of a speedy return to his cherished land the Jew has never given up altogether. The oath: "Shall my right hand be forgotten if I shall ever forget you, Jerusalem", which he made on the banks of the rivers of Babylon, he never broke. He now only waited for the Almighty to deliver him with "song". Every day he prayed: "And thou shalt bring me to thy city of Zion with melody", but he seemed to have grown reluctant to lift a finger himself after so many disappointments and defeats. And so he has suffered and waited for almost two thousand years.

In the last twenty years of the past century new life has been blown into the movement of Zionism. Under the stress of the Anti-Jewish riots in Russia in the year 1881, and the special laws enacted against them the following year (which laws were, by the way, the result of rather different origin than hatred to Jews by the Russian people) the "Jewish question" assumed a new aspect. The Jew, perforce, asked himself: What is the cause of this persecution? And he came to the conclusion that he is being persecuted, not because he is a Jew, but because he is a foreigner—a foreigner who nowhere has a country of his

own, and that his suffering, his misery and persecution will cease only with the acquisition of a country.

Expression to this thought was first given by Dr. Pinsker in his "Auto-emancipation". The well-known Hebrew author M. L. Lilienblum followed him up in his little book "On the regeneration of the Jewish people in the holy land of their ancient fathers." The same thought pervades the entire Zionistic movement; the same thought we hear to-day expressed by the Socialist-Territorialist. The Jew must acquire a country which he may call his own. This much is certain! The problem to settle has only been how was this country to be gotten?

The first step in this direction was to discard the "Beggar riding a mule". Century after century have they been waiting for him. In vain! The beggar has not shown up. He was therefore repudiated and rejected, and his place was taken by the "Millionaire riding the mule". The Rothschilds and the Baron Hirsches were to supply the capital, and the poor, down-trodden Russian Jews were to be the beasts of burden. This was the colonization scheme, the outcome of which is well known. The millionaire and the mule did no more good than the "Beggar and the mule", who never appeared.

Meanwhile the Jews emigrated; everyone helped himself as best he knew how; they ran as if from a fire. Hundreds of thousands emigrated, but very few of them went to Palestine. The immense mass of wanderers turned their eyes, not to the East wherefrom wisdom comes, but to the west of Europe and to the north of America, where they expected to find bread and shelter for themselves and their families.

At this juncture Dr. Th. Hertzl appears in the Zionistic firmament with his "new" scheme of "diplomacy", and he was at once hailed as the true Messiah, sent by Providence to redeem the people of Israel from thralldom. He who was so well known in diplomatic circles, who was so beautiful of visage, so noble in character, so majestic in stature, so fascinating in speech and so imposing in manners; he who standeth before Kings; who had been all his life estranged from Jews and Judaism; who had been so rich and so great, and who had renounced all this greatness to help his unfortunate brethren whose country was not his and whose language he could hardly understand—is not the finger of God visible in this? Will he not redeem the children of Israel? And the plan he proposed was, in addition, so plain and so simple that a child could comprehend it: The Jews are persecuted, he reasoned along with others, because they are strangers in all countries; what they need then is a country of their own. But there is a country just suitable for them. Indeed it was once theirs. True enough it is now being held by the Turk, and the Jew has no chance whatever of acquiring it by

force of arms. But there is no necessity for that; why not buy it? This is a world of barter, the Jews are reputed to be rich, the Turk chronically and hopelessly poor, and for a consideration the bargain could be arranged to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned.

How magnificent and how plain!

Why did they suffer so many centuries? Where were their senses all this time? How many sufferings could have been avoided? How many tortures could have been escaped? How many lives could have been saved?

Of course the thing was not so easy of execution. The deal was not to be made with an ordinary democratic merchant but with a great ruler by Divine Grace. Many obstructions would have to be removed, and many more obstacles encountered. But here is just where the "diplomacy" comes in, and Dr. Hertzfel was manifestly destined to great diplomatic affairs. And with all the zeal and energy of a great dreamer he threw himself upon his task. He exhausted all his strength and abilities, he sacrificed his health, his wealth, his very life, for this great dream.

He traveled from country to country, from ministry to ministry, he knocked at the doors of the great and the mighty; received in return recommendations and assurances of aid; he was accepted in special audiences, got promises, negotiated treaties with representatives of great rulers; he urged his plan upon the rich Jew, he reached the Sultan himself. And the Jews the world over have stood with bated breath watching with anxiety the overtures and maneuvering of their great hero, of their new Messiah, in the hope and belief that another while and an end will come to the troubles of the Jews; another while and the eternal wanderer will find a place of repose for his tired limbs, his restless head and his dry bones.

And the result?

The result is known. It turned out that all this tireless activity was based on the assumption that the Sultan could be persuaded or fooled into playing the role of the traditional "mule" in the Messiah legend. But the unspeakable Turk prudently but thankfully declined the honor. He received the doctor civilly, spoke to him in flattering terms about the Jews, professed his great friendship, even love, for them, but further he did not venture—not one step.

Dr. Hertzfel had been aware of the collapse of his scheme before anybody else, but there was no retreat, he reached a point wherefrom he could neither advance nor turn backwards, and he had to live through the tragedy which had befallen so many great dreamers before him.

To be practical is characteristic of all great Utopians. They

are never discouraged; they never despair at disappointments and are never short of practical schemes. No sooner does one plan fail (because of the shortsightedness and wickedness of the people, of course) than another plan, a better and more practical one is at hand.

Dr. Hertzl was such an Utopian, and although, as is well known, he did not long survive his great disappointment, he did not surrender at once and without another trial. As soon as he convinced himself of the utter impossibility of ever realizing his ambitions with regard to Palestine, he at once hatched another, more "practical" plan. And in this new position his reasoning seemed to be as rational and as easy of execution as in the first instance. It is not Palestine that the Jews are in need of, he claimed. It is a country of their own that they most need. What matters it in what part of the world they will be located? He would, of course, prefer Palestine, but as long as Palestine is not in the market, he would, like a good, practical merchant, take the next best thing. And at the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel he sprung the Uganda plan, which was accepted by his followers after a great uproar as a "temporary home for the Jews."

Uganda turned out to be undesirable. In the meantime Dr. Hertzl died, but his new idea took root and blossomed and grew up to a new movement.

From Uganda to any other territory is but a short step, and this step was made the following year under the lead of Israel Zangwill. The idea of Territorialism came into being. Of course not all the Zionists were ready to renounce the land of "their ancient fathers", but those that did go along were sufficient in number to almost disrupt the Zionist movement.

This short sketch of the history of the "new" Zionism will suffice to show that Territorialism is not a new invention; it is only a further development of the old, very old, Zionist movement. It therefore inherited all the maladies and weaknesses of its progenitor—Zionism.

## II.

It is not within the province of this short work to point out all the shortcomings of political Zionism. Besides, the subject has been thrashed out so many times that there is hardly any new word to be said about it. At best I can only repeat some of the objections that are being made against it, and this I shall do here only to the extent absolutely necessary to the understanding of our discussion.

Zionism, or rather, Zionists, though starting from a common point—the persecution of the Jews, and reaching the same conclusion—the necessity of establishing an independent Jewish state,

are nevertheless divided and subdivided among themselves as to the reason and ultimate aims of their movements. We shall here touch upon the two main divisions only, namely, the "Materialistic" and the "Idealistic".

Materialist Zionism deals mainly with the economic conditions and necessities of the Jews, while the Idealists take for their text the spiritual side of the Jew—the Jew not as an individual but as a nation. The one seeks to acquire the holy land for the purpose of improving the economic condition of the Jews as a nation, while the other refuses to consider this side of the question, claiming that with regard to the question of bread and butter the Jew can work out his salvation in exile. What he most needs, they maintain, is an "intellectual center" where he would be enabled to develop his national genius, to preserve the national "self" which each nation possesses and has a right to preserve. The author of this latter Zionism is Asher Ginsburg, better known as Akhad Haam.

Both these factions, as can be seen, are one as to the cardinal point, namely, that the Jews are a separate nation; that neither their sojourn in so many different countries, among so many different peoples for almost twenty centuries, nor the various political institutions, nor the degree of civilization of those countries and peoples, has in the least affected or impaired their character as a nation; that they are being persecuted just because of this peculiarity of theirs; that they have, nevertheless, suffered greatly in their economic development, according to the one, and in their intellectual progress, according to the other.

The materialist Zionists have in a great measure already received an answer from life itself. They found, to their great discomfiture, that Palestine is not to be had, and, on the other hand, that the Jews would not go there if it were to be had. Out of the one and a half million souls that have shaken off the dust of their native land for the last twenty years, only a very small portion migrated to the "Yiddish" land, a goodly portion of which have since left it in disgust. And this in spite of the financial aid they received out of the Rothschild funds. Moreover, this immense mass of emigration has not in the least diminished the Jewish population in Russia. This fact alone should have sufficed to convince the Zionists of the futility of their efforts. It should have proven to them that the Jewish problem is not to be solved by emigration; that a whole nation can not, will not, emigrate on account of an imaginary prosperity in a semi-barbarous land where their forefathers of two thousand years ago lived, or out of devotion to ideals, no matter how sublime they may be; that it is rather the immediate necessities, and, to a certain extent, political oppression, that will put the wandering stick in the hands of a great number, and that, consequently, the



place of destination would be decided upon by the chances it offers to new comers to win bread and shelter.

This fact alone, I repeat, should have been sufficient to show the Zionists the impossibility of their scheme. Unfortunately such "minor" considerations do not enter the mind of Zionists. Cause and effect seem to have no meaning for them. They reckon little with the cold facts of life, and they listen only to the voice of their mind and desires—the result is, therefore, usually disastrous to them.

But when the facts become so obvious that even the blind can see them, they take refuge in reasoning somewhat like this:

"We know perfectly well," they say, "that all the Jews can not emigrate; it is in fact not at all desirable they should. It is not desirable, for instance, nor necessary, for the Jews of England, France or North America to emigrate. The Zionist movement is mainly for the benefit of the Russian and Roumanian Jews, and even from those countries it is not necessary they should all emigrate. What we are after is a center, a home, somewhere, for a portion of the nation. There are many foreigners to-day living in Russia without being molested because they have somewhere a fatherland with a government to protect them. So would the persecution of the Jews cease if they had a country somewhere."

In an article entitled "Zionism or Socialism" in Number 6 of the "Jewish Worker", Ben Ahud brings out some remarks which are worth while reproducing here. After having shown that Zionism is a dream at best; after having shown that the whole of Palestine is neither sufficiently large in area to hold; nor does it possess the fertility of soil to support, a population of ten millions; that, in addition, the Jews could not prevent non-Jews from immigrating to their country, were it ever sufficiently developed industrially to invite foreign immigration; after having pointed out that it would take at least fifty years for two or three millions of Jews to emigrate to the new land, in which time the depletion would be made good by new births—after having shown this, Ben Ahud continues:

"It is true some of the Zionists think that so soon as the Jews will have established their own government, even the smallest, the other nations would refrain from persecuting those that will have remained in exile, because they would all know that there is a Jewish state which would protect its children, that there is a nation which would fight for their brothers. . . . . How puerile! It is only to laugh at such expectation. The great majority of the Jews will have remained with such great naval powers as Russia, Germany, Austria, France, England and the United States of America, and these first class naval powers shiver in their boots at the sight of the Lilliputian "Yiddish

Land". They would be frightened to death at the news that the representatives of the "Yiddish Land" in Congress assembled have adopted a resolution protesting against Russia for the expulsion of the Jews from Moskow; against Austria for mistreating the Jews in Galicia; against Germany for not admitting Jewish girls to the profession of teachers; against France for the massacres of Jews in Algiers, etc. Did Russia shrink from oppressing Germans in the Baltic provinces in the face of Germany with its large and modernly equipped army, with its great influence in European politics? Would this same Russia treat its Jews with more consideration because somewhere in Asia existed a little Jewish country under the suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan? . . . . ."

"It can thus be seen that the plan of Dr. Hertzels, should it ever be realized, could not in any way ameliorate the sufferings of the Jews."

"A good portion of the Jewish bourgeoisie would make capital out of the scheme; a small portion of the Jewish workingmen would get a chance to sell their labor power, as they do everywhere. This is at best the sum total of the whole Zionistic movement. And with such empty, worthless dreams they try to avert the thoughts of the Jews from their real needs at home!"

So far Ben Ahud as to the argument of the materialist Zionist about a Jewish center to infuse respect for the Jews in exile.

Not much better showing can the argument of an intellectual center make for the "idealist" Zionist, those who try to save the souls of the Jews.

This twin brother of the "materialist" commits the same error, but in a different way. The "materialists" who speak of the economic backwardness forget the economic surroundings of the Jews, and the economic impossibility of their scheme. The "idealist" again, trying to save the Jewish "spirit", forgets to consider the nature of this spirit. They talk much of the Jewish genius, of the intellectual culture, and they forget that the Jewish "spirit" is not "Jewish" at all; that if the intellectual side of a nation can be developed, modified or mutilated under specific social and economic environments—and there can be no doubt about that—then the Jewish nation has undergone such an evolution for almost two thousand years under exceptional circumstances, and that the results of this evolution cannot be erased because a million or even two million people will emigrate to a semi-barbarous country which once upon a time belonged to their ancestors. This point is very often omitted by our newly baked nationalist.

The truth of the matter is that we can speak of a Jewish nation in a spiritual sense only, because in the sense of a political or social unit the Jews are surely no nation. But this intellect,

this spirit, manifested in a special Jewish form (if there be such a thing) is the product, not of the Jewish land, but of the exile, nay, it is because of it! What forms the Jewish culture would have assumed had they lived on their own soil all this time, what shape it would assume should it again settle independently on its land, or any other newly acquired territory is a matter of conjecture. The Jew of to-day is the Jew of the diaspora. His culture, his civilization, his "spirit", is therefore not Jewish, but western. It is therefore pure nonsense to speak of a Jewish "spirit" that can thrive on the soil of Palestine only. Furthermore, there are many arguments in support of the theory that the Jewish nation, such as it is, is a "nation" in exile only. There are probabilities that the Jews would not have retained their religion and the purity of the race, a thing the Zionist puts much stock in, had they remained in their land. No ruling nation preserved its purity in the same degree as the Jews. The ruling nations usually assimilate with others, either through conquest or immigration. The Jews in their own land were not exempt from such influences. Their language they had lost long before their independence, so much did they mix with the heathen by intermarriage, their very religion was much neglected.

The exile alone united them; in exile the form of their religion developed and crystallized; in exile they stopped intermarriages. The exile then developed the peculiarities of Judaism. If we are therefore to speak of a Jewish nation as an intellectual unity we cannot separate it from the exile spirit. It is utterly incomprehensible how this evolution of twenty centuries can be done away with.

Add to this that the Zionists of all shades admit that the great majority of the Jews will remain where they are at present and the whole proposition of an "intellectual center" becomes ridiculous. A million, at the best two millions, of the poorest and humblest Jews will emigrate to a semi-savage country. At the best it will take tens or even hundreds of years until they will be able to procure a decent livelihood by tilling the soil and doing all kind of manual labor. And this handful of Jews somewhere in Asia or Africa is to become the intellectual and spiritual guides of the ten or more millions that remained under the intellectual influence of European and American civilization, with its famous universities and libraries, museums and laboratories, literature and theatres; with its highly developed art and technic, with its newspapers, etc. Is this not puerile? Is this not ridiculous? Jerusalem in intellectual competition with Paris, London, New York, or even Warsaw. Uganda, or another wilderness somewhere in Africa to compete with Heidelberg, Oxford, Yale or Columbia as teachers. Jaffa racing with the British Museum, or the Paris, or even the New York Library.

It is only to laugh!

Turn Zionism or Territorialism as you may, the whole thing is ridiculous.

But the worst was yet to come.

Before Zionism had time to stand firmly on its feet, before it was able to make the first step, it was already clear to every observer that besides its external deformities it is subject to an incurable, chronic, internal sickness.

At the time when Zionism made its great efforts social life in Russia took its usual course. Industry, with the aid of foreign capital, had been greatly developed, and along with it grew the proletariat and its class consciousness.

The Revolutionary movement progressed immensely, and the Jew did not only not keep aloof from it, he, on the contrary, was found in the front line, and these circumstances helped to tear asunder the Zionist movement. The proletarian Zionist opened his eyes; the working man and his exploiter met face to face and the sweet dream of a united nation was at once scattered to the winds. The united and undivided Jewish "nation" was divided into two hostile camps.

The proletarian Zionists did not, however, awake altogether; they only awoke for a minute, turned on the other side and began to dream again.

Would they dream quietly to themselves we could leave them alone. The trouble with them is that they speak out in their dreams and produce much noise.

We must, therefore, disturb them from their pleasant dream.

JACOB MILCH.

(To be continued).

## The Military Power.

**W**ANTED, able bodied men of good character between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five for the United States Military and Naval Service."

In almost every city in the United States one may see upon the bill-boards and hanging upon the walls of government buildings and railway depots posters containing the above notice accompanied by pictures of soldiers and officers in gaudy uniforms. The recruiting bureaus of the army and Navy Departments are squandering enormous sums of money yearly on poster advertising for the purpose of attracting young men to the military service. But let it be said to the credit of the young men of America that the great majority of them prefer to work for their living rather than enter the Regular Army or Navy. It is a fact that, except in time of war, almost all of the young men who apply for enlistment in the military service are either out of jobs or on account of some misfortune are driven to seek shelter or oblivion in the ranks.

I am satisfied that the propaganda of Socialism has not yet secured a footing among the men in the American military service but the conduct of our government makes me feel that it is absolutely necessary that the task be undertaken at once. In the past year or two orders have been issued in every garrison situated near the large cities and centers of industry that the troops be drilled especially for the purpose of controlling conditions in the streets of the cities. Plats have been drawn of every city, the boards of strategy have perfected new tactics, and the soldiers have been drilled with particular regard to conditions in the great factory, shop, and business districts. This means that the capitalists who are in control of our government are looking to their future welfare. They realize that the agitation of Socialism in America is taking root in the minds of the working people. They realize the accuracy of Mark Hanna's prophecy that the next great political battle will be between the Republican Party representing the capitalist class and the Socialist Party representing the working class.

I delight in repeating to my fellow workingmen a comment which I heard Comrade Eugene V. Debs make in one of his speeches with regard to the military and Old Glory. He said: "You workingmen who have jobs today and are satisfied will shout yourselves hoarse if some one waves Old Glory in your face; but if you go out on strike tomorrow to better your condition you will find Old Glory floating over the troops lined up

to shoot you down like dogs." Comrade Debs has so well expressed in his speeches and pamphlets the opinion of Socialists with regard to the military question that it seems almost a waste of time for any one else to discuss it, and yet I undertake to do it hoping to more thoroughly impress upon the minds of revolutionary workers and thinkers the importance of understanding this mighty force of ruling class power.

At the age of sixteen I enlisted in the United States Army, Co. D, 2d Infantry, and in July and August 1894, marched up and down the tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company at Butte, Montana, ready at any moment to send a forty-five caliber bullet crashing into the breast of any workingman who should dare to trespass upon the private property of that great corporation. I need not discuss the grievances which impelled the employees of the road to go out on strike, neither is it necessary to discuss the right or purpose of the government in sending the troops to Chicago, Butte, and other cities to protect the property of the railroads as was done in 1894. But what I do wish to consider is the American soldier, his occupation, and his relation to society in general.

The regiment to which I belonged was stationed at Fort Omaha, Nebraska. On May 1st, one month after my enlistment, we were ordered to prepare our field equipment for inspection. The next morning at sunrise the "general call" sounded and fifteen minutes later we fell into line in heavy marching order. A few minutes sufficed for the inspection and then, led by the martial airs of the famous Second Infantry Band, we marched out of the garrison en route to Fort Crook about sixteen miles south of Omaha. Shortly after noon we halted and pitched camp at Bellevue Rifle Range and at once began the annual season of target practice.

Every soldier in the United States Army fires four thousand rounds of ammunition at target practice each year. The greater part of the practice is in firing at figures shaped like men in the positions of standing erect, kneeling, and lying prone. The firing is in skirmish line formation and begins at eight hundred yards distance, the line advancing from point to point in double time. As the skirmishers arrive upon the firing line the bugle sounds "halt" — "commence firing." At the first note of the bugle the soldiers halt and lie down to shoot. But thirty seconds are allowed in which to load and fire each range and many of the soldiers become so expert that they can fire sixteen shots in the thirty seconds and hit the target with every shot. The new recruit often hesitates before firing at these figures which so much resemble men in the distance but as they see the enthusiasm of the others all along the line they soon smother the qualm of conscience and enter into the spirit of murder. Bullseye targets are

also used and are marked after each shot showing where the bullet hit, and thus with constant practice at aiming and firing and the spur of competition for the prizes and medals which are given many soldiers develop considerable skill at marksmanship.

At the end of the month with target practice finished we marched back to the barracks and the regular routine of garrison duty which consisted of daily drill and parade, and guard duty and fatigue (fatigue means labor) about once a fortnight. The soldier, generally, performs no productive labor, his occupation is to destroy. He is a parasite and is maintained as such and educated and encouraged in the art of destruction for the purpose of defending and supporting the parasites who control the wealth and political power of a nation. The soldier is subjected to the strictest discipline by his (so-called) superior officers (men who are made gentlemen by an act of Congress). Under penalty of arrest and severe punishment the soldier must obey every command of an officer and on the approach of one he must salute as a mark of respect for his superior. I have been an orphan practically all my life and having grown up free from the restraint of parents and void of respect for my natural (?) superiors; the democratic spirit within me rebelled when I found myself bound to respect and salute drunken beasts who had been made officers and gentlemen by the above mentioned "Act of Congress."

My captain, Wm. J. Turner, was a man of fifty some years, a short bow-legged insignificant looking fellow, but a man of good sense and good heart. He had risen from the rank of a private soldiers to that of a commissioned officer and quite contrary to the rule in such cases he was very kind to the men in his company. He was fond of me and interested himself greatly in my welfare. I overstepped some army rule or regulation almost every day and while a single breach of these rules generally meant confinement in the guard-house, the captain forgave me every time and let me off with a reprimand. One day I asked him why a soldier should always salute an officer even when he felt and knew that he was in every way superior to the officer. He tugged away at his pipe for a minute and then with a self-satisfied smile replied, "My boy, you don't salute the officer, you salute his uniform." And that quaint but truthful reply of my honest old captain was often a source of consolation to me when in going about the garrison I was compelled to raise my hand to my cap as a mark of respect for some brute whom I would have loathed to touch.

The routine of garrison life tends to make a soldier lazy and, of course, lazy people do not like to work. The ranks of the army are recruited from the working class, men who in private life must work eight hours or more each day to make a liv-

ing. The soldier works only one day in two weeks and this is the thing that makes army life attractive to those who enter and remain in it. The soldier gets \$13.50 per month and his board and clothes and the right to be lazy as compensation for his betrayal of the class to which he belongs. Without the ever ready support of the United States Army the ranks of which are made up of workingmen, the capitalist class of this country could not keep the great masses of workers enslaved as they are today. Like the regular army, the militia of the several states is made up of workingmen, but they are of a different stamp. It is mostly clerks and book-keepers, office employees who join the militia, and they are generally the worst enemies of the working class. Most of them have had some educational advantages and with hardly an exception they expect to become business men themselves. They are not at all "class conscious." They are snobbish and patronizing as is proven by the fact that the rich men who join the militia companies are always elected to be officers. The police and detective forces are also made up of workingmen, although they are quite unworthy of such classification. The army, the militia, and the police, these are the bulwark of capitalism and without them our modern capitalist exploiters would soon pass out of existence and labor would be supreme.

The question which now arises in the mind of the active Socialist is, How may we reach "the man behind the gun" with our propaganda so as to win him to the revolutionary cause of the world's workers?

In the case of police and detectives our efforts would be entirely wasted for they are a highly developed specialized type of "petty grafter," man-hunters who have become gluttonous with their power and who live only by accentuating the miseries of the legally disinherited producers of the world's wealth. The clerks and book-keepers who compose the rank and file of the militia companies ought to be good material to work upon and it seems to me that wonders might be accomplished if a campaign of education were carefully planned and carried out. But the "regular" is the man we want and he is the man who will tax all our energies and resources in the effort we put forth to win him. He is looked upon by all classes of society as an outcast, the scum of the earth, yet held in fear and awe. This condition has been accomplished by the designs of the ruling class for a purpose easily understood, namely, that the soldier may be made to feel keenly the odium of his position and become resentful against the public generally. This fact together with the training which he receives in the business of murder, accounts for the relation which the soldier bears to his fellows in civilian life. It accounts for the fact that I (and how I have loathed myself for it) and my soldier comrades in 1894 could calmly patrol the tracks of the



Northern Pacific Railroad Company, rifle in hand, awaiting the signal to send to eternity the soul of a fellow workingman who might be an entire stranger and whose only crime might be that by word or look he had dared to protest against the hellishness of capitalist misrule.

In Russia the revolutionary propaganda has so completely permeated the regiments of the czar's army that we have lately seen whole regiments hoist the flag of revolt and refuse to obey the commands of the autocrat. We know that the German Army is so thoroughly "class conscious" and in sympathy with the great working class movement that when Kaiser "Billy" was clamoring for war with France a few months ago he was given to understand that the German workingmen had no quarrel with their brother workers across the border and the war clouds were wafted away on the breezy atmosphere of diplomatic statesmanship. In Belgium the government is confronted with a situation which to us is indeed laughable. If regiments are drawn from the Flemish provinces for duty in the cities it quickly develops that they are but a source of propaganda for Socialism and if regiments are drawn from the Walloon provinces they become immediately the willing prey of our propagandists. But in America, "the land of the free, the home of the brave," the land where capitalism and wage slavery are in their most highly developed state, the military powers are absolutely at the beck and call of the capitalist exploiters. I think that I would be quite safe in saying that there is not a regiment, or company, or squad, in the whole United States military service, with the possible exception of one regiment, I. N. G., formerly the Clan-na-Gael Guards, an Irish patriotic organization, that could not be depended upon to carry out any order issued by the powers that be in the event of trouble either external or internal.

Therefore I am of the opinion that it is high time that the revolutionary workers in America begin to consider ways and means for the education of our soldiers. Every garrison in the United States has a library the shelves of which are heavy with books, some worthless fiction but mostly histories recounting the deeds of soldiers and heroes. Every soldier can read and many of them do read a great deal. If we can devise a means of circulating among them the revolutionary literature of the proletariat, I believe that we can reach many of them and eventually win them to the cause of freedom. I believe that we can convince them that they are a part of earth's disinherited and that they are occupying a position that is traitorous to their class interest simply because they have been the victims of capitalist and ruling class trickery and treachery. The soldiers are not murderers at heart and in their associations with one another they come but little short of the best moral codes. But the education

and the economic environment of the man while he is a soldier are the forces which impel him to his dastardly work. His qualms of conscience are allayed by the legality of his actions just as the owner of a factory sees no injustice in the fact that he grinds human lives and human happiness into profits through legal channels. The government maintains an Army Chaplain in every garrison just as the capitalists in civil life maintain churches and ministers in every city and town to befool and mislead the workers. But the greatest crimes of the ages have been committed in the name of Jesus, the lowly sorrowful Nazarene who gave up his life in martyrdom to the cause of the working class.

Karl Marx says in the "Communist Manifesto," "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself." I would like to add that the emancipation of the working class will be accomplished only when the workers have been thoroughly educated in their class position, class interest, and in the possibilities of a "class conscious" political organization of the proletariat. The regular soldier belongs to the proletariat and too long we have neglected him in our propaganda work here in America. I have now nearly developed a plan to reach the soldiers in our army and feel assured that with the hearty co-operation of a goodly number of enthusiastic American comrades, we will be able to do with the American soldier what our comrades in Russia, Germany, Belgium, and other European countries have done with their respective armies. Comrades, if you realize the importance of this undertaking and feel yourself interested enough to take part in it, kindly let me hear from you with any suggestions you may have to offer.

MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE.

*Address care* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, *Chicago, Ill.*

# EDITORIAL

## The Recent Elections.

As soon as an election is over with all the socialist editors prepare to draw morals from the result. These editorial sermons are as inevitable as the elections, and we should feel that our duty had been neglected did we not come up to popular expectations in that line.

The one general lesson which is writ so plain in the election which has just taken place is the need of better organization and a wider distribution of literature. If any socialist has not taken this lesson home to himself before this time we hope that he will at once do so.

Wherever the party organization was strong and the movement composed of reading, thinking socialists there was little or no falling off, even though the reform storm beat ever so heavily.

Wisconsin offers the best example of this, and whatever criticism may have been showered upon the head of the Wisconsin comrades, many of which were undoubtedly well deserved, it must be recognized that they "delivered the goods" at the last election.

The Rocky Mountain States would seem to make an exception to the rule that the greatest growth was where the best organization is found. This exception however is easily accounted for the strenuous efforts at agitation and the great amount of literature circulated, and most of all to the fierce class struggle that is being waged there.

Hearstism has shown strength enough to warrant the belief that we may expect about six more years of the yellow peril before it will have run its course. During all this time Hearst can only live as he skates closer and closer to Socialism, and he has been skating on such thin ice for sometime that he is liable to break through at any time and find that his following has followed where he did not dare to lead—if our readers will excuse the bull.

This phenomenon need not worry the socialists. If it is necessary to give a majority of the population a dose of Hearst physic before they can digest the solid meat of socialism, then let us get the treatment over with as quick as possible.

The size of the vote is not at the present time so essential as the progress of education, and certainly this is moving on at a most amazing rate.

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## Roosevelt's Message.

For the first time in the history of this country a president devotes the larger portion of this message to a consideration of the problems of the struggle between capitalists and laborers. For the first time also a president's message makes an attack on socialism. There are none of the readers of the Review so blind as to need to have the significance of these two facts pointed out.

Every socialist knows that this means that industrial events are as always, making the issues which politicians must follow, regret it as they may.

The message may be summed up on this point as saying to the masters "Be good"; to the workers, "Be patient." That this will solve the present labor problem any more than the same advice has solved similar problems at any time in history is unthinkable.

Somewhat in detail the message says:

1. If the capitalist is not good we will hold the threat of an income and inheritance tax over him, and the threat of "regulation."
2. To the worker we will promise indefinite eight hour legislation, and give the postal clerks twelve hours under the existing eight hour law.
3. We will encourage Japanese immigration to hold wages and trade unions in hand, and preach a rabid jingo patriotism to keep American laborers from thinking.

This is the program that is expected to hold back the socialist flood.

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We publish in this issue an interesting study of the Italian Socialist movement. The publication of this article however does not by any means indicate that the editor endorses the extreme syndicalist position there set forth. We are very glad, however, to secure so good a statement of this position, in order that our readers may know something of the phase of the labor movement which is undoubtedly growing steadily and rapidly in Europe.

We desire also to call attention to the article by Comrade Hunter in this number, and to announce that this is the first of several that he has promised to send for publication in the International Socialist Review. His next one will treat of the Italian Socialist Congress and will probably present this gathering from quite another point of view than Comrade Por. Arrangements are also being made for a number of articles from other comrades at home and abroad that will make the Review far better for the coming year than ever before.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## ENGLAND.

The House of Lords has now come in contact with something that is apt to prove the finish of that bulwark of obstruction. For about a century even capitalism has recognized that the English upper house was an anachronism, yet neither Liberal nor Conservative ministries have dared to do more than mildly scold at it, save on one or two occasions when the expedient of increasing the number of peers (packing the House) has been resorted to as a means of securing the passage of some particular piece of legislation. But a new force has come into English politics. With the entrance of the Labor and Socialist members into Parliament there came a force that has no respect for tradition, no love for privilege, no matter how old and "respectable," that is bound with no alliances, and that brooks no opposition without resistance. So it is that the cry of "abolish the House of Lords," which had practically disappeared five years ago is now being again raised, and this time in a tone of voice that means business.

## JAPAN.

The editor of the Hikari has been declared not guilty in the prosecution for violation of the press law.

The Japanese comrades are arranging to start a daily socialist paper. They expect to issue the first number on the 15th of next January.

## FRANCE

Although the Socialist Party has disavowed the entrance of Viviani into the French Parliament, yet he would seem to be standing as clearly for the socialist position as a man can, occupying his place. His introductory speech has been especially commented upon favorably by the socialist papers of France and Germany. In it he stated his position as a socialist and declared his adherence to the socialist philosophy.

The French Socialist Congress at Limoges will be treated at further length in our columns by a correspondent who was on the ground. There were over three hundred delegates present, who reported that the membership had increased from 40,000 to 54,000. The organic unity of the party has developed, until now all possibility of division seems to have passed. Local groups have amalgamated in most places. The report of the electoral commission stated that the party had 346 candidates in the 540 electoral districts.

Thirty-one candidates were elected on the first ballot and twenty-one on the second.

#### HOLLAND.

The Dutch socialists seem to be in the midst of a struggle between the Marxists and Revisionists, through which every country seems doomed to go at some stage of its existence. Each faction has its organ and the discussion is going on with all the fierceness characteristic of socialist disagreements everywhere.

#### GERMANY.

The school which was established by the German socialist party for the education of agitators has been in operation since the 15th of November. A considerable number of students are in attendance and the results promise good for the future work of the German party.

The capitalist paper, *Das Reich*, of Berlin, moans over the fact that Germany has the highest percentage of socialist legislators of any country in Europe, with the exception of Denmark. It concludes its comment as follows:

"The situation is certainly dark enough, but there is one ray of light which promises hope and improvement. This is to be found in the Christian and national labor movement, and only in it." Those who have watched the progress of these unions have seen that they either disappeared before the growing social democratic unions, or when they have grown to great numbers have affiliated with the socialist party. Thus there is very little hope in this "ray of light."

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The American Federation of Labor has once more met and adjourned, and the world is moving along just as if some three hundred odd delegates had never journeyed up into Minneapolis and spent several weeks' time and a barrel of money in going through the same old performance that stamped this year's gathering several degrees below the mediocrity of its predecessors. Judged from a purely news standpoint, the mass of American people were utterly oblivious of the fact that the convention was in session. The bare announcement was made in the dispatches, along about the 12th of last month, that the convention had begun, and on the 24th it was stated that Gompers had been re-elected president. Little other information came through the daily press, except that a number of speeches had been made by various persons and that the political policy of rewarding our enemies and punishing our friends would be continued. From the official proceedings it appears that the same old resolutions were introduced, discussed in a spiritless manner, adopted or defeated, as the case may be, and that ended the matter for another twelve months. The officers' reports show that slight progress was made in the gain of membership, and the wage increases surely did not keep pace with the rising prices of necessities of life. The one gratifying feature of the industrial movement during the past year was the earnest effort made to reduce the hours of labor in some of the trades. There is some hope of genuine betterment in this direction, whereas in the matter of increasing wages the Federation, taken as a whole, is rather on the defensive than the aggressive. The trusts and combines keep pounding up prices while many of the organizations are at a complete standstill and actually coddle themselves with the thought that they are happily conservative. It looks as though some of the unions have been cowed into submission by centralized capital and its satellites, the open shop brigade. But while the union people are somewhat better off than the unorganized workers, who usually accept, in a spirit of weakness and humility, whatever is handed to them by the master class, still organized labor would build a much more powerful influence if it could forever put an end to its jurisdiction quarrels, concentrate its forces, and take a firm, uncompromising position on the wage question — if, in a word, it would be true to its own obligation promulgated in the Federation ritual. Instead of affirming and reaffirming its opposition to the wage system, the conservatives regard that system as a sacred institution, and if you as much as propose any plan attacking the wage system in the slightest degree the fossils and ignoramuses start to holler "Socialist!" as though that would put the quites to all oppositions and make the master class secure for all time.

Those in control of the A. F. of L. have no desire to emancipate the working class. The Minneapolis convention and all the gatherings of the past prove that fact. Gompers and his followers have their faces set sternly against every form of radicalism. They have a mortal dread that the capitalist class will take offense if a clear-cut declaration is made, and, therefore, beyond talking vaguely about "labor's rights," etc., no unequivocal statement can be wrung from them. So long as jurisdiction squabbles are the principal issue there can be no harmony and that solidarity essential to success. Hence Gompers and his clique, in upholding the vicious principles of craft autonomy and all the wrangling and hair-splitting that it entails, have been working along a definite program to prevent the realization of a homogeneous industrial organization that would ensure unity of action on the industrial field and pave the way for a distinct, definite political movement. Spurred by the clamor for some sort of a demonstration at the ballot-box, the conservatives have grudgingly thrown out a sop of pretending to punish and reward capitalistic politicians. The latter may vote in the legislative bodies for every piece of any devilry that their corporation masters may dictate, but as long as they stand for the Gompers bills, which, even if enacted into law, would have no more effect upon the system than a flea bite on an elephant, they can expect a certificate of good character. So we are to have another year of "independent" politics, during which period Mr. Gompers will pick out the "good" men and the "bad" men, and he will take almighty good care that the Socialists are classified with the latter. It is doubtful, however, whether the great bulk of the membership will pay any attention to such political tomfoolery — at least no more than they did in this year's campaign. The average trade unionist is a Republican, Democrat, Socialist or other partisan, and he doesn't change his coat every couple of days to please Gompers. The fight will be continued along partisan lines, and the Socialists, now that the bars are down, should lose no opportunity to proselyte among the working people irrespective of the wishes of the conservatives. The future belongs to the Socialists despite all obstacles.

The election of last month showed a distinct upward tendency in the Socialist vote despite the injection of so-called radical movements into the campaign for the purpose of capturing the dissatisfied elements that had absorbed more or less socialistic ideas, and in spite of the fact that glooming promises of certain victory were held out as well as immediate reform and relief the day after election. In but few States did the Socialist vote decrease, and it is quite probable that when the official counts are all announced it will be found that the half million mark has been reached and passed. It has been noticeable nearly everywhere that the Socialist vote was more solid and uniformly cast for all candidates this year than ever before. There was very little scratching and complimentary voting. Those converts who came in in 1904 and last year have become pretty well assimilated and have rid themselves of the notion that they ought to vote for some "good man" on this or that ticket to defeat some "bad man" on another ticket and to display their "independence" generally. In proportion as the socialist sentiment increases such radical gentlemen as Hearst, Bryan, Johnson, LaFollette, Moran and others can be expected to make a loud noise to attract the people who become dissatisfied with the reactionary policies of the old parties, but in like proportion these same reformers will also become less dangerous. There are thousands—yes, tens of thousands—of citizens who are almost in entire accord with the Socialist movement, but they have an uncontrollable desire to be on the winning side and



get something now, even if it is only 3-cent street railway fare or a little cheaper ice perhaps. Of course they are not sufficiently drilled in the principles of socialism to appreciate their fallacious position, and for that reason the Socialist party workers, after a brief breathing spell, must redouble their efforts to strengthen their movement.

Organization is the key to the situation. The locals and branches must be made larger and stronger, and the real effective work, the work that counts, must be done through those bodies. I have about come to the conclusion, after making first-hand studies of the situation in various places, that we have a superabundance of speakers and lecturers and too few organizers. Any number of orators go from place to place, speak their little piece (sometimes sense and sometimes nonsense), are given the glad hand, and yet when the vote is counted the results obtained don't seem to have warranted the expense and trouble. On the other hand suppose the same effort had been expended in circulating literature among those who displayed some interest in socialism, and then followed up the move by sending around an organizer for a week or so to have heart-to-heart talks and secure their applications for the local if possible, would not that be a substantial gain? Speakers are necessary, to be sure. But there are times when a plain organizer, who doesn't profess to be able to make speeches, is worth a whole houseful of orators.

There is no question, for example, but that Milwaukee has a fine, solid movement that any city might be proud of. True, the pioneers of Milwaukee have been in the harness a good many years, some of them in the old country. Yet that is all the more reason why they deserve the highest credit and also why their perseverance and persistency should be emulated. There are but few speakers in Milwaukee, but they have lately developed some good local organizers and a corps of workers who know how to and do hustle. According to the papers, the Socialists of Milwaukee achieved their splendid results recently "chiefly by the distribution of Socialist literature." Three tons of newspapers, besides leaflets by the bushel, were distributed every week from house to house. Some 300 volunteers covered the city every Sunday morning, and in a few hours, because of organization, the work was done. In the Ninth Congressional district of New York the same systematic methods were pursued. While there was no organization to speak of in the district six weeks before election, yet by aggressive work scores of volunteers were enlisted, blocks were marked off, canvassed, polled, and flooded with literature, and it required the combined efforts of the Tammany and Republican machines to prevent the district from going Socialist. Such efforts are bound to be crowned with success before long. It is the steady, persistent pounding at the battlements of the enemy that must win sooner or later.

Those who read themselves into socialism usually stick, while only too frequently speeches go in one ear and come out through the other. Wherever a local or ward or precinct branch exists the comrades, even though they number but half a dozen, ought to map out a plan of action to make a thorough canvass of a given section of territory on average of once a week to distribute newspapers and leaflets and get in touch with sympathizers. Such methods will gradually increase the membership and make it possible to expand the work of the organization and strengthen the movement generally. The party press and the publishing houses, which produce the ammunition, ought to be liberally patronized. Education is the need of the hour. Liter-

ature is dirt cheap and people are hungering to read books, papers, leaflets, etc., today where five years ago they would have thrown them into the stove. The trusts and their politicians have been giving the public so many "object lessons" recently that a wave of dissatisfaction is sweeping over the country with which nothing similar in the past can be compared. It is up to the Socialists to take advantage of this condition and do all in their power to encourage the growing political revolt against capitalism and its rotaries, and the result will be an early victory for our cause. Distribute literature — sow it knee deep!

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Romance of John Bainbridge**, by Henry George, Jr. The Macmillan Company, Cloth, 468 pages, \$1.50.

John Bainbridge is a young lawyer in New York City who starts out as a municipal reformer. He does a favor to a Tammany boss and finds the nomination for alderman thrust upon him, with certainty of election ahead. To the surprise of Tammany he rushes into a real campaign, declares war on "vested interests", and proceeds to stir the city to its depths.

Meanwhile he has fallen in love with an artist who has designed some remarkable cathedral windows which are to be executed by Bainbridge's father, a glass worker. In the midst of his campaign and his romance he discovers that Jessica is the daughter of the great franchise king whom he is fighting. Complications then rapidly develop, but the book ends with everybody happy and even the horrible franchise grabber is converted to municipal ownership and turns over all his enormous possessions to the city.

The story is very well told and carries the reader along with plenty of action and interest. It is only when the author ceases to be a novelist and starts to preach municipal ownership that he destroys his work. This is not necessarily because it is impossible to preach a purpose while telling a novel, but it has all the ludicrousness of an anti-climax when the hero defies the heavens and earth and goes into heroics in order to secure municipal ownership of street car lines. One cannot help but feel that the object is scarcely worth all this heroic action and there is a constant suggestion of melodrama.

**The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals**, by M. H. Fitch. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, Cloth, 266 pages, \$1.00.

We have here several things of value to the student. In the first place it has a good condensed statement of evolution. It has also a very satisfactory short review of Darwin's personality and work. The especially interesting portion about this book is that devoted to Darwin's critics. It is hard to realize how, less than half a century ago, this now almost universally accepted doctrine of evolution was received by the "great thinkers" of the time.

The chapter on Spencer and his mistaken disciples seems to give full credit to Spencer while pointing out the serious errors which arose from his doctrine of the "Unknowable." This chapter is especially needed by American readers since it was an American, Fiske, who developed this worst side of Spencer to the fullest extent.

There is considerable discussion on physiological psychology,

showing a familiarity with the best modern writers. The chapter on "A Natural Code of Ethics" would have been much improved by a thorough knowledge of socialist writings on this subject. A specially interesting chapter is the one on "Limitations and Impediments," showing the difficulties which have impeded the general introduction of the evolutionary idea into popular thought.

The book has a very full index, which in a work of this character is specially needed.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### MARX'S "CAPITAL."

The event of the month just closed in the socialist publishing world was the issue of the first volume of the first complete American edition of "Capital." Full descriptions of this book have appeared in our advance notices, and it only remains to say that our purchasers have been surprised and delighted with the excellence of the workmanship on this book. The London edition, which until lately we have been selling, was far superior to the New York non-union reprint which has been the only competing edition. Our new edition, on the other hand, is in every way superior to the London edition. The type is clearer, the printing being done from new electrotypes instead of old stereotypes. The binding is far stronger and the cloth handsomer. The improvements made by Frederick Engels in the last German edition are incorporated, and Engels' last preface is included. Finally, there is a complete alphabetical index, prepared by Ernest Untermann expressly for this edition, which makes it easy to refer quickly to Marx's treatment of any topic. There are 869 large pages. The price, including postage to any address, is \$2.00; our stockholders buy it at \$1.20 postpaid or \$1.00 if purchaser pays expressage.

### THE SECOND VOLUME.

Type is now setting on Ernest Untermann's translation of the second volume of "Capital," never yet within the reach of English readers, though German and French socialists have been making effective use of it for many years. Former English and American editions of the first volume of "Capital" have been printed in a way to give readers the impression that they were getting Marx's entire work, when as a matter of fact they were getting only a third of it. We expect to have the second volume ready for delivery early in 1907. The exact date will be announced later. The price will be \$2.00, with the usual discount to stockholders.

The publication of this book is made possible by the generosity of Eugene Dietzgen, who has provided the money necessary to enable Ernest Untermann to devote himself to the difficult task of the trans-

lation for many months. Comrade Dietzgen has made a free gift of the translation to the publishing house, and it is for this reason that we are enabled to issue it at a price which simply pays the cost of printing and advertising. Even this is no small sum, and to avoid serious embarrassment a rapid sale for the book will be necessary. Every reader of the International Socialist Review should be vitally interested in giving the widest possible circulation to Marx's great work. Comrade Untermann is now translating the third and last volume, and the active co-operation of our readers will enable us to publish the entire work within a comparatively short time.

### MARXIAN ECONOMICS.

This new work by Ernest Untermann, which we expect to publish early in 1907, will be an introduction to the three volumes of Marx's "Capital" for beginners and a text-book for students and teachers. The Marxian theories have long become the center around which the storms of political economy rage and which even the professors in capitalist universities must face if they would not become hopeless back numbers. In Europe Marx has become the recognized authority in working-class economics, and bourgeois lights like Schäffle, Sombart, Böhm-Bawerk, Masaryk, Brentano and others have vainly assaulted this citadel of socialist thought by analysis, critiques, expositions, and all sorts of questionable polemics. Every attack has fortified the Marxian position. In the United States the time is now approaching where "Capital" is being referred to as a standard work on economics, even in Rockefeller's universities, for many students are now Socialists in this country and compel the professors to recognize the existence of our fundamental work. Unfortunately, the complete work of Marx is not yet accessible to American readers who cannot read German. And none of the various popularizations of "Capital" (whether Hyndman's, Deville's, Aveling's, etc.) gives a complete synopsis of the Marxian theories as an organic whole. All of them are more or less abbreviated summaries of the first volume of "Capital" and, with the exception of Hyndman's, take no notice of volumes II and III at all. And some of these so-called popularizations require themselves a popularizer before beginners can get any good out of them. Even Hyndman's "Economic Socialism," where it refers to volume III, does so but incidentally in the course of a series of loosely jointed lectures and touches upon but one point of that volume, the average rate of profit. Comrade Untermann's work gives a full and yet very clear view of the contents of all three volumes of "Capital," and shows us the organic connection between the three volumes, the unity and consistency of Marx's theory of value, and the way in which this theory stands the test of actual application to the conditions of capitalist production and competition. Unter-

mann does not give us a mere summary of Marx's analyses, as other so-called popularizations of Marx do, but unfolds before his readers the essential facts of the Marxian theories, as they would appear to one who has studied and fully assimilated the three volumes of "Capital." Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid. (Comrade Untermann will be delayed on this book by the necessity for putting most of his time for the next few weeks on the final revision of "Capital," but we expect to announce the date of publication soon).

### MORGAN'S "ANCIENT SOCIETY."

Our reprint of this epoch-making work has been delayed far longer than was first expected, but as we go to press with this month's Review the typesetting has been completed, so that only the electrotyping, press work and binding still have to be done. We can therefore confidently promise its delivery early in January, and the following description, prepared by A. M. Simons for "What to Read on Socialism," will be of timely interest:

There is one American, and one only, whose name is known in every great European center of learning, as one of the world's great scientists, and that man is Lewis H. Morgan. What Darwin's "Origin of Species" is to biology, what Marx's "Capital" is to economics, that Morgan's "Ancient Society" is to anthropology. Every text book on the history of institutions which has been written during the last generation is based upon this great work. Yet, because his logic is destructive of the existing order, his work has been ignored and belittled even by those who have built upon the foundation it laid. Marx was one of the first to recognize its merits, and Engels thought is of so great value that he popularized some of its principal positions in his "Origin of the Family." It is a fundamental part of the Marxian system, applying to the pre-historic period the same principles which Marx applied to the stage of capitalism. Morgan shows that the evolution of society in the pre-capitalistic stage obeys the same laws as in the present society. The first division of the book shows how the social stages may be classified by the form of production employed, and his classification remains the base of all subsequent ones. The second part deals with the "Arts of Subsistence," and traces the development of the powers of production until the stage of a possible surplus is reached. Man, unlike any other animal, finally reaches that control over his environment which the possession of such a surplus implies, and this fact determines many social institutions.

The second part traces the "Growth of the Idea of Government," which he shows to have originated in the sex relation. It is this portion, tracing the evolution of the gens, tribe and phratry into the beginnings of modern government, that constitutes the most famous portion of the work. Morgan had lived for many years as an adopted member of the Iroquois tribe of Indians, and it was the knowledge which he thus gained that gave him the clew to the laws of institutional evolution. He further elaborates the facts thus gained in the Third part on the "Growth of the Idea of the Family," a portion of the work which rivals the second part in its epoch-making character. Since it was written, no discussion of the family has ever appeared

which is not founded upon it. The Fourth part, the "Growth of the Idea of Property," is more directly connected with the socialist philosophy, although it is really but the logical conclusion of the book. Here is traced the relation of the property relation to different industrial stages, and to other social institutions, especially the marriage relation.

Hitherto this work has been sold only at a price which made it practically inaccessible to the working-class reader. This largely accounts for the unfamiliarity of most socialists with its contents, save as they have gained them indirectly. This edition for the first time places this work within the reach of every student of socialism and makes possible a wide diffusion of its contents.

Our edition will be handsomely bound in maroon cloth with gold stamping on back, uniform in style with our new edition of "Capital." There will be about 600 pages, and the price will be \$1.50, with usual discounts to stockholders. The book has heretofore sold for \$4.00.

#### "THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAN."

This is a new, original work, scholarly but not scholastic, by Austin Lewis of California. It is a masterly study in ground hitherto scarcely touched by the student of socialism. We have no space this month for an outline of the work, but will give further particulars next month. Typesetting on the book is already under way, and we expect to publish it early in January. It will be the 14th volume in the International Library of Social Science, and will retail at \$1.00.

#### OTHER NEW BOOKS.

"Socialism and Philosophy," by Labriola, translated by Ernest Untermann (\$1.00), "Class Struggles in America," by A. M. Simons (50c), and "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," by Karl Kautsky, translated by J. B. Askew (50c), all described in last month's Review, will soon be ready.

Comrade Austin Lewis has nearly completed a translation of Engels' classic work "Anti-Duehring," and this will probably appear early in 1907 as a volume in the International Library of Social Science. Other important additions to our list of books are only waiting for the raising of more capital.

#### FINANCIAL REPORT.

The book sales for the month of November were \$1,470.21, the receipts of the Review \$219.92, the receipts from the sale of stock \$253.82, and there was a cash contribution from Eugene Dietzgen of \$150.00 (his final payment on the cost of the plates of "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy"). It will thus be seen that we fell far short of breaking the record for October. The most encouraging item in the report is that the receipts of the Review equal the necessary ex-



penditures on the Review for a month. The book sales were crippled by the November election, which this year as always exhausted the energies of our best workers for a week or two. The weak point last month was in the stock subscriptions. We are now making heavier outlays than ever before in the plates of new books that are indispensable to the movement, and that are certain to sell steadily for years to come, but as most of our sales are made to stockholders at reduced rates, the first sales of the new books can not in the nature of the case pay the bills. We must depend on new stock subscriptions, and we ought to take in at least a thousand dollars from this source during December. We have to provide at this time for the cost of setting up and electrotyping the two volumes of "Capital" and of "Ancient Society," besides all the smaller books we are announcing. We want if possible to get through the month without borrowing money, and we will therefore renew, for the month of December only, an offer accepted by many during September. Send ten dollars this month in full payment for a share of stock, and we will send by express at your expense any of our books to the amount of five dollars at retail prices. If you wish us to prepay the expressage send fifty cents extra. This will be advisable for those living more than 400 miles from Chicago. Full particulars regarding the value of the stock will be found in "What to Read on Socialism," mailed free on request. Address,

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# The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT  
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

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## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

*No. 2. (At the Italian Congress.)*

TWO weeks later I was in The Eternal City in the new and handsome Casa del Popola, the socialists' own meeting hall. The congress of the Italian Socialist Party was in session and every one was alive with excitement, as it had everywhere been rumored that the party would be split into a thousand fragments. The Reformists, led by their able and forceful Turati, the Syndicalists, led by their brilliant, emotional and impractical Labriola; and the Integralists, led by the impressive and not always consistent Ferri, — all were there and lost no time in giving battle.

It seemed natural in Rome to be seeing a battle of giants, a quarrelling, hero-worshipping mob behind each and the fate of one of the greatest and noblest nations of the world resting upon the outcome. And, as I sat three days in that hall, it seemed to me that this was not far from the actual situation. With all the lovable qualities, with a fine and sincere admiration for power and greatness, with a quick and agile intelligence, with childlike frankness and honesty, with idealism and splendid emotion, quick to resent, quick to forgive, these men sat together for three days backing their leaders like boys with fighting cocks, deciding so far as I could see nothing of importance (except not to split) but discussing almost everything in the wide world of interest. It was a thousand times more interesting than the German congress. It was comic, tragic, lyric and as thing to watch fascinating, but at the end no one seemed to have had his view altered.

The thing that most astonished me in my first view of the

Italian gathering was its middle class character. Not only were all the leaders intellectuals but they were not in any sense men of the working class. Even Labriola, who led the fight of the unions, and who bitterly attacked the intellectuals in the movement, is an intellectual and most conspicuously so. He is a professor in the University of Naples and has for many years been an advocate. The numerous stylishly dressed men gave me some doubts as to the sound foundations of the movement. Even in the reports of the Congress in Avanti, the official organ of the party, one sees after the names of certain speakers the word — *operaio* — workman! And it occurs with striking rareness. The feeling that there was something unsound in professional and comfortably well-off men talking much of class-consciousness and advocating class war (in parliament) grew upon me and I have come away from Italy feeling that there must come some rather remarkable and revolutionary changes in the party itself before it becomes a socialist party.

And yet it may not be so. Certainly Italy is in a way the most democratic country in Europe and the people the most intelligent. In the midst of the most eruptive confusion they seem to get at the heart of things in a very striking way. The masses are by nature revolutionary and democratic and while they are poorly educated and rarely read they grasp the socialist ideal with surprising little loss of time. But so far as one can see they do not develop their own working-class leaders and that is perhaps their greatest weakness. For it is unquestionably true that while men of the exploiting and professional classes can be convinced of the necessity for socialism they can only most rarely appreciate the proletarian feeling or really sympathize with its inevitable and irresistible revolt. In other words they are likely to be unconsciously philosophic about its progress and willing to wait the long evolutionary process. This at any rate seems to be true of Italy, and their effort to throw on others the entire responsibility for the recent strikes shows that however good socialists they may be they are extremely fearful of all violence. But whether or not the movement in Italy is to continue indefinitely to be led by professionals and intellectuals, it is certain that for some time the workers have been chafing under the serene parliamentary methods of their middle class leaders.

In contrast to the German movement another thing is noticeable. The congress represented a battling of personalities, even more, it seemed to me, than a battling of ideas. To be sure each of the three "great men" represented a certain tendency but hero-worship and personal admiration swayed the judgements of the congressists almost as much as the tendencies to which they adhered. It seemed at times like a good old democratic party convention. The leaders might almost have been William

R., William J. and Grover. I can't think that the difference between the principles of these men was so important to the audience as their personalities. At any rate it seemed to me a fair inference if not quite just when an opposition paper put the tendencies of the party as Turatist, Ferrist and Labriolist. But this criticism is not the whole truth. There are tendencies represented by these men, or rather there are two tendencies, as the Integralists represent in part one tendency and in part the other. There is first the reformist. Without agreeing to all that their enemies say about them they are frankly and openly little more than Fabians. I think they are fearful of both the proletarian feeling and thought. Their main effort is directed toward obtaining certain reforms and the amelioration of the condition of the masses. Turati honestly and bravely stated the difference between his faction and that of the Syndicalists. "The conflict is not only a question of etiquette, it is at the same time in ideas, in sentiments, in action. Between the Bourgeois parties and the reformists, there is not a hostility so great or so violent as that which separates us from the Syndicalists, in spite of the soft lie of sweet fraternity in our party." This is certainly meant to be unequivocal and it is. Turati thinks the Syndicalists are Anarchists, at least in tendency, and he expresses himself with his admirable and characteristic frankness. I was forced to admire Turati, as many are who differ strongly with him in opinion. He is the ablest man among the members of the Party because he has the clearest and most logical mind. He is a keen and powerful debater and makes no effort, as the others do, to leave the field of pure and careful reasoning. He apparently has no desire to sway the emotions and his ability in critical and logical debate is, although used for a different tactic, similar in quality to that of Bebel or Jules Guesde. He is an incorrigible reformist, an impossibilist possibilist. In other words he is a logical and perfectly consistent reformist and arguing from that basis he is clear, consistent and courageous. Even his enemies, even those who have the feeling that he should leave the Party or be expelled can not fail to admire the consistent, brave, and masterly way in which he expresses and practices his views. But his views are those of John Burns and of Millerand; at least from the socialist point of view, one must so consider them, and if the socialist party was as clearly and uncompromisingly socialist in Italy as it is in France or even in England Turati would be faced with the same situation that confront, in these countries, men of the Millerand and Burns type.

Ferri is almost an exact counterpart of Turati. He is an emotional and powerful orator of the ordinary type. He is a man of good phrases, of epigrams and generalities. He is eclectic and a harmonizer, regardless of violent contradictions. He



considers that the socialist parties must everywhere have their advanced revolutionary tendencies, as expressed by the Syndicalists and their slow moving, timid and compromising tendencies as expressed by the reformist. In other words the party must always have, in the parliamentary phrase, a left wing and a right. It is the purpose of the Integralists to sit in the center and to harmonize the two extremes. Any one can see what a difficult position this is to fill and Ferri is attacked by both extremes for holding this middle ground and for his unwillingness to support the logic of the Syndicalists or the logic of the Reformists. Labriola thinks Integralism only a veil for those who are secretly reformists and Turati is impatient with it for not supporting the reformist position thus enabling the reformists to adopt a consistent reform program upon which to stand before the country and upon which they can fight in union in Parliament.

Opposed to both the reformist and the integralist is the Syndicalist. What his exact views are it was impossible to gather from the congressional proceedings. He was not there to any extent in person and I must think that the views that Labriola gave as the views of his faction, were only his own served up as Syndicalism. With a brilliancy not exceeded, with a handling of facts and theories that was truly remarkable, and with fearlessness and power, this very extraordinary young man presented his case. It created a tremendous sensation and as it was he who forced the fighting during the entire congress, it is only just that I should speak at greater length of his personality and views, although I am bound to think that the enthusiasm which he evoked was not so much because of his thought as because of the revolutionary spirit and the superb feeling that characterized his addresses.

It may be that Arturo Labriola, if he did not express the workmen's thought, fairly well expressed their revolutionary feeling, for he like them seems to be going through a crisis of thought which may lead him, as it may lead them, to anarchism. But at present whether considered as a socialist or as an anarchist Labriola can not be explained. At present he is illogical and contradictory both in his thought and in his activity. But with all that to be said against him he has tremendous personal power. I sat for three hours listening to him, and I must say that, with few if any of the ordinary gifts of the orator, he is the most magnetic and thrilling speaker I have ever heard. At times his discourse was like organ music, rising and falling with a peculiar harmony. His climax was not a usual one, it was climax upon climax until at last one seemed to burst in profusion like a giant sky-rocket. And then at times his oratory was disjointed and discordant. It made one think of Browning's line.

"Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be

prized." It was a most remarkable speech. It was apparently the sincere and frank expression of his own soul. He apparently kept nothing back. He was illogical but conscientious, and he seemed not to realize that his own individual crisis in thought was hardly to be presented as Syndicalism.

The battle of tendencies was not to Labriola, but he won a personal triumph that was immense. The various factions had again and again interrupted him during his address. At times it looked as if there might be a riot, and several times during his discourse the Chairman could not maintain order for many minutes together, but at the end of his address and after one of his climaxes the entire audience rose to its feet and applauded with all its power. Those near him ran forward to embrace and kiss him.

I can only briefly sum up his views. He spoke in favor of a vigorous campaign of propaganda against clericalism, against the monarchy, and against the military. He spoke disparagingly of parliamentary methods and confessed his reliance upon the economic organization of the workers for the important changes that were to come. He criticized the leadership of the party as being middle class and as forgetting its reason for being and its direct responsibility to the working-class. He said, '*L'intellectualism* ought not to be parasitic. It ought to be put at the service of socialism. It ought to be *L'intellectualism* which illuminates the way in advance of the socialist cause." He thought it unimportant whether or not the workers were forced to labor an hour or so more or less in the day. "Let him work," he shouted, "society will enrich itself thereby, and we will find a far greater harvest when the day of our victory and ascension shall come." He said it was folly to hope for the transformation of society by parliamentary action alone and that "the emancipation of the workers can only be accomplished by the workers themselves, and not by their proxies, by some persons interposed." The nationalization of public utilities was to him unimportant because the state exploited the workers quite as mercilessly as private capitalists. Socialism of the state is only another word for capitalism of the state.

After disposing of all the various methods advocated by socialists of whatever view to improve the condition of the proletariat, he asks, "What then remains, what is there essential and truly revolutionary in socialism, if it is not the free effort of the working-class, the economic organization of the proletariat upon the field of the class struggle, the grouping of the workers in their trades, federated among themselves for the defence of their common interests and preparing themselves to take one day into their own hands the direction of social work.... In order to arrive at this result political action can only play a secondary role;

it is the general strike which is the decisive weapon, the supreme means of emancipating the working-class."

These are very briefly the views of Labriola. In them lie not only bitter opposition to the program of the reformists, but to parliamentary methods as well. Labriola becomes with his so-called syndicalism as extreme as the parliamentarians and reformists have become in the advocacy of their methods of creating a socialist state. It is quite true that Sorel and Lagardelle in France and Leone and Labriola in Italy are forcing those of the opposing extreme to recognize more than they otherwise would the value and indeed the necessity of the strong organization of the working-class on the economic field; but the socialists of the United States and of England know how absurd it would be to consider this as the sole means necessary to create a socialist state. It is common knowledge with us that the union movement is revolutionary and often violent in the early stages of its development. Wherever the organizations are weak they are the most combative. As they grow more experienced and develop strength they become more careful about risking defeat by hastily considered or ill-advised action. The trade union movement in Italy is still in its early stages and while the members are mostly socialists, the leaders may become as with us many of the trade union socialists of the seventies and eighties became, extremely careful not to risk the prosperity of their economic organizations by assisting in a general movement for the benefit of the working-class. The English and American socialists, who, only now after a long period of syndicalism, are beginning to realize that they have left undeveloped and unused one of their greatest weapons of defense and of aggression, namely their political power, will regret profoundly if the Italian socialists, becoming disappointed in the partial use of their political power, think to gain more by the sole use of their power of organization on the economic field. If Italy has its *socialist* politicians sitting at the banquet tables of what are, so to speak, their Civic Federations, so has the American *syndicalist* movement. The development of socialist thought and feeling in both the political and the economic organizations of working-class will alone suffice to render such acts impossible. The change from the parliamentary to the syndicalist method will have but little effect, except to cripple the power of the working-class in a different war. All that Labriola can say against reformist socialism can be said with equal force against non-political unionism. Both the one and the other may become powerful factors in maintaining in power the capitalist system.

But that which is transient in either parliamentarism or syndicalism must not be permitted to become a basis for the destruction of either the one or the other of these weapons of the work-

ing-class. It is contradictory and narrow-viewed of Labriola, a member of the Italian Socialist Party, to deny its uses because it has defects. There is certainly something wrong with the Italian party, but rather than attribute it to the political method I should feel inclined to attribute it to the dominance of the middle class and the professional element in its positions of power. Intellectualism has been as much an injury as a help to England and left to itself it would be incapable of creating a movement. In fact its fads, factions and quarrels have made it supremely difficult for the working-classes to unify themselves politically. Now that labor has at last found its feet we find that it has been done almost without the help and sometimes in the face of the direct opposition of the intellectuals. How the same thing shall be done in Italy no one can say.

That which I have given was the basis of the entire work of the Italian Congress. In the voting Labriola was defeated by a heavy vote resulting from a union of the reformists and integralists. The movement goes on united if unity is possible where there is so much feeling between the factions, and if it is possible to preserve unity by means of voting programs. How much it is a mere unity of form without a unity of spirit one can not say. Certainly the divisions between the factions seem very deep and forbidding. They made me feel grateful that I was not an Italian socialist. I should not know what to do or whom to support. And this must be a very common feeling among the Italians with the effect that their work must be to a certain extent weak, uncertain und halting, all of which is especially deplorable for Italy. The working classes there more than perhaps anywhere else in Europe need the training and development that comes from participation in organizations of their own. They need its steadying influence and the education that it gives in reliance upon themselves. They need both their economic organizations and their political organizations, and anything which retards the growing and strengthening of these resources and supports to the working-class of Italy does it a very bad turn. But what shall come I know not. To me confusion reigns.

To one sitting in that hall, not in the heat of a faction or under the spell of a personality, the spectacle was of a kind to make one despair. At the end it was all tumult. There were shouts, congratulations, exultations,—there were the victors and the vanquished. The congress of the Italian Socialist Party was another thing of the past in the city of things of the past. It was not without a feeling of relief that one left the new temple to walk through the wastes and ruins of the old. From the terrace of the senatorial palace one sees the white, deserted temples of a thousand gods, the vast wastes of the precious, unrewarded

and gigantic labor of the poor. By the love and labor and hope of the disinherited the temple of Saturn was built and that of Castor and that of Vesta and that of Futura and that of Concord. The arch of Septimius was their labor and so too were the towering arches of the basilica of Constantine. And to-day it is but a step, as it was three thousand years ago, from this spacious, but now *dead*, city into the narrow alleys of the *living* poor. It was their work. It was they who had built it all. They had cut its marble from the hills, dug the trenches, laid the foundations. Every wall, column, arch, they had put in place. The city of palaces, of baths, of circuses, of arches, of temples they had built again and again. They had laid its pavements and filled its streets with exquisite beauty. They had built palaces for their tyrants, for their kings, emperors and senators, for their priests, for their demagogues, and for the mistresses of their tyrants and emperors and priests and demagogues. But for themselves they had in B. C. and A. D. hovels and alleys.

Is this new movement going to repeat in Italy the old old story? That is hardly conceivable, but in Italy instead of union, education, organization the party brings to the proletariat the quarrels, tendencies, hairsplittings, and personalities of a few middle class intellectuals. It is, I fear, a party of Roman patri-cians with the votes of a restive, revolutionary, proletariat. Is this too harsh — perhaps it is. It may be that these first impressions of the Italian socialist movement are all wrong and no more than I can hope that this is so, for Italy needs socialism as much as any land under the sun. It is her only hope and I should think that any man with the heart of a human being would be a socialist in Italy. The misery is so great there that even the hardest heart must be touched. I think of one valley, so smiling, so beautiful, with a thousand terraced gardens on its exquisite slopes, under skies that enrapture the soul and with men, women and children that rend and lacerate the heart. After one sight of that humanity, there are no more skies, no gardens, no valleys, no hills. I would rather forever live in Dante's Hell than another day there among my wretched human brothers. Great God, isn't the Valley of Tirano all the school Italy needs for socialism! Aren't the streets and alleys about your temple, living, and about your Coliseum, dead, all that is needed for your propaganda! The faces there are the faces with big eyes and sunken cheeks, the faces of the starving that everywhere in Italy tear the heart with claws of steel. They are faces, once seen, can never be forgotten; they are with you when you eat and your food sickens you; they are with you when you dress and your clothes become hateful to you, they are with you when you try to sleep and the night haunts you.

Perhaps some men in Italy can shut their hearts and walk upon these faces and eyes, perhaps some men must do what St. Francis did, give all, absolutely all; but is it possible that any one can know and see and feel and not be a revolutionist?

ROBERT HUNTER.

## How to Read "Capital".

IN ONE respect at least Marx's "Capital" deserves comparison with the Christian Bible—it is the most talked about and the least read book among its followers. There are thousands of copies of the first volume of "Capital" among the socialists of the United States, yet it is only occasionally that a person is found who has really mastered it. The most common explanation of this is that it is extremely hard to understand. To a certain extent this is true. It is true of any great fundamental work. Yet I have seldom found a workingman, who, if he would take the time to study, could not grasp the Marxian philosophy.

I have found hundreds of readers of Marx; however, who never could get beyond that first chapter. It always seemed to me unfortunate that the logical order of the work determined that this chapter should serve as an introduction. That technical discussion of "commodities" has proved the undoing of thousands of would-be Marxian students.

Yet there are portions of this first volume of "Capital" (and I speak only of this volume at present) that are dramatic, absorbing, with flashes of humor and touches of eloquence that place them well up in the ranks of literature, aside from their argument.

Because of these facts it has been a hobby of mine that if the method of approach were changed it might be made much easier to understand Marx. I am the more led to suggest this idea because all of the attempts to popularize Marx, "Capital" have been dismal failures. I think I have read nearly all these attempts, and believe that the above opinion voices the conclusions of nearly every Marxian student (who has not written such an adaptation or popularization).

I do not mean to claim that the order of reading which I am about to suggest is preferable as an orderly arrangement of the argument to that left by Marx, but simply that by selecting those portions which are most entertaining and most easily understood, and which are none the less fundamental, as a beginning, the portions which are ordinarily looked upon as so extremely difficult of comprehension will have had many of their obscurities unconsciously cleared away.

I would, therefore, suggest that the reader who is approaching Marx for the first time begin with Chapter XV of Part IV, (p. 405 of Kerr & Co.'s edition). This is the chapter on "Machinery and Modern Industry," and the factory workman at least

will find himself at once in the midst of a world with which he is familiar. He will meet with the words he uses in his daily work. He will find ideas which have always been within his reach presented to him in a form that will carry infinitely more meaning than they have ever done before—and this is largely the secret of what makes interesting reading.

Here he can read the famous definition of a machine which has now become classical and has been accepted (or shall we say stolen, since credit is almost never given) by nearly all the orthodox political economists. Make a note of these pages to read to your single tax friend the next time he tells you that the socialist does not know the difference between a tool and a machine.

Note in the pages that immediately follow how the introduction of the various forms of motive power has brought corresponding social changes. The four pages following p. 418, and closing the first section of this chapter, are one of the fullest discussions given by Marx of the relation of industrial to social changes, in other words of the materialistic interpretation of history, yet it is seldom referred to by writers on this subject. This whole chapter is illustrative of this method, and this fact should be closely borne in mind by the reader.

In this chapter we find Marx' discussion of just how machinery "saves labor" and how this "saving" redounds to the benefit of the capitalist. All this is told with a wealth of illustration that cannot but make it intelligible to even the careless reader.

When this chapter has been read follow the well-known example of the novel reader and skip everything to the conclusion and see how the plot turns out. Part VIII, on "The So-called Primitive Accumulation," is the biography of the capitalist. The eight chapters of which this part is composed constitute a study in industrial history. Whenever an attempt is made to indict the present capitalist we are always told that he secured his capital by "honest" methods and that he should be compensated. No man can read these chapters and not forever after realize that even from the point of view of the ethics of capitalism the present owners of the earth can claim no right to their possessions.

This portion of the book moves on with a majestic tread in its argument, its summing up of facts, its power of logic until it culminates in Chapter XXXII, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation." This chapter is one of the great classics of Socialism. With the chapter which preceeds it, it constitutes an epitome of the philosophy of socialism. It has a strength of style, a sweep of argument, a prophetic insight which it would be hard to parallel elsewhere in the world of literature. It has been reproduced many times in socialist writings, but if there is any reader of this who does not at once recall it, let him lay



this down until he has read these two chapters. They will bear reading again and again, and will grow greater and give new meaning each time.

Around these two chapters have been waged the fiercest battles of Marxists and "revisionists." It is against the chapter on "Historical Tendency" that Bernstein directed his heaviest batteries.

Read it in the light of the facts of American industrial development and see how much wiser Marx was than those that wrote almost a generation after him, and were that much nearer to the facts which he foresaw and to which they were still blind.

The reader who has proceeded thus far will have obtained a fairly good grasp of one phase of the Marxian philosophy, — the materialistic interpretation of history, especially if he has already read the Communist Manifesto and Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." If he has not read these works he had better stop at this point and familiarize himself with them.

Such a reader will have met with many phrases that he did not understand, but he could skip them without materially interfering with the comprehension of the argument. He will now want to know more of the mechanism of this capitalism whose life history he has traced.

It is the analysis of this mechanism, which constitutes the Marxian economics. The chapters we have discussed show how capitalism came, and whither it is going. The remainder of the book tells how capitalism operates while it is here. For this reason they are much more difficult to understand. Almost any one can grasp the history of the growth and evolution of electricity as a mechanical force, but only the trained electrician can calculate the methods by which a given electrical mechanism works.

Let us then turn back to the first chapter. Here we are learning the language which will be used throughout this portion of the book. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that we master this first chapter. There are only forty-seven pages of it and it is well to read it a half dozen times before going on. When we are sure that we know what is meant by a "Commodity," by "Use Value," "Surplus Value," and "Exchange Value," and "Labor Power," we shall find that much of the difficulties that have always confronted us in a study of Marx will have disappeared.

Then read straight on through the book, including the chapters already read, which will fall naturally into their relation with the whole, and not forgetting at the end of each part, to turn back and read the first forty-seven pages again, to brush up on the "vocabulary," as the student of a language would say.

It may be said that this is hard work. Certainly it is. But a mastery of Marx' Capital will go far towards supplying a good

education in economics and the philosophy of history. You cannot expect to get such an education by a few hours easy reading.

Moreover much of the difficulty of Marx comes from the fact that we have learned to think in terms of capitalist ideology, while Marx demands, as a preliminary to his comprehension, an understanding of the proletarian psychology. This explains why he is even more difficult for the college student than for the manual worker, and is practically incomprehensible to the bourgeois reformer.

I have said nothing about the other volumes of Marx. This is partially because they are as yet inaccessible in English and partly because the person who has mastered volume one, will scarcely need any suggestions on reading the others.

A. M. SIMONS.

## New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

### III.

The path of new Zionism, of political Zionism, so called, has never been strewn with roses. It had its troubles from the very outset: Intended as a sure cure for all diseases of the Jewish national body, it met the fate of so many cure-all-medicines—the patient resolutely refused to take it. Many devices had been tried by the doctors of Zionism to induce the patient to take it: Appeal was made to his instinct of national self-preservation; the glorious past of the Jewish nation was brought into play, the blessings that await him in the future were painted in the most dazzling colors; the great prophets of old were disturbed from their eternal repose to bear witness to the great mission of the chosen people; the great danger to his national existence, its annihilation was demonstrated in a thousand different ways: the doctors themselves each took a “dose,” but all this was of no avail! The real patient, the great mass of the Jewish workman steadfastly and persistently refused to touch it. Instead they have thrown themselves, body and soul, into the socialistic movement which at that time began to show symptoms of life. Here again real life and the ideals resulting from it, proved to be more powerful than the ideals called into life artificially. And what wonder? Social life in Russia was disturbed by the high waves of the revolution; the youth of the country was burning with impatience for activity, the hopes of the proletariat were running high, the hour of liberation seemed at hand, and the Jewish masses threw themselves into the revolutionary whirlpool, brushing aside Zionism with its reactionary contents. Zionism found itself on the verge of collapse, and as a means of self-preservation it was compelled in one way or another to adopt some measures, to take some stand towards this feverish activity of the Jews in the revolution. As a result we see a new variety of Zionism looming up — Zionism blended with Socialism. Whether this movement originated in the head of some leader, or came into being spontaneously, by a sort of instinct, does not alter the fact that Zionism, the supposed remedy for the ailments of the Jews, could itself be saved only by the aid of Socialism. Dr. N. Sizkin, the Social-philosophic family physician of Zionism expressed this thought very clearly, in an article entitled “Zionism and the Multitude.”

There seemed to have been no doubt in the mind of the learned doctor that Zionism was the real drug for the diseased Jewish national body. The only thing which seems to have disturbed his tranquillity of mind was this very difficult problem of how to administer the medicine to the patient. On the one hand there is Zionism which promises to redeem the nation from bondage, on the other hand it is powerless to accomplish anything without the help of the masses of the Jews, "and the Multitude," he laments "had not arisen to rally around the flag of Zionism; Zionism not having awakened in him the enthusiasm necessary for the salvation of the nation."

Zionism, thus, needs the aid of the masses, in the same proportion as the masses needs the help of Zionism. His motto is, therefore, "Zionism for the Multitude and the Multitude for Zionism."

But how are we to accomplish this almost impossible fit? How are we to get the multitude to adopt Zionism?

To this question the good doctor replies in the following language:

"In order to make the multitude rally round the banner of the Zionist movement of liberation it is necessary that the ideal of Zionism should be understood not only as a remedy against the national sufferings, but also as a deliverance from all the misery and privations which the masses are subject to in the present order of society. A new social order in the New Land! A social order based on freedom and equality; an order without the contrasts of master and slave, rich and poor, capitalist and proletariat; a society established on new economic principles, and collective ownership of land."

Here we have the whole scheme in plain words: Zionism is the only cure for the poor, downtrodden persecuted Jewish nation, but the great masses will take the bitter pill only when coated with the sugar of Socialism — Socialism is to become the hand-maid of Zionism.

This worked well, for the moment. The patient swallowed the medicine, but, alas! the effect proved to be disastrous. Indeed the very first attempt at compounding the two "elements" proved to be a perilous undertaking.

For the purpose of successfully executing the design of drawing the multitude to Zionism and administering Zionism to the multitude an organization by the name of "Cherus" (Freedom) was formed, and right here at the first step, the incompatibility of the two "elements" was manifested.

As Dr. Sizkin has demonstrated "scientifically", Zionism must be made to mean the deliverance of the masses from "all the misery and sufferings of the present social order." In other words: The propaganda of Zionism must include the propaganda of So-

cialism. But when it came to practical work, the organization decided to exclude from its programme "immediate demands." It, thus, from the outset declined to do any work which could bring the ideals of Socialism into the minds of the Jewish workingman. But why should the organization that has made it its aim to infuse Zionism into the Jewish workingman, with the aid of Socialism, why should this organization refuse to adopt any social policy?

"Cherus" explains it thus:

"Because the work for Zion is of a different nature than the work of ameliorating the condition of the Jew to-day, in the land where he lives, and it would be futile to attempt two conflicting tasks in one and the same organization". And as if afraid of being misunderstood the organization goes on:

"If we were to meddle in questions of social reform, our policy would of necessity have to be of a reactionary nature. Because in the Zionist movement are congregated men of different classes and various religious convictions, with the meddling in social problems, class-interests would clash, and this would inevitably lead to the adoption of a reactionary policy."

And to remove all shadow of doubt as to this meaning, it continues.

"The journeymen of the small and large manufacturers are constantly struggling against their employers for higher wages. The Zionist organization which undertook to mingle in economic problems of to-day, would have to take an active part in such contests. And under such circumstances it would have no room in its midst for the manufacturer.

"Again, co-operative stores would be of a great value to the small manufacturer, as well as to his workingman. Should the Zionist organization undertake to establish such stores, it would have simultaneously to exclude all small traders because the establishment of co-operative stores would be the ruin of the small storekeeper."

The whole thing is now clear; there is no room for misunderstanding: The Jewish workingman is to be told that Zionism is the remedy both for the national as well as economic evils, that a new order, based on the principles of collectivism, would be established in the new land; at present, however, and especially within Zionism, no mention should be made of the whole affair, because, otherwise, the class conflicts would lead to a reactionary policy.

But how is this new society in the new land to be built? By what magic is the Jewish workingman to learn of the blessings that await him in the new land? These questions you would in vain ask of the learned doctor, or his organization.

The difficulties, thus, began at the very beginning, and they

went on increasing with every step. Such is the nature of Socialism! Like Yahve it suffers no god besides itself, and if one tries to force upon it any foreign substance an explosion is sure to follow. And in this case the explosion occurred at the seventh Zionist Congress which took place in 1904 in Basel, Switzerland. And the explosion came with such violence that it disrupted the Zionist party, destroyed the organization "Cherus," turned upside down the good Doctor Sizkin and severely injured, almost mutilated, their socialism itself.

On the ruins of this violent eruption a new party arose, the party of Zionists Socialists. From now on Socialism gets the first place. Instead of Socialism, as heretofore, being the means by which to attain the ends of Zionism, it now becomes the end which is to be reached by means of Zionism.

The most remarkable thing in the whole story is that nothing extraordinary has happened to bring about this state of affairs. It was simply the logic of life, the force of socialist doctrine, that has opened the eyes of the Jewish proletariat of Zionist faith to what the learned doctor could not see as late as the year 1903, namely that Zionism as a cure for economic evils cannot go hand in hand with a policy that must necessarily be reactionary, that, on that account to have no policy at all is just as illogical; and lastly, that the class-struggle is more powerful than the "national spirit."

But, alas! The proletarian Territorialist-Socialist-Zionist, as they sometimes euphemistically call themselves, are just as unreasonable, if not more so, than the Zionism which they discard so bombastically.

#### IV.

Before we begin our analysis of the theory of the Zionist-Socialist, it is necessary to inform the reader that these "Zionists" are not Zionists at all; they are rather opposed to the idea of settling the Jews in Palestine. What they are after is a territory somewhere, where the Jews could settle as an independent nation. So much for the Zionism of it. As for the socialist part of it, it is nothing else but a misinterpretation, at best a misconception of the teachings of scientific socialism, although they claim to be strict Marxians, and their theory strictly scientific.

Let us now examine the theory itself. It runs thus:

The development of modern industry leads to the accumulation and concentration of capital. This accumulation of capital in ever fewer hands, causes misery, misfortunes and unhappiness not only to the workingmen, but also to the small manufacturer and the middle class in general, in that they can not withstand the competition of combined capital and are driven with an irresistible force into the ranks of the proletariat. At

the same time when the ranks of the proletariat are thus forcibly enlarged, the invention and the introduction of new machinery and the division of labor make many workers superfluous. And so the numbers of the working-class are increasing at the same time when their chances of employment are decreasing. The result, of course, being an ever increasing reserve army of unemployed, causing a fierce competition among the workmen with a tendency to keep wages to its lowest margin, lowering the standard of life, and, at last, creating a pauper class.

On the other hand this very capitalism carries within itself the germ of its own destruction: With its accumulation of fabulous fortunes, with its huge factories, with its development of machinery, with its bringing together of enormous masses of workmen under one roof, capitalism creates a class-conscious proletariat which is waging war against the capitalist class for economic supremacy and which will ultimately bring about the social revolution and thus emancipate mankind from economic slavery.

So far so good.

But this conflict is manifold, they further say. Simultaneously with the fight between the capitalist class and the working-class, of each nation there goes on a strife between the different nationalities which may be living in the same country. In this conflict it is no more the proletariat that is struggling against the capitalist and *vice versa*, here it is rather a contest of the capitalists of the different nationalities among themselves and of the proletarians of the different nationalities among themselves. The outcome of this struggle is always in favor of the ruling nation, which owns the national industry of the land. And what is more, this very portion of the proletariat which has the victory on its side, thanks to the favorable circumstance of belonging to the nation that owns the national industry, is also the one that is destined to bring liberty and equality to suffering humanity.

The conclusion of this theory is the following:

The Jewish nation is the weakest among the nations. It is in the first place, the most oppressed; its workingmen began to take part in productive industry at a time when the proletariat of other nations was more fully developed. They are therefore not permitted to take part in the main industries. "The Jewish proletariat is called into life not by the large, but by the small bourgeoisie; he appears not as an industrial workingman, but as an artisan of the sweat shop and house industry, and inasmuch as this sort of industrial undertakings is doomed to death with the further development of capitalism, and as the Jews are not admitted into the large factories they are doomed to become paupers, and as such unable and unfit to take part in the reconstructing of society.

The fact that the number of Jewish workingmen are steadily

increasing and that they are very active in the socialist movement, as well as in the actual revolution in Russia — this fact, they say, proves nothing. The proletariat (like electricity?) consists of two poles: the negative and the positive.

The negative proletariat is being formed in the small factories and sweat shops, where it acquires the spirit of discontent only, its accumulated energy, therefore, can be used as a force of destruction, but it can never become a power of construction, while socialism is mainly a doctrine of construction, the constructive power of which rests with the positive proletariat, which is being produced in the large factories operated with huge machinery. The Jews not being admitted into these factories, have no chance of ever becoming "positive" proletarians and are therefore deprived of the possibility of giving a helping hand to the upbuilding of the new, socialistic society.

These abnormal conditions force the Jews to emigrate en masse. But emigration does not help matters much. In their new countries conditions are not much better, as no national industry awaits their coming. Besides, immigration itself becomes difficult in view of the restrictive laws that are being enacted in England and the United States. The only permanent and real remedy, therefore is an autonomous territory, a territory where the Jews could settle as an independent nation. In such a territory the industry would, of course, be Jewish-National and the Jews could freely proletarianize, and so contribute, as positive proletarians, to the establishing of socialism.

There remains, however, one more point to be settled: How and where is this territory to be acquired? Who will be crazy enough to supply them with a territory? And here again it is strictly "Marxism" that comes to their rescue. Capitalists are always on the lookout for new markets. They always welcome new colonies. It is therefore, in the interests of international capitalism to help the Jews acquire a new land. And England, the classical land of capitalism, was really moved by its own interest to offer them Uganda.

To sum up, the whole theory amounts to this: The social revolution is inevitable. But it will be brought about by that portion of the proletariat that is employed in the large factories, because in those large factories the real constructive spirit of Socialism is bred. The Jews belonging to an oppressed nation, which is not in possession of any national industry, are not admitted into those large factories and can, consequently, not proletarianize in the "scientific" sense of the word and have therefore no opportunity to participate in the social revolution. In order that the Jews may aid in the reconstruction of society they must become positive proletarians. In order to become such proletarians their nation must be in possession of a national industry.



In order to establish such industry, they must acquire a new territory. Territorialism, thus, becomes necessary for the sake of socialism.

We shall yet use the opportunity to examine more closely this new interpretation. I would prefer to call it misinterpretation of Marxism. Meanwhile we will assume their assertions to be correct and try to follow up the logic of this "theory" from its own premises.

In the first place we notice that the whole theory is nothing else but a new excuse for Zionism or Territorialism. The "bourgeoisie" Zionists and Territorialists claim the necessity of a new independent land because in exile the Jews can not achieve high rank in the army; because their number in the intelligent professions is limited; because they can not acquire land or titles of honor. The idealist Zionists need a land for the expansion of the Jewish spirit; and the Socialist-Zionists are after a territory because the Jews can not proletarianize, because they can not become positive proletarians. Was it really necessary to cause so much disturbance, to split the Zionist party and to form a new one, to invoke Marxism and generally to make so much noise only to find a new excuse for Zionism? What matters it for what reason the Jews need a country? And if a reason be really necessary, why not the old reason? Moreover, it seems to me that the reason of the old-fashioned Zionists, that the Jews can not become of great importance and mighty in the different walks of life, is from a strictly nationalistic standpoint, more powerful and more appealing than the one of the so-called Marxists, that they, the Jews can not proletarianize.

Again, from their illogical conclusion it seems to follow that a new state is to be created for the expressed purpose of giving a chance to a certain number of people to make a social revolution. The Jews, they declare, can not become a constructive factor in the social revolution while living among the nations. What of it? The revolution will then be made without their aid, as long as it is bound to come.

To such a proposition, it seems, the Zionist-Socialist would never agree. The Jews must take an active part in the revolution. In exile, it is impossible, for the reasons, mentioned above. A new territory is the only solution. A queer notion this of socialism and the social revolution!

But let us not quarrel with them for "minor" matters, let us again admit the correctness of this supposition. But right here we are confronted with another difficulty. In this case the social revolution would have to be postponed until the Jewish State is ready for action.

From their "orthodox" Marxian standpoint, they could not think of a revolution until their state would reach a high point

in the development of capitalism, and until the proletariat has become a positive one, with a pauper proletariat in addition, with the formation of trusts and so forth and so on, as it is written in the code of Marxism. Now, the other nations that have begun their career earlier would of course get ready before them, and would have to postpone action until such time when the Jews are ready.

Let us go a bit further :

The whole movement though designed strictly to serve the interests of the proletariat, can in reality not move without the bourgeoisie. The main point in the programme of these Zionist-Socialists is the proletarianisation clause. Now proletarianisation implies capitalisation. One cannot become a proletarian without someone else becoming a capitalist. The fact that they insist upon being the proletarians does not alter the fact. The movement is therefore more nationalistic than specifically proletarian, their "philosophy" then can hurt them more than help. To put their theory in plain every-day language it amounts to this :

We, the Jewish workmen in exile, cannot become positive proletarians because our brethren, the capitalists cannot become positive capitalists. We therefore must acquire a new territory in order that our brethren come in possession of the national industry, and have a chance to exploit us in a real capitalistic manner, that we may become real, positive proletarians, that we may start a real class-conscious movement and ultimately make a revolution.

The bourgeoisie therefore becomes an indispensable factor in their new undertaking. They admit, it is true, their ignorance of the motives that would induce the bourgeoisie to help establish the new land, ("Marxian" philosophy seems to have forsaken them in this particular point), but they know that very little could be accomplished without the material aid of the Jewish capitalists. How do they expect to make the bargain? Whatever the capitalists are, they are not lacking practical common sense, especially when it comes to strike a bargain. Do they expect to get the capitalists to agree to their terms. The capitalists would at once detect the traps set for them by the Zionist-Socialists, and refuse to help establish a territory with the avowed purpose of making a revolution against them. Oh, no! They would never agree to sure death.

This is not intended as a joke, though it sounds humorous. My purpose is rather to show how ludicrous is the adoption of Marxism to the movement of Zionism, whatever its own merits may be.

More ridiculous yet is the main point of their contention.

The Jews must acquire a territory, because among the nations they cannot proletarianize and, consequently, can not help in the reconstruction of society. In other words: The "positive" proletariat alone possess the "power of reconstruction;" the "negative" proletariat can, at least be used only as a destructive force. The Jewish people, because of its peculiar economic condition, belong to the negative proletariat. As such it can only destroy but is impotent in building up. Therefore . . . they must build a totally new society in the wilderness. And this is deducted from the philosophy of Marx. How ridiculous!

But let us make another concession; let us forgive them this inconsistency, too; let us admit that this "powerless, destructive" and "negative" proletariat will be able to build up a new society; let us admit that the capitalists will be stupid enough to agree to a bargain by which they are sure to be losers; let us admit that the social revolution will be postponed; let us admit, that it is desirable and possible to build up a country in order to make a revolution; let us finally admit that the role of the Jews in the present revolution in Russia has been and is only of a negative character. In a word, let us admit everything.

What then? Will this help any the Jewish nation? We have our doubts about it.

It must be remembered that even the Zionist-Socialists admit that the whole nation cannot possibly emigrate. At the best it would take fifty years for two or three million of people to settle in the new territory, in which time, as has already been pointed out, the depletion would be made good.

How will the new territory help those that are going to remain in exile? Senseless as are the contentions of the Zionist—both materialist and idealist—that a Jewish state somewhere will make the Jew be more respected, or that an "intellectual center" will tend to keep alive and develop the Jewish "spirit" of western Europe. Senseless as these contentions are, it may yet sound plausible to some. Difficult as it is to believe we can still imagine how the philosophic faculty in Jerusalem, for instance, under the guidance of the long since dead idealistic philosophy of "Akhad Haam" should influence some self-taught "philosopher" of Talmudic study. But how the "national" industry in the new Territory somewhere in Asia or Africa could help the millions of Jewish toilers in eastern Europe to become "positive" proletarians is beyond the comprehension of any sensible man. The majority of the Jewish nation is after all doomed to pauperism, and will still be unable to become a factor of construction in the social revolution. The only result of such territory would be to still more scatter the Jewish people. To the many countries where the Jews now live would be added another one—the

new territory. From the above it will be easily seen how utterly baseless and illogical is the whole "theory" of the Zionist territorialist. But the thing becomes worse yet, when we look into their "Marxism" from the real Marxian point of view.

JACOB MILCH.

(To be continued).

## New Zealand Experimental Legislation.

THE year 1890 and 1891 will long be remembered by the workers of Australia and New Zealand. In 1890 Australasia was passing through one of the most disastrous strikes in her history—still referred to as the “great maritime strike.” Of course the men were beaten and the non-political trades unionist had it borne in upon him how helpless he was against organized capital with the government at its back. Then the Australian Labor Party was formed.

The following year New Zealand awoke. For many years we had suffered Tory misrule until it had brought us to the verge of national bankruptcy. Trade languished, workers were walking the streets unable to find employment, soup kitchens were opened in order to stave off starvation. The machinery of government was clogged with incapacity and corruption.

It is said that the occasion provides the man. It was so in this case, at least. John Ballance was returned to power. To the conceptions of John Ballance, most of the subsequent prosperity of New Zealand is due. Unfortunately Premier Ballance died in 1893, but his place was taken up by the now world-renowned Richard John Seddon, who, though he may not have had John Ballance's knowledge of economics, had his heart in the right place, and until a few years ago, before he had been spoiled by success, he faithfully struggled to place on the statute book many of the acts which the Ballance ministry had discussed at one time or another. Thus you will hear it said to-day that all that was good in Mr. Seddon's legislation was what he had received as a legacy from John Ballance. And one of the best administrative acts was that of placing Mr. Edward Tregear at the head of the Labor Department. While he holds such a position the workers of New Zealand have every confidence that the labor laws will be fairly and impartially administered.

In Socialist literature of the day New Zealand figures as the most advanced country along state ownership. The advanced men in every land point to us with pride as a practical proof of the soundness of their contentions. We have a land tax (presumably) for the bursting up of big estates. We have state aid to settlers; women's franchise; arbitration courts for fixing wages and preventing strikes; a labor department which sees to the enforcement of the factory acts, etc., and yet we have failed to solve the problem of the distribution of wealth.

Our present population is under 900,000. Of these 3952 oc-

cupy 27 million acres out of the 36 million comprising the occupied lands of the colony. The other 9 million are held by 62,140 persons. One hundred and six hold 10 million acres. These are exclusive of Maori holdings. Mr. J. C. Wilbon, president of the N. Z. Farmers' Union, at a recent meeting referred to the difficulty farmers had in getting land for their sons. The Hon. T. S. Duncan, minister of lands, speaking at the same meeting said: "If the land were all freehold the price would get so high that eventually no land would be obtainable at a reasonable price. There was land to-day which could never be made to pay at its present value." It is a matter of common knowledge that only the unusually high prices obtained for our butter, meat and wool on the London market enables the small farmer to pay rent and high interest charge. Mr. Coghlan, the well-known statistician affirms that wages have risen  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. during the past fifteen years. In the cities during the same time butcher meat has gone up 100 per cent.; house rent 30 to 50 per cent., other items from 10 to 50 per cent. Here is a return supplied to the labor department by the Wellington Timber Yards Union.

Wages	Children	No. of Rooms	Rent
48	7	5	20
45	3	5	20
50	4	4	13
40	5	4	14
38	3	3	10.6
30	4	3	11
35	6	3	20
45	7	4	20
<hr/> 331	<hr/> 39	<hr/> 31	<hr/> 128.6

This table shows that the average proportion of wages to rent is 38 per cent. This however understates the position. Take the first line in the foregoing table. A man, in receipt of 8 shillings per day (with seven children, making a family of nine), pays 20 shillings per week for a cottage of five rooms — this means, he must work for his landlord from Monday morning till dinnertime on Wednesday out of every week. The rest of the week he earns 28 shillings for food, clothing and other necessities. This, too, when the father is in full employment. How do these families keep the wolf from the door when the head of the house is idle through bad weather or any other cause? In another return one man earning £100 per year pays £52 per year rental (—) paid weekly. When alongside these high rents you place the admitted fact that in other directions the cost of living is steadily rising, until, despite all our Labor laws, the purchasing power of money is less than it was fifteen years ago.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Touching on this point, Mr. Edward Tregear, Secretary of the Labor Department in a letter to the Minister of Labor, said: "Some of the necessities cost more than in former years, their price is rapidly advancing, and this out of all proportion to the rise in wages of producers. The chief devourer of the wages of the worker and of the profits of the employer is excessive rent. With the above considerations in mind, I very earnestly ask the Government to take into consideration the question of legislating for the acquirement of suburban lands and the housing of the citizens."

This recommendation of Secretary Tregear was immediately acted upon and up to now some twenty or thirty houses have been erected in each of the four centres, but this I fear will do mighty little in the way of abolishing slums or checking the greed and rapacity of owners of house property. I think the best I can give as a closing sentence is the following from the speech of our late premier Richard John Seddon when addressing the Australian Labour Party last June: — "In New Zealand the classes who have benefited most by Labor legislation are the capitalists and land-owning classes." New Zealand has gone as far as any country in the world in the direction of State enterprise. Her failure to emancipate the wage slaves leaves but one practical alternative — class conscious revolutionary Socialism.

W. ROBINSON.

Wellington, N. Z.

## Industrial Evolution and Socialist Tactics.

**T**HE Socialist movement naturally resolves itself into three periods: First — the Utopian period, when the basic principles were being discovered, Second — the period of theoretical education, when the army is drilled in those principles, and Third — the period of organization and conquest. We are just entering upon the third stage and from now on will direct more of our energy to the actual work of getting Socialism.

“But we can’t get Socialism until we carry a National election.” No, neither can a farmer get his crop until it is threshed, yet threshing is of minor importance with many of the preliminary operations. Our task heretofore has consisted in deciding what crop to raise, selecting the seed, winnowing it most thoroughly and sowing it in ground prepared by economic development. But there are mighty tasks before us that must be accomplished before we can reap the harvest.

There are four steps in the development of an industry from Capitalism to Socialism.

- 1st: Its various branches must be brought under one general management.
- 2nd: It must be owned collectively by the Nation, State or Municipality.
- 3rd: It must be managed to a large extent by the actual workers, excluding bond-holders and dividend getters.
- 4th: All citizens must have an equal opportunity to become workers. These steps may not be taken in the order indicated, or two or more of them may be taken simultaneously, — but they are inevitable, and not until the final step is accomplished can the industry be said to be Socialized.

Now it is our duty as Socialists to assist this process in every way that we can, hence we are attempting to capture the political power in order to use all of the force of organized government to effect the change. But the political power can only be wielded by a majority of the people, so the effort of our propaganda is to win a majority to our views.

It is evident that we will win minor victories before we can hope for a general success, and the most important problem confronting us is — how to so handle our forces as to hold and increase our minor conquests without compromising our principles or interfering with the natural evolution of industry.

The uselessness of attempting to appeal to any class financially interested in the perpetuation of the present system, and the



folly of being diverted from our main object by skirmishing against *effects* of Capitalism, are well understood by practically all of our members, but when it comes to assisting the trend to Socialism, we find ourselves on territory where the path is not so clearly defined. It is safe to say that there is scarcely a Socialist but would vote for the consolidation of small business concerns into a Trust, could such a matter be submitted to the people, — and many of them will go to actual inconvenience to trade with the octopus in preference to the struggling competitor. Yet, when it comes to taking the next step, we are treated to the astounding spectacle of a Socialist Local opposing a program for the municipalization of a public utility. True, such opposition has but little effect upon the final result as far as that particular instance is concerned, for whenever the general public has an opportunity to vote on the question of public ownership unhampered by side issues, they may be depended upon to vote "Aye" by large majorities.

"But Municipal Ownership is not Socialism!" Certainly not, — neither is the centralization of business, yet without the latter our propaganda would be hopeless. Neither of these steps are apt to be of immediate benefit to the working classes, but they contribute greatly to our progress, and the sooner they are taken the better it will be for us. The first step in the sequence is the hardest to attain, and if its accomplishment depended upon our arguments, we would indeed have cause to be discouraged. But as Capitalists relieve us of this first effort, so the great mass of the people who have not yet accepted our doctrines are pressing the campaign for the second, and it is worse than folly for us to oppose them. They even borrow another leaf from our text-book and submit the proposition to a "Yes" or "No" vote, and look with reasonable assurance to us for support.

"But they would saddle us with a bonded indebtedness." What of that? We naturally expect the public debts to continually increase, and the sooner they become insupportable the sooner comes Socialism, for the bond-holder is the very easiest of all the capitalists clan to expropriate. In exchange for the increased debt we have the management of the utility in question placed within direct reach of the people, and to a large extent we have removed a corrupting influence from our officials, — for it is well known that it is *private* ownership that corrupts the public officer.

Then we should support "municipal ownership?" By all means; it is our only logical course, — although this is not to be taken as sanctioning the support of any party or candidates outside of our own organization; rather it is to insist that in a Municipal campaign we should emphasize municipal issues. The people want municipal ownership, — let us lead the movement for

it, meanwhile continually pointing out the next two steps and insisting that we shall take them as soon as permitted by a majority to do so.

"This is step-at-a-time Socialism." To be sure, but once win the confidence of the mass of the working people and the steps will follow each other so rapidly that we will no more be able to distinguish them than we are the separate strokes of the piston of a flying locomotive, — each one of which is absolutely necessary to the forward progress of the train.

Trustification and Government ownership, marking the culmination of Capitalism, to a large extent will be brought about by capitalists, and should have our approval if not our actual support; but this is as far as Capitalism can go without committing suicide.

The next step, — the introduction of the principle of Majority Rule into industry, — marks the inauguration of the new régime. The more completely the previous steps have been consummated, the easier this one will be to take; but as it is the vital point in our movement, so it should be more thoroughly emphasized in our propaganda and demonstrated in our actions wherever possible. The mass of the people are slow to believe that we mean what we say upon these last two planks in our platform and fear that we mean to inaugurate a system of State Capitalism with the Socialists as masters. While this distrust exists our progress is slow, and no opportunity should be neglected to demonstrate our sincerity.

For example, the question of governing our Legislators, when we shall succeed in electing them, is evidently causing some of our members a great deal of worry. This has resulted in an attempt to tie the candidates to the apron strings of the party organization by compelling them to sign blank resignations, which are to be held over their heads if elected. Of course such documents are not worth the paper they are written upon as they cannot be enforced, — and even if they were valid the scheme is certain to be repudiated by the general public, for an office holder is responsible to all of the citizens of his district, or at least who have voted for him, — who usually outnumber the party membership thirty to one. Now, obviously, the thing to do is to make our representative responsible to the citizenship, — call all debatable questions before the people by mass-meetings and referendums. This will educate the people to a keener interest in political affairs, afford an admirable opportunity to ground them more thoroughly in our doctrines and, above all, will win their confidence so that there will be no danger of their backsliding.

"But they will make mistakes." Certainly, — so will the

Local, — but these mistakes will not be irrevocable and will be preferable to any attempt at dictation by a minority.

We must trust the majority; the more we educate them the more trustworthy they become. Refuse to trust them and we are ruined, for the workers of the world will never exchange industrial for political boss-ism.

E. BACKUS, Station L., San Francisco.  
*Member State Committee S. P., of California.*

## Report to the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

"The last meeting of the International Socialist Bureau held on November 10th, 1906, perfected arrangements for the coming International Congress to be held in Stuttgart, Germany. The Congress will be opened on the 25th day of August, 1907, and will last until August 31st, 1907. The Bureau requests the representatives of all affiliated socialist parties to submit reports on the developments of the Socialist and Labor movements in their respective countries since the date of the late Amsterdam Congress. These reports will be properly compiled, and published in German, French and English. The compilation will be a very important and instructive contribution to the modern history of the International Socialist Movement, and will afford a comprehensive view of the present strength and condition of the movement the world over. The reports are to be submitted on or before February 15th, 1907, and I expect to draft the report of the Socialist Party, and to submit it to the National Executive Committee for approval, before the date mentioned.

The conditions of admission of delegates to the International Congress remain unchanged, but a radical innovation is to be introduced in the mode of voting at the Congress. Heretofore, when a vote was taken by nationalities, the Socialist parties of each nationality had two votes regardless of the strength and standing of such parties. The Stuttgart Congress will for the first time make an effort to introduce the principle of proportional representation. The Socialist and labor organizations of each nationality will collectively dispose of a number of votes ranging from two to twenty according to the importance of the nationality, the number of dues-paying members of the Socialist parties, the strength of the trade union and co-operative movements, and the political strength of the Socialist parties within the country. Where the Socialist movement of any country will be represented by two or more parties, the votes will be apportioned among such parties in proportion to their respective importance. The voting list will be adjusted by the International Socialist Bureau.

The order of business of the International Congress will be as follows:

1. Submission of the various resolutions adopted by the International Bureau.

2. By-laws of the Bureau and of the Interparliamentary Commission.
3. Militarism and Prevention of International Conflicts.
4. The Relations of Political Parties and Trade Unions.
5. The Colonial Question.
6. Emigration and Immigration.

The affiliated parties may submit motions or resolutions on the various subjects to be discussed, as well as resolutions on additional topics, but all such proposed resolutions must be in the hands of the International Secretary on or before April 1st, 1907.

It will be seen at a glance that as far as our party is concerned, at least two of the subjects to be discussed by the International Congress, are of vital importance: the relation of political parties and trade unions and the subject of emigration and immigration.

With perhaps the sole exception of England, the trade unions play a more important part in the general labor movement in the United States than in any other country of the world. The American Socialists are, therefore, in a better position to study the nature, tendencies and influence of the trade union movement than their comrades abroad, and, on the other hand, it is no exaggeration to say that the progress of the Socialist movement here very largely depends upon the correct solution of the question of our relations to the trade union movement and upon the establishment of American workingmen organized in trade unions.

Our delegates will be expected to contribute substantial information and to submit definite propositions on that subject, and I would suggest that the National Executive Committee take immediate steps to draft proper resolutions on the subject to be submitted to the National Committee for approval, and on such approval, to be sent to the Secretary of the International Bureau.

In connection with this I herewith submit the trade union resolution adopted by the London Congress in 1896, which is the last utterance of the International Congress on the subject (I translate from the official German report.)

"The trade union movement of the workingmen is indispensable in order to resist the superior power of capital and thus to improve their present conditions. Without trade unions no living wages and no shortened hours of labor. But the economic struggles only palliate exploitation, they do not remove it. The exploitation of the working class can only be terminated if society itself will take possession of the tools of production including the land and means of transportation. This presupposes a

system of legislative measures, and in order to carry out such measures completely, the working class must become the deciding political power. But it becomes such political power only in a measure as it is organized. The trade unions make the working class a political power already for the reason that they organize it.

"The organization of the working class is incomplete and inadequate if it is only political. But the economic struggle requires also the political activity of the working class. What the workingmen conquer in the free struggle against the exploiter, they must often re-establish legislatively as a political power in order to secure it. In other cases legislative conquests make trade conflicts unnecessary.

"In connection with similar resolutions of the Brussels and Zurich Congresses, this Congress, therefore, declares the organization of the workingmen in trade unions as an urgent requirement in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and considers it to be the duty of all workingmen who endeavor to free labor from the yoke of capitalism, to join the union in their respective trades..

"The trade unions in order to be efficacious, should organize into national bodies, and all divisions of forces into rival organizations should be discouraged.

"Differences of political views should not be a reason for division in the field of economic struggle, but on the other hand, the very nature of the proletarian class struggle makes it the duty of labor organizations to educate their members to be Social Democrats."

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The attitude of the Socialist Party towards labor immigration is also one of the most important to the Socialists of this country. The subject was discussed at the last International Socialist Congress held at Amsterdam, and two resolutions were submitted on the subject: One drafted by the committee elected for the purpose, and the other offered by several individual delegates from Holland, Australia and the United States. In the ensuing discussion each of the proposed resolutions found some support and encountered some opposition, and finally upon the suggestion of Keir Hardie, both drafts were withdrawn in order to afford the Socialist parties an opportunity to make a more thorough study of the subject.

Our party as such has never pronounced itself on the question. Our delegates at the Amsterdam Congress were left to follow their individual judgement, and when the two resolutions came up for discussion, they found our delegation divided. The amendment was signed by Comrades Lee, Schlueter and

Hillquit, but was opposed by the other members of the American delegation.

The committee resolution and the proposed amendments are as follows:

**"COMMITTEE RESOLUTION.**

(Translated from the Official French version.)

"The Congress declares that the workingman emigrant is the victim of the capitalist regime, which often forces him into expatriation in order to secure a bare existence and liberty:

"That the immigrated workingmen frequently have in view to supplant strikers which some times result in sanguinary conflicts between workingmen of different nationalities.

"The Congress condemns all legislative measures having for their object to prevent emigration.

"It declares it to be absolutely necessary to inaugurate an agitation tending to enlighten the emigrants artificially attracted by capitalist promoters, and to counteract the false information.

"It is convinced that under the influence of socialist propaganda and working class organization, the immigrants will after some time range themselves with the organized workingmen of the country of their adoption, and will demand a fair wage.

The Congress declares, among others, that it is desirable that the socialist representatives in Parliaments demand that the governments should by a strict and efficacious supervision combat the numerous abuses to which the immigration gives rise, and that they should adopt legislative measures which would enable workingmen immigrants to acquire as soon as possible full civil and political rights in the new country, and that they should resume their former rights as soon as they return to their native country, or that the different countries assure to immigrants the same rights by reciprocal treaties.

"The Congress enjoins upon the Socialist parties and trade organizations to make larger efforts than heretofore to extend among the immigrated workingmen the propaganda of labor organization and international solidarity."

**PROPOSED AMENDMENT.**

"The Congress, recognizing the dangers to the working class which arise from the immigration of foreign workers for the reason that these may bring about a lowering of wages, a ready supply of strike-breakers, and sometimes bloody conflicts,

"Declares, that under the influence of agitation on the part of Socialist organizations and trade unions, the immigrant work-

ingmen will after a time join the organizations of native workingmen and demand the same rate of wages as the latter.

"The Congress, therefore, denounces all laws which tend to exclude foreign workingmen who have been forced to emigrate through oppressive conditions in their respective countries.

"The Congress, considering furthermore that workers of backward races (such as Asiatic and African coolies) are frequently imported by capitalists in order to keep down native labor by means of cheap competition, and that such imported workingmen, who very readily submit to exploitation, frequently live in a condition of thinly disguised slavery, the Social Democracy

Declares, that it will combat with all means at its command the application of this method to destroy labor organizations and lower the standard of living of the working class, whereby the progress and the ultimate realization of Socialism would be retarded."

It will be noticed that the issue raised between the original resolution and the proposed amendment is one of our attitudes towards purposely and artificially imported labor. The international character of the Socialist movement implies, as a matter of course, that the Socialists of all countries treat bona fide workingmen immigrants with the same solidarity and brotherhood as the native workingmen, and advocate the wide opening of the trade union doors to such immigrants. But can we, as Socialists passively tolerate the capitalist practice of artificially stimulating emigration and importing cheap labor from foreign countries for the express purpose of lowering the standard of indigenous labor and creating a reserve army of strike-breakers? Do we favor or are we opposed to such legislative measures as the Chinese Exclusion Law or the Prohibition of Importation of Contract Labor? These are questions which our party can no longer evade, and as in the case of the trade union question, I suggest that the National Executive Committee prepare a resolution on the subject to be submitted to the International Congress after approval by our National Committee.

Dated New York, December 24, 1906.

MORRIS HILLQUIT."



## Why is there no Socialism in the United States? \*

Professor Werner Sombart has published a new book entitled: "Why is there no socialism in the United States?" (Press of J. O. B. Mohr, Tuebingen.)

The problem is certainly a very interesting one and very important to the understanding of both socialism and capitalism. Not only the Social Democracy, but also the socialist professors indeed nearly all modern sociologists teach that socialism is the necessary counterpole of capitalism. It is its fruit, its special product. Everywhere that capitalism rules, there also must socialism be produced. Such is the theory. Now it is indisputable that in the United States of North America capitalism has reached a high degree of development. "In capital power, in amount of capital accumulation the United States stand already in spite of their youth far ahead of all other countries. The total capital of the United States (that is capital, reserves, deposits, and circulation) are reckoned by the controller of the currency for the year 1904 at 13.826 million dollars, while the corresponding figure for all the other countries of the world together is said to amount to only 19.781 million.

Next comes the tremendous well-known concentration of capital in the United States. "There are," continues Sombart, "seven greater industrial trusts, in which 1528 formerly independent establishments are united. The capital concentrated in them amounts to 2662 million dollars. The greatest of these giants is the United States Steel Corporation (the steel-trust) with a nominal capital of 1370 millions. The second largest is The Consolidated Tobacco Co. with a capital of 502 millions. After them come 298 smaller industrial trusts, which control 3426 factories and have a capital of about 4055 millions. Thirteen industrial trusts with 334 factories and 528 million dollars capital are being formed, so that the total number of industrial trusts is placed at 318 with 5288 factories and 7246 million dollars capital. To them are associated 111 more important franchise trusts (telephone, telegraph, gas, electricity, and street railway companies) with 1336 separate establishments and 3735 million dollars capital. But now comes the *pièce de résistance*; the

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\*Warum giebt es in den Vereinigten Staaten keinen Socialismus? Von Professor Werner Sombart. (A review in the Berlin "Vorwaerts" of October 9, 1906.)

group of the great railroads. There are six of these, none of which has less than a thousand million dollars capital. Together they dispose of nine billion and seventeen million (9,017,000,000) dollars of capital, and control 1,790 lines. Finally we have the "independent" railway companies with a capital of 380 millions. If one reckons all these giant combinations together, in which by far the greater part of American wealth is now bound, one comes to the enormous figure of 8664 controlled companies and twenty billion, three hundred and seventy nine million dollars of nominal capital. Think of 85 billion marks (or 20 billion dollars) united in the hands of a few speculators! According to the theory one would suppose that to such a highly developed capitalism at least as strongly developed a socialism must stand opposed. But of this there is little or nothing to be traced. (*What do you think of that?*) It is known that socialism has only vegetated in the United States for decades, and that only now is it about to have a strong growth. How does this happen? Is the theory false which asserts that capitalism necessarily brings forth socialism? Or how does the matter hang together? That is the problem which Sombart seeks to solve.

Professor Sombart is already known to our readers. In our number of August 24th in a review of his book, "Socialism and the Social Movement" we have characterized his kind: that flattering affability the value of which lies in giving the appearance of extraordinary friendliness to socialists. This unpleasant quality comes out less strongly in the new book. The unprejudiced reader will surely get the idea that he learns much from the book. Quite an abundance of facts and figures. Whoever does not know the economical and political conditions in the United States more closely will surely find in the book a large amount of usable material. But if one cannot prove it, — and who can do it? — one becomes very uncomfortable at the thought of the slight trustworthiness which the author has elsewhere displayed. And finally the sharp eye of suspicion discovers contradictions, and indeed a contradiction in the most essential point.

Briefly: Professor Sombart comes, after a very exhaustive analysis, to the conclusion: *the American workman has remained until now cold to socialism because he is well off under the capitalistic regime.* As the investigation, so long as one cannot test it in details, makes the impression of great thoroughness, one could be content with it, if, unfortunately, in the first part, where Sombart strives to bring proof of the complete effectiveness of American capitalism, there were not something quite to the contrary. There, on page 16, it is stated that "in the United States in times of average prosperity not less than ten million persons live below the line of poverty, that is . . . in food, clothing, and shelter have not the necessities," and that of these not less than

four million are public poor! An enormous figure with a total population of only about eighty million! "In the year 1897 *two million persons* received poor support (charity); in good times fourteen per cent, in bad times twenty per cent, of the population of this city live in poverty and misery. So many are known; but if one counts the proud, self-respecting poor also, the number of those in New York and the other large cities living in poverty rarely sinks below twenty-five per cent! In Manhattan (in 1903, a good year) as many as 60,463 families were turned out from their dwellings. One out of every ten persons dying in New York is buried as a pauper in the Potter's Field."

Those are contradictions, however, which can hardly be reconciled. And it is characteristic of Sombart's method that he brings the facts now and then to the place where they fit into his scheme, without troubling himself about their contradictions. It is evident again in this book that his main purpose is to make an effect. At first the powerful workings of the giant American capitalism are to be depicted: — there the painting of misery is fitting to strengthen the impression and to make to me. Later follow ever rosier descriptions, so that finally the reader stands under the impression: yes, of course, if the American workman is so well off, one cannot wonder that he remains cold to socialism. "On roast-beef and apple-pie were all socialistic Utopias ruined."

But still more contradictions. If finally the long drawn out investigation leads to "roast-beef and apple-pie", where is the theory? One should suppose, one must conclude therefrom, that just where capitalism had made the greatest expansion it also provides a quite comfortable life for the workman. The author must, then, not only recognize that herewith all socialistic "utopias" are refuted, but also he must revise his own views held hitherto and grant that capitalism does not necessarily breed the socialistic view among the workers. But that Sombart does not do. He sticks by his sociological opinion, and consoles the reader by promising further books in the future. "I will try later to show that in no country in the world, objectively considered, is the worker so exploited by capitalism as in the United States, and that in no other country in the world does he sweat so under the collar or work himself to death so quickly as there."

And at the end of the book (page 142) he says, and wholly abruptly as his personal opinion "that all the forces which until now have retarded the development of socialism in the United States are about to disappear or be changed into contrary forces, so that according to all the signs socialism will develop in the unions during the next generation to the greatest perfection." He hopes sometime later to be able to give the foundation for this view.

Mr. Sombart demands a great deal of blind confidence from the reader. In the first twenty-four pages American capitalism brings terrible misery with it; then on the following hundred and twenty pages the living of the American workman is depicted as at least as comfortable as that of the well-to-do German citizen of the middle class, and at the end it is asserted without foundation that in the next generation all this will be reversed. But Mr. Sombart's scientific authority must be quite other than it really is for one to believe all that without further proof.

So Sombart has not solved the problem which the discovered contradictions present. But the critical reader, who never forgets what sort of an author he has before him, will get more of value out of this book than from the idle twaddle which Sombart gave to the world under the title of "Socialism and the Social Movement."

The reason why until now there has been no socialism in the United States worth mentioning Sombart asserts to have found in the political, social, and economical condition of the American workman, and further in the possibility always open to him of settling in the free west and so escaping entirely from the exploitation of capitalism. Because, as said, according to our conviction the author has not succeeded in solving the question, the value of the book for us does not lie in the answer he gives to the question asked in the title, but rather in the depicting of the actual condition of the American workman and in its comparison with that of the European.

As for the political situation of the American workman Sombart describes with great perspicuity the play of the political "machine," as it is unchained over there by the complete democracy. Since not only the president and the members of the parliament are elected, but also the most important officials of the states, the provinces, the "communes" (cities?), and the courts, the conscientious citizen has to vote on the average twenty-two times each year. (?) That demands an apparatus for the voting, which only a rich party can furnish. And this according to Sombart is an important reason why until now no third party has been able to arise. He cannot discover any great difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties. If such a difference formerly existed, now the two great parties continue to exist merely because they are there and a tremendous number of men live off them. All these "wirepullers" have a personal interest in the existence of these parties, whether they live on the election work, or secure public offices after the election. Now (still quoting Sombart) "first there exists for those workmen who put themselves forward as leaders of their class, the expectation of coming into wellpaid state offices, and secondly the great parties, being burdened by no principles, see no objection

to inscribing all the demands of the workmen (who, thanks to the equal elective franchise, are not at a disadvantage in making them) on their own banners (platforms), and so the latter have not been obliged to found a party of their own. Although in what Sombart here refers to, mere corruption plays a large role, still he means not only corruption. He writes for example (page 55):

"Imagine that it had been possible for the workmen of Berlin in the time of the socialist law to discharge the state prosecutor Teffendorf, or to-day to blow up any criminal court which is infamous on account of its rigorous punishments of strike misdemeanours; or to revenge themselves on a certain court by giving them their walking papers at the next election! (*The American workman can do that;*) but indeed at a price which will appear high to many: namely, he must join one of the great parties, because they *are great*. For only with their help is a successful influence on the election result possible.

So for example the governor of Colorado, the infamous Peabody, whose interference in the strike of 1903 is still in everyone's memory, was thrown down in the election of 1904, but not by growth of the socialist vote — these fell off on the contrary a half — but by the workmen voting for the democratic party which was thereby enabled to defeat the republican governor. In this way, thanks to the democratic constitution of his country, the American workman exerts an immediate and often deciding influence in politics.

More important is his economical condition. By exhaustive calculation Sombart comes to the following results: the wage of the American workman is from two to three times as high as that of the German. The rent is at the most as dear as with us, on the average rather less; to be sure the American workman pays out more for his dwelling, but only because as a rule he rents three to four rooms. In Baltimore, for example, a city of over half a million inhabitants, a whole family house with four to six rooms costs only 332 to 408 marks (83 to \$102) a year; in St. Paul (163,000) only half as much! (!)

Lighting and Heating: — Kerosene costs about half as much in New York as in Mannheim or Breslau. Anthracite coal costs about the same over there as here.

House furniture of all sorts is rather cheaper in the United States than with us.

Food. The prices of the most important necessities are on the whole quite the same in both countries.

Clothing. On the basis of longer reckoning Sombart comes to the conclusion that also clothing costs the American workman little or no more than the German.

The conclusion is that the American lives far more com-

fortably than the German. He does not save any more, but occupies as a rule four rooms, the German not quite two. He furnishes his rooms comfortably. He eats almost three times as much meat, three times as much meal, and four times as much sugar as the German, who instead fills his stomach with potatoes. Finally in dress the American workman, and also the working woman make no distinction between themselves and the wealthy middle class. (*Ye shades of Ananias!*) Notice by the way: Sombart calculates that the German workman, thanks to his wretched standard of living, still saves a higher percentage of his wages than the American. (The editor adds in parenthesis: "Absolutely of course much less.") What does he do with it? According to Sombart's denunciations he drinks it up, while the American workman lives much more moderately, temperately. (*sic!*) His social position also corresponds with this economical position and political influence: that is the social respect which he enjoys with the other classes. Ye gods! The workingman over there is a "gentleman," and the working girl a "lady" just as good as any other. (*This beats even Bryan or Grimm's fairy tales!*) A tone and spirit of equal privileges and equality rules not only in social and public life but also within the capitalistic enterprises. Also the capitalists know how to interest their workmen in profit: first by profit sharing, and then by willing acceptance of able hints for the improvement of production. Moreover if they bring profit, the suggester always shares in it. And finally quite a smart business trick — they sell shares in the business to their own workers!

One must ask oneself, then, under such conditions why so many American workmen "flee to freedom," that is settle on hitherto unoccupied land in the west and so escape from the wheels of capital. If he is so well off he must feel extraordinarily well exactly under the scepter of capitalism. Instead of this, during a single generation no less than five million persons have emigrated from the eastern states to the western "freedom" (page 138), and just here Sombart sees one of the strongest reasons against the origin of socialism. That also is a crying contradiction.

(The first chapters of the work reviewed above containing the valuable statistical portions appeared in the *International Socialist Review*. When we came to the nonsense on the condition of the American worker we stopped further publication. As Sombart has used the fact of such publication as an endorsement of his work we publish the above to make this explanation.—Editor.)

## The National Strike.

(From an Old Letter Written to a Friend in 1920).

TOWARD the last days of the System there were mighty things brewing; but few realized it. Men talked of the "social unrest," knowing not its import.

The Government had become an industrial oligarchy — a mere tool of the few, by the few, and for the few into whose hands had gradually centered the wealth of the Nation. Slowly the chains of industrial slavery had been fastened on the working people: their bills were not passed; their demands were ignored.

For a long time, however, the Socialists and Unions had been at work, hand-in-hand, in their quiet, determined way, planning, sweating, sowing their seed, laying their mines. With their knowledge of social evolution, their economic determinism, their materialistic conception of history, they alone held the key to the future. Under the direction of their leaders, men of thought, science, and scholarship, who saw and foresaw the trend of natural laws, they had tunneled under the social structures, though those in power knew it not: they had laid up money in their treasuries: they had builded an organization that was well nigh perfect: most of the scabs had come into the fold: solidarity had been achieved; and the class-conscious workers presented a united, but peaceful, dormant, and unaggressive front to Capital.

Still, entrenched power was not to be overthrown in a day. And even though the rotten old regime was honeycombed and tottering the world over, it held together with a show of glamour and strength. The police, the military, the brass bands, the parades of the flunkies and the servant-souled put up a brave front. The hypnotic bombast of political orators sounded very well; and fogs of specious verbiage shrouded real issues.

There still needed the torch which would ignite the low-lying, hidden ramification of mines and rend the body-politic from top to bottom.

Those on top still laughed, played, sang, and had their merry times. On the surface, at least, everything was running smoothly, just as it had been doing immemorially. The bourgeoisie were heedless of the fact that quiet waters run deep: they laughed and sneered at those who pointed to ominous signs.

"Pooh!" they said; "you are an alarmist and agitator. There is no cause for such incendiary talk. The old world will run itself somehow. Of course, there is poverty; of course, there is inequality. Has it not always been so? God has placed the resources of the world in our hands — we are his trustees. The divine right of kings? — nay, that was a fallacy, as time has proved; but there is the divine right of property, even such as we have to-day. The shrewd, the cunning, the strong, — they are born into this world with title deeds to the means of subsistence. Should not those of superior abilities own more property, and have the bigger voice in the making of laws? Where, otherwise, will be the reward of merit? Ha, ha, read Nietzsche and learn about the survival of the fittest. That's our philosophy: it's the law of Nature. And we are the fit. Competition? — why certainly, it is the life of trade. Justice? — yes, we pay our lawyers and our judges for justice. Fraternity? — pshaw! was there ever such a thing outside of a poet's sentimental dream! There always have been classes, and there always will be. Love? — yes, a beautiful thing for the women and the churches; but it doesn't go in business. Christ was not a modern business man: he had no economic interests to protect, no vested rights. He was a man of straw, who could afford to talk in that way. He did not even have a family dependent upon him. Scientific evolution of society and man's nature? Bosh! Human nature has always been the same, and always will be. Equality of opportunity? — why, of course! You have it already. Look at our glorious Constitution. This is a free country, where every man has equal rights. If you happen to come along after all the wealth is preempted and concentrated in the hands of a few, that is your misfortune. We can't help it. Get to work and make your career. You are an anarchist if you talk about attacking the sacred claims of private property and vested right."

So they went on and continued at their feasts and revels. They rode fast on the backs of their beasts of burden. Ignorant and intoxicated, as men have always been in similar circumstances, they jested, derided, and laughed every time their attention was called to the foreboding tremors which were sent through the social fabric by the leviathan of Labor, stirring in its slumbers as it became conscious of its strength and unity. They gambled with the people's food. They fed children to their machines to make profits. The three crushing burdens of Rent, Interest, and Profit, they placed upon the backs of the poor. The mines were the graves of the living. The railroads, reckless of life, speeding along on their mission of private gain, became Juggernauts ruthless and bloody. Great cities, morbid diseased growths of an unhealthy civilization, hideous in their



contrasts and contradictions, sprang up in accordance with the prescription of one part of Heaven to three parts of Hell. The factories ate up the lives of men and women; — took away their power to think, bent their forms, crushed their spirits, made poor broken machines of what God had intended for human beings. Crime was rife: fraud and deceit almost virtues. Women bartered their bodies and souls because of need. Suicides were rampant. Because so few had the time or the energy to discover truth and its oneness, sects and schisms were numberless. Births diminished. Insanity grew apace. The masses, unable to marry, unable to lead natural lives, to have healthy homes and happy families, exhausted their life forces earning a bare livelihood, or at times plunged into wild saturnalias of vice and debauchery where they could forget that faith was dead, love a misnomer — a mere “physiological need,” and that money was the only thing to live for. There were mansions, apartments, flats, hotels, lodgings, tenements, but homes became rare indeed. Back of the magnificent stone temple dedicated to a God of love, justice, and mercy were the slums of the slaves, reeking with depravity, filth, and every species of misery. Adjacent to the public hospital was the foodstuff factory, turning out poisons for the people. Legislators, purblind, and too ignorant to know that their own interests, happiness, and that of their posterity for all time, were inevitably intertwined with the interests and welfare of society as a whole, made and maintained laws for narrow, selfish and corrupt classes.

Yet still those on top, plethoric of wealth, heedless, calloused, strong, sang patriotic hymns, ignored the social cankers, followed their work and their pastimes, drank their wines.

Then came the great election.

The workers had long since become class conscious, and had gone to the polls with a solid front. They had realized the class struggle, and they had cast a straight ballot for their candidates and for freedom.

But their candidates were defeated.

Suppression of votes, bribery, boodle, chicanery, trickery, the fraud of the money power had done it: and the workers knew it.

The American Federation of Labor, which then had enrolled in its membership over ten million members, called a national convention. A vast concourse of men gathered in the big auditorium of the great city. They were grave, resolute men, who did not smile, nor joke, nor jest. Farmers, mechanics, laborers, miners, scholars, scientists, thinkers, — they gathered there, knowing that a crisis had come in the life of the Nation. The weight of a nation's destiny pressed upon their souls, and they knew it. They were ready to fight and to die if need were.

Into the vast room they filed, and with solemn silence took their seats.

The President rapped for order, and walked forward to the front of the platform.

He was a heroic figure — young, tall, dark, strong; the face of a scholar and thinker, the form of an athlete, the courage of a lion, a heart tender and compassionate, a brain big and comprehensive, knowing the reason of things.

"Comrades, fellow citizens of the United States," he began in a voice strong and sweet, which carried to the outermost bounds of the great assemblage: "Comrades, let us first sing the National Hymn."

And then he led the singing, as the vast crowd arose to its feet with a muffled roar.

"My Country 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing."

There was no instrument to blend its tone with the voices; nor was any needed; for it was a grave time, and men and women sang from their hearts if they ever did in their lives. Not one throat in that huge throng but helped to swell the volumn of sound which rolled up to Deity. It was more than a song; it was a prayer from the hearts of a people. And in that hour of destiny as the strains went up each one there knew what it was to love not only their country, but their fellow-man; they felt those deep well-springs of emotion which in times of momentous sublimity come to us like the whispering of God or the music of eternity. Tears, tears, that could not be repressed, sprang into the eyes of many. A people were lifting up their hearts to the Unknown. And whether they consciously worded their thoughts or inwardly tried to phrase their feelings, it mattered not. Whatever their faith, whatever their wisdom, they were one and all pleading to some Power higher than themselves, for an advertence of those terrible calamities into which the smallest jostling of Destiny's scale would throw the Nation.

The song was finished. Then came speeches. Some were violent and smacked of blood, bullets, bombs, and arson. Others were less impassioned, and spoke of more conservative measures. Both kinds were applauded; but feeling ran high, men were getting desperate, and the fiery eloquence which incited to war and revenge was applauded loudest and longest.

At last after stormy scenes, much wrangling and fierce debate, a compromise was effected, and a national industrial strike agreed on as the first weapon they would wield in striving for their rights.

That night, from national headquarters, the order was

hissed over the wires to the Local Labor Councils and the presidents of the various unions in every part of the country.

Twelve o'clock the next day saw the vast industrial armies of the Nation throw down their tools, quit their work, and walk out, leaving their employers to till the soil, run the machines, dig the mines, cook their steaks and bread, run their trains, fire their engines, harvest their crops, clean their streets, work their typewriters, elevators, dynamos, printing presses, cash registers, and so forth.

Never were there such doings in this fair land of ours; and God in his infinite mercy grant there may never be such again.

I will take a typical American city, — say, St. Louis, where I was then — and try to sketch briefly a few things that were happening there within a few days after the Strike had been called.

At first, there was rioting all over the city, before things became thoroughly disorganized. The old System died hard, but its wind was knocked out from the beginning; it was hamstrung at the first blow, and its utter impotency was soon made manifest. A terrible stroke of paralysis had smitten the social organism. Its dynamic force was dead. Its heart no longer beat. Dissolution, disintegration set in at once. There was no longer a co-ordination of parts. Correlations were shattered. Interdependences were cut. Cohesion and interrelations were smashed.

The "respectable elements" had tried to organize a militia, when they found that the dissolving police force were powerless to cope with the situation. But they soon gave up in despair. The Mayor tried to telegraph the Governor, and the Governor (I am told) tried to telegraph the Federal Government; but there were no stenographers to take the message; no boys to carry it, no operators to send it. No trains were running, no boats plyed their wheels. Every locality was cut off from the rest of the world, and had to fight its own battles. The blow had fallen. Civilization had come down with a crash. Communication and facilities, with one fell swoop were swept back into those primitive forms they had held in the time of Moses. Chaos reigned; and mankind seemed once more to stagger on the brink of savagery. For a time even the Revolutionists were appalled at the havoc they had brought about by a simple and peaceful assertion of that "right to work or not to work" which the bourgeoisie had so often thrown in their teeth: yet, saving some isolated and unavoidable acts of rowdiness and vandalism, they committed few acts of violence until they were aggressed upon. Bloodshed there was all about the city for the first day or two; but the blows came mostly from the struggles of Capitalism in its death throes.

In my walks about the City, such scenes greeted my eyes as I had never thought to look upon in this world. Some of them were grotesque in the extreme, some comic, some unspeakably sad, some inspiring, some depressing.

On Thursday a party of Revolutionists sacked several of the large banks and trust companies down town. Gold and silver coin — sacks of it — were tossed out and thrown into the street; and nobody stooped to pick it up. Think of it! Olive Street by the Bank of Commerce was a puddle of dollars and greenbacks. A party of jocular rowdies led by a gigantic barber, caught a fat banker, a stock broker, a well-fed lawyer, and a sleek minister, and tied them all together to a telegraph pole at the corner of Broadway and Locust. Then they brought out from the safety vaults a lot of gilt-edge "securities," stocks and bonds, and piled them around the terrified quartet. The barber delivered an oration to the victims, while the crowd pelted them with dimes and pennies.

"We are going to roast you alive, you exploiters of the people!" shouted the barber. "What a glorious death for you to die amid that stuff for which you lived, your pastor of the wealthy, conservative, and aristocratic church; you lawyer, who, for the sake of gain, prostituted the people's justice; you banker, who grew fat on the earnings of the poor; and you useless broker and gambler, who speculated in the resources of the Nation. Aren't you delighted to bake amoung your notes, mortgages, stocks, bonds, and commercial paper! How now, my preacher who preached charity when you should have preached justice; who preached about the beauties of Heaven, when you should have preached about the evils of this world and their remedies; who sang hymns and read medieval prayers, when the real works of the world was crying aloud for a true advocate. Better, far better, had it been for you, if you had raised turnips, or cut wood, or done some other useful service for the world. You talked beautifully of saving the souls of the dead, when the souls of the living were rotting under your very eyes.

"And you, Mr. Broker, what useful services have you done for mankind? How much wealth have you created. How much wiser or happier is the world for your having lived?

"And you, Mr. Lawyer, have you always stood for justice and the side of the oppressed, or have you done the bidding of wealthy clients, twisted the law to suit their will, been technical instead of fair, and prostituted your abilities, your talents and your manhood for the sake of gain?

"Comrades, bring me a match and let us light the securities."

I turned away then: for I knew the prisoners would not be burned, though the fire was actuality started, and as I left I

saw the yellow flames eating their way into some bank and railroad stocks that a few days before had been worth hundreds of thousands.

I walked down Broadway, past the big department stores, and turned into Olive Street. The streets were crowded. Men, women, and children were hurrying to and fro, purposeless, like ants in the ant hill, which you have kicked over with your foot. The stores were wide open, but there were neither buyers, sellers nor despoilers so far as I could see. At the corner of Fourth and Pine I saw a group of grain brokers and a prominent wholesale merchant cooking their dinner in the street.

Out in the residence portions of the City things were no better. Walking through beautiful, exclusive Westmoreland Place, where the palaces of the very wealthy reared their stately forms, I saw the portly wife of a man who before the crash, was said to be worth five millions, stooping over a wash tub and scrubbing soiled linen. A party of union housemaids, cooks, waitresses, and laundresses were standing there watching her and jeering at her derisively. "He, he," they cried, "look at my lady. Oh, dear! Isn't it too bad that such an aristocratic elegant lady should be compelled to wash her husband's soiled clothes. How does it feel, my lady, to be doing something useful? Quite a novel sensation, isn't it? Ah, well, never mind, — it will reduce your flesh. It's a good exercise if you don't carry it too far, and it may save you from a fashionable attack of nervous prostration."

The wife of the former magnate turned her back on them and treated them with silent contempt.

Further on I saw the wife and daughters of a brewer collecting sticks and stray lumps of coal from the railroad track which skirts the park. They had started a fire in the back yard of their mansion, as the gas ranges were no longer running, and were boiling potatoes and making biscuits for their midday meal.

To be Continued.

## Our New National Hymn.

We are a Nation of Traders, they say —  
Our hearts' blood is spent, and we waste living hours  
In building a Market, — well, praised be the Powers,  
We thrive as a Nation of Traders!

The peoples of lesser growth bend to our wills;  
Their needs are our fortunes; our traders, their lords;  
We draw forth their wealth with the points of our swords,  
And we are a Nation of Traders.

We strip off the hide of the dull Esquimo,  
And give him some cheap, simple tool in return;  
And we leave him quite happy, with plenty to learn, —  
For we are a Nation of Traders.

We're chided for wasting the sweet, golden days  
In striving for riches, for power, for place.  
Well, that's all we believe is contained in Life's vase,  
And we draw forth our portion as traders.

What profit have we, if we delve into Art?  
Mere sentiment, holding for us but a name.  
We'd rather go down on the pages of Fame  
As the Mightiest Nation of Traders!

Descendants will bless us for what we have done  
By the grace of the Law, and the aid of the Sword;  
For we'll leave them a Market. So praised be the Lord,  
We shall live as a Nation of Traders!

H. DUMONT.

# EDITORIAL

## A Year of Disintegration.

As viewed at the present moment, it would appear that the year 1906 might stand out in the future as a year of disintegration in the forces of capitalism. This is not the superficial view which is popular. Apparently it will go down as a year of greatest prosperity. Every one of the countless summaries that are ground out at this time of the year is full of statistics of multitudes of records that have been broken, of bumper crops, of unsurpassed bank clearings, of hitherto unheard-of business done in all directions.

Alongside of this apparent prosperity there has grown a wave of discontent more extensive than any known in previous years. Magazine after magazine has found itself unable to exist unless it fell into line with some form of radicalism, while every new periodical publication has sought to out-radical its previous competitors. It has not been simply the exposures which were such a striking characteristic of last year that have occupied public attention. There has been a distinct attempt to skate as close to socialism as possible without breaking through. The names that have led in the announcements of the magazines have been those of well-known socialists.

All this leads us to see that the past year has been pre-eminently a year of disintegration. The old bulwarks of capitalism, the old established public opinion, the orthodox psychology, on which has been based the thought of the people for the past twenty years, seem to have lost their power. So far has this gone that it is difficult to find any one so poor as to do honor to the ideals which ten years ago were taken for granted on every hand. It is these ideals which form the foundation of the defense of capitalism. When they are once broken up the mental attitude which results is one which forms the most favorable possible ground for the sowing of revolutionary seed. It was no more than natural that this stage should become so dominant in the mental life of the country as apparently to over-

shadow for the moment the purely socialist thought, and this will account for the apparent falling off in the socialist vote.

Yet this work of preparation had to be done and it has been done most thoroughly during the year past. The most gratifying aspect of the purely socialist propaganda is to be found in the steady increase of socialist literature. At the present time the United States leads the world, with the possible exception of Russia, in the output of new works and translations on socialism. The solid educational basis which this is laying for propaganda is the best possible security for steady, rapid progress in the near future.

The basis of all this movement lies, of course, in the industrial conditions. These industrial conditions are in themselves striking. Their most evident aspect is the "prosperity" previously mentioned. This, however, is but the superficial side of the question. Never in the history of the world has there been such rapid concentration of industry, such a rapid absorption of capital into ever fewer and fewer hands. The rise of Harriman, with the Rockefeller interests behind him, in the railroad world makes him for the moment the most prominent figure in industrial life. So far has concentration in this direction now gone that not more than half a dozen men control the trade arteries of America. In manufacturing and commercial lines the concentration has been only a little less rapid. We do not hear the startling tales of new trusts that filled the papers a few years ago. That we do not is but one of the signs that we have entered a new and more intense stage of concentration. It is not now a question of combining competing plants but of absorption by a few great financial systems of the entire industrial life of the nation. For the moment many little capitalists have been able to gain a foothold. Owing to the rapidly rising prices, they were able to live and even to prosper without attracting the attention of the powerful overlords of industry. But when the time shall come, which cannot now be far away, when an industrial reaction shall be among us, these little exploiters will be scraped off, as barnacles are scraped from the hulk of the ship in dry dock.



# SOCIALISM ABROAD

The past year must go down in history as one of the beginnings of revolutions throughout a large portion of Europe. In England it has seen the justification of the Marxian position in the classic land of Fabianism. A strong class-organized labor party has fought its way into parliament and has accomplished more in a few months than all the years of Fabian agitation. The struggle over the education bill now threatens at last to wipe out the House of Lords and perhaps to bring about a dissolution of parliament. Such a dissolution can only mean the return of a larger labor party to parliament and a more rapid progress of the evolution.

In Germany things have been brought to a sudden climax by the dissolution of the Reichstag. The year has seen a steady strengthening of the organization of the Social Democratic Party and a clearing up of the relations between the party and the trade unions. This trade union question, by the way, is one which is today engaging the attention of practically every socialist party in Europe. The dissolution of the Reichstag was brought about on the question of the colonial policy. Comrade Bebel's scathing attack of the South African colonial administration opened the fight. The powerful Center party followed the dictates of its pocket book rather than its principles and fought against the increased taxation which the colonial policy would require. This brought about the defeat of the government measures and led to the dissolution of the Reichstag. The presiding officer has declared that he is serving his last term and that comrade Singer will take his place in the next Reichstag. This is not probable, even though the socialists should gain still further in strength, as it is practically certain that the emperor would not permit the existence of the Reichstag presided over by a socialist.

In France the struggle between the church and the state is a direct culmination of the socialist movement. For years the church in France has been far less of a religious than a political organization. It has sought not simply to prevent progress but to secure the victory of reaction and the overthrow of the republic. In this endeavor they have brought about their own defeat and have been deprived of special privileges which they might otherwise probably have enjoyed undisturbed for many years. The law, against which so fierce an attack is now being waged by the clericals, simply provides that the churches shall be treated like any other associations. The majority of the Catholic membership were willing to accept the law, but the Vatican, feeling that its political power might thereby be diminished, attempted to incite its followers to rebellion. The result has been a dismal failure. The government has stood firm and the Catholic rank and file have refused to rise.

Meanwhile over all France hangs the fear that the Russian debt will be repudiated. This debt, which has been placed through the Credit Lyonnaise, the great Jesuit banking firm, is held largely by the clerical peasantry, and if it should be repudiated the hold of the Clericals on France will be still further weakened.

The long struggle for universal suffrage in Austria has at last been crowned with victory. The fight for this, which has been carried on by demonstrations, by street fighting, by agitation of every possible form, has been one of the most remarkable in the annals of the proletarian struggle for liberty. The immediate result of this cannot but be a large increase in the socialist representation in the Austrian Parliament.

In Denmark the "Social Demokraten," which is the leading daily paper in Denmark, having three times the circulation of its next largest capitalist competitor, declares that the socialists may capture parliament at the elections in 1908. This expectation is born out by the large increase in socialist representation in the municipal bodies which has followed every election held during the last year.

The Italian situation has been so well covered in these pages that there is little need to discuss it here. The Italian movement would seem to be in a state of reorganization which will almost certainly end in the strengthening of forces after a temporary weakness.

#### DENMARK.

The growth of socialist votes in the elections for Folkething as shown in a recent publication of the Danish Statistical Bureau is as follows:

1895.....	24,439.
1898.....	31,880.
1901.....	43,153.
1903.....	57,578.
1906.....	76,612.

#### GERMANY.

The German socialists have welcomed the dissolution of the Reichstag and have set forth their program of action for the coming campaign. They demand the introduction of a progressive income tax, exempting all incomes below 5,000 marks; they demand the restriction of the colonial policy and the giving up of the attempt of Germany to become a world power; they insist upon the reduction of the tax on food and set forth an elaborate program of labor legislation, including the fixing of a minimum labor day, protection for home workers, etc.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

As the readers of the Review are doubtless aware, the American Federation of Labor now has a declaration of political principles and platform of immediate demands, which were adopted at the recent Minneapolis convention unanimously and without much discussion. Nobody paid much attention to the committee report as read, least of all some of the reactionists, and when the declaration was printed it is doubtful whether one person in a thousand read or studied it. But upon close examination it will be discovered that there is a "joker" in the preamble, which the reactionists either did not see or did not understand if they did see it. The declaration goes on to proclaim that "we are in close relation with other reform bodies and with them agree that not only should the burden of toil be made lighter, but that **each worker has an undeniable right to enjoy the full benefit of all he or she produces.**" If any delegate known to believe in socialism had stood on the floor and offered the same sentence for adoption in the form of a resolution the little cæsar on the platform and his clacquers would have dangled the poor old skeleton of deileonism before the public for fare you well. The justice of the declaration would have been entirely forgotten in the bear garden performance as Gompers and his lieutenants would relate in detail how they had been "abused" by some Socialist newspaper or soap-box orator. The slightest criticism of these infallible gentry is magnified into slander and villification of the most unpardonable sort. They holler at the Socialists by the hour, but never go into the merits or demerits of socialism. The nearest that Gompers ever came to a discussion of the fundamental principle of socialism and affording an intellectual treat to a mighty nation was at the Boston convention when he loftily waved his hand and declared impressively: "Economically you are unsound; politically you are an impossibility." That brought out the clacque in a manner that made the Socialists shrink into nothingness. The world's movement was done for; the oracle had spoken. The National Civic Federation Review was so tickled with the profound pronouncement that it printed a new halftone of the redoubtable Samuel and labeled him "Socialism's Ablest Foe." Scores of capitalistic dailies have commented at length upon the remarkable ability of Gompers in "smashing socialism," and there are thousands of anti-Socialists in the country who actually believe that they have a great champion in the president of the A. F. of L. Yet Gompers has never made a speech against socialism, and I don't believe that he can. There are a good many Socialists in this land who would travel quite a few miles to hear Mr. Gompers make a set speech against socialism. It is reported that some of the labor mass meetings that Mr.

Gompers addresses are very slimly attended. Let him advertise the fact that he will expose the "unsoundness" of socialism. It's a ten to one shot that he will draw crowds wherever we goes.

But to return to the Federation's political declaration. How will this manifesto "jibe" with the declared intention of the leaders to continue to punish our friends and reward our enemies? Certainly the Republican and Democratic parties and their candidates for office will not subscribe to the principle that "each worker has an undeniable right to enjoy the full benefit of all he or she produces," for to concede that right would mean the end of the system that fattens them. They will not even stand for municipal ownership of public utilities, nationalization of telegraphs and telephones, initiative and referendum, imperative mandate, government issuance of money and other reforms contained in the platform. Still the punishing and rewarding business, and probable confusion and internal dissension, is now the thing to demonstrate the "soundness" and "possibility" of the Gompsonian tactics. The preamble and platform was merely adopted to look at, not to stand upon as far as the so-called leaders are concerned. Nevertheless the inclusion of a socialistic truth, even though hidden by a lot of reactionary junk, may attract the attention of some of the rank and file and encourage an agitation and ultimate action along right lines. Whoever was the author of the sane declaration quoted above deserves considerable credit for steering it over hostile shoals. It also indicates that there is an enemy in the Gompers camp.

One of the most bitter and disastrous jurisdiction controversies between two international labor organizations is about to be settled. For some years the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union have been waging war over the question of controlling the mill hands. The latter are the successors of the old-fashioned woodworkers, who were skilled handicraftsmen. The modern woodworker simply runs a machine, and also manufactures much of the material required in the erection of buildings, such as framework, windows, doors, etc., and thus takes employment away from the carpenter, who was wont to do all this work on the job. Naturally the mill worker soon became the bone of contention and both organizations struggled for control. Quite a few strikes and boycotts were declared against concerns that were innocent of any wrongdoing but employed members of one or the other union. It has finally dawned upon some of the officials and members of the organizations that their internecine strife was suicidal, and that more good could be accomplished by dwelling together in peace and harmony. Therefore, the present year will see the amalgamation of both organizations. The combined membership will be upward of 200,000 men, and it is hoped to speedily add to this number at least 50,000 mill workers, who have been holding aloof from both bodies while the quarrel was in progress. The principle of industrialism will receive strong endorsement by the amalgamation.

The brewery workers, as predicted in the Review, will not accept the edict of the Minneapolis convention of the A. F. of L. to dismember themselves by letting go of the engineers, firemen, teamsters, etc., employed in and about breweries. The official organ of the brewery workers has uttered a defiance to the Federation command, pointing out that so long as the United Mine Workers, the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and other organizations are permitted to combine on industrial lines the brewers do not intend to be plucked to pieces, but in-

stead will continue to put forth every effort to organize all the workmen over whom they are granted jurisdiction in their charter rights. It is a remarkable inconsistency that a convention can unblushingly smile upon the miners and longshoremen, recommend that the carpenters and woodworkers amalgamate and then turn about with a frown and demand of the brewery workers that they disintegrate. It is this sort of farcical freakishness that causes thoughtful people to wonder whether certain so-called leaders will ever grow big enough to get over their childish prejudices, for there is no use in attempting to conceal the fact that the brewery workers are the victims of a narrow-minded cabal in the Federation and are hated because they are, industrially and politically, one of the most progressive organizations in the land. If the brewers stand true to their union they need have nothing to fear, even if they are fired from the Federation by their seemingly uncompromising enemies.

The strike of the railway firemen on the Southern Pacific came as a natural outgrowth of the peculiar jurisdiction tangle that has developed in the railway cab. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as a matter of course, claim that they should have the sole voice in regulating affairs that affect their trade, which position looks reasonable enough. But along comes the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and declares that it should not be required to transfer its members to the B. of L. E., and those members should not lose their insurance and other benefits in the B. of L. F. when they are promoted. In other words, there are hundreds of engineers in the B. of L. F. who were formerly firemen, and they will not transfer their membership because it would mean considerable financial loss and hardship. Consequently the B. of L. F. claims the right to demand recognition for the engineers in its ranks. Last year, on account of this contention, a clash came on the New York, New Haven & Hartford railway, and last month the struggle broke out on the Southern Pacific. The quarrel has also caused more or less friction on other lines. In nearly every instance the railway magnates have taken sides with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and this fact has only served to embitter the firemen and some of the other brotherhoods that sympathize with them. The fight between these rival organizations will be fought to a finish sooner or later unless a compromise is arranged in the form of an industrial organization. Meanwhile the railway magnates are not losing much where one brotherhood scabs it on the other.

During the past few months many railroads and other corporations have made slight increases in wages. Some of the concerns, like the Standard Oil Co., took particular pains to announce that the advance would be given to all workers except those who were members of unions, and thus, in so many words, placed a premium on open shopper. In other cases the widely advertised raise of wages had a string attached to them, as, for example, the Pennsylvania railroad's 10 per cent advance. That corporation laid off hundreds of men and permitted those who were retained to do a little harder and more work for the additional money they received. It is stated that most of the men who were discharged were on the shady side of forty, and, as the Pennsylvania has a pension roll for employees who reach the age of sixty, those who were decapitated would not become a burden to the corporation later on. Throughout this so-called wave of prosperity there has been one thing quite noticeable, and that is the manner in which the newspapers — not the Socialist and labor press alone, but many dailies as well — have printed the latest statistics relating to the cost of living, increased prices of ne-

cessities, etc., and almost without exception they showed that we, the working people, are considerable behind in the new deal — that prices have advanced more rapidly than wages, and, therefore, we have been hornswoggled. All of which goes to show that the labor question will not be settled by industrial action, but politically, and not through the old parties now in control, but only through the program of the Socialist party.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**What's So and What Isn't**, by John M. Work. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, Cloth, 156 pages, 50c.

This is pre-eminently a book to hand a man who is beginning to discuss with himself the question of whether he is a socialist. It fills a field all of its own. It does not pretend to be a discussion of principles, neither is it simply a work to arouse interest, although it will certainly do this.

It does, however, take up every possible objection that can be raised to socialism and argues in such an entertaining and instructive manner that when the reader has finished he finds himself without a leg to stand on. So quotable is the book that it has already proved to be the best friend of a majority of the socialist editors. You can tear a page out of it almost anywhere and have an excellent treatment of some one phase of socialist thought. Its short, snappy style, direct assertive manner and clear statement of positions makes it so easily intelligible that the reader would have to be running very fast indeed not to understand.

**Social and Philosophical Studies**, by Paul Lafargue, translated by Charles H. Kerr. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, Cloth, 165 pages, 50c.

Lafargue has long been recognized as one of the most scholarly and also interesting writers of the international socialist movement. These essays contain some of the best work he has ever done. There are four of them: the first on the "Causes of the Belief in God" and the other three respectively on the "Origin of Abstract Ideas" "Justice" and the "Good".

Throughout his standpoint is that of the comparative evolutionary writer and his wide reading and thorough scholarship enable him to apply this method in its most effective form. Whether the reader agrees with him or not he cannot but find the mass of facts which are assembled available in throwing light upon the subject treated.

A portion of the first essay appeared in a previous number of the Review and this will serve to give an idea of the style and method of treatment. In taking up the origin of abstract ideas he begins with the Greek philosophers and takes up the different ideas which have come to be considered as fundamental in all intuitive ethics. These ideas are traced through the Middle Ages and the bourgeois revolution until the time of Darwin. Here the whole

train of thought is altered by the rise of evolutionary physiological psychology. All of these ideas are summed up in his final chapter on "The Bourgeois Moral Ideal," which he concludes as follows:

"Language has revealed to us that the barbarians, by their habitual anthropomorphic way of proceeding, had incorporated their moral virtues into material goods. But the economic phenomena and the political events which prepared the ground for the mode of production and exchange of the bourgeoisie, dissolved the primitive union of the moral and the material. The barbarian did not blush for this union, since it was the physical and moral qualities of which he was the proudest which were set in action for the conquest and the preservation of material goods. The bourgeois, on the contrary, is ashamed of the low virtues which he is forced to put in play to arrive at his fortune, so he wishes to make believe, and he ends by believing, that his soul wanders above matter and feeds on eternal truths and immutable principles; but language, the incorrigible tell-tale, unveils to us that under the thick clouds of the most purified ethics hides the sovereign idol of the capitalists, the Good, the Property-god."

**The Pattern Nation**, by Sir Henry Wrixon. MacMillan & Co., Cloth, 172 p., \$1.00.

"The question now is, not what the rich will do with the poor, but what the poor will do with the rich. \* \* \* This domination of the wage-earners will be the great fact of our age." To the author this outlook is one to be feared and regretted. He shows a far better understanding of the basic principles of socialism than the majority of its opponents, and this makes him really worth reading. He sees the steady growth of class-consciousness among the workers and recognizes that they will soon have their own "public opinion." Instead of parroting the old falsehood that appears in most anti-socialist works about the various kinds of socialism he says: "The new movement can certainly lay claim to not only the enthusiasm of a religion, but a unity of belief in its followers. Its spokesmen are busy propagating their faith throughout the nations of the West; but amid all the differences of nationality, they speak with one voice in the condemnation which they pronounce upon our present system of life and industry, and in describing the revolution which they hope to bring about."

Yet to him the victory of socialism will but be the "Coming Slavery" of Herbert Spencer in whose deadening grip all incentive to progress will be lost until "Even drowsy China would have greater freedom of life and scope for the individuality than would then be left to the peoples of the West."

He is not wholly to blame for the misunderstanding upon which his argument in this direction rests. He has derived his idea of socialism largely from the works of such thoroughly bourgeois reformers as the Webbs, H. G. Wells, and the other English municipal and national reformers, to whom State owned industry is synonymous with socialism.

He advises as a way out of this evolution the development of co-operation and profit sharing until ultimately he seems to have in mind the attainment of a co-operatively owned and managed industry not so different from that aimed at by the Socialist. The only point of difference would be in the method of the evolution.



## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### "THE PUBLIC SERVICE."

The large number of letters received by Maurice E. Eldridge in response to his article "The Military Power," which appeared in the *International Socialist Review* for December, prompted him to undertake the publication of a new magazine, *The Public Service*, as the initial move in the plans upon which he had been working. The subscription price is twenty-five cents a year, and each subscription will make it possible to send several copies each month to the soldiers. Address Maurice E. Eldridge, Publisher, 264 E. Kinzie Street, Chicago.

### LABRIOLA'S SOCIALISM AND PHILOSOPHY.

After unexpected and unavoidable delays, this valuable work by the author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History" is now ready. It is in the form of personal letters and it deals with questions vital to the socialist movement, so that every active socialist who cares for more than a superficial understanding of socialism will find the book full of interest. The translation has been made direct from the original Italian by Ernest Untermann. There is also an appendix by the translator in which he contrasts the historical materialism of Antonio Labriola with the materialist monism of Joseph Dietzgen. It is a highly suggestive essay and no one wishing to keep abreast of socialist thought can afford to miss it. (Cloth, \$1.00.)

### THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAN.

This work by Austin Lewis, briefly announced in last month's *Review*, is nearly ready for the press, and should be ready about the last of this month. It is a graphic interpretation of American history from Columbus to Roosevelt. The author does not repeat the bare facts of history, but explains familiar facts in the light of socialist principles, with a keen logic and incisive style that will delight the socialist and stagger the conservative. This is one of the books that will be read for the pleasure of it rather than from a

sense of duty. It is full of ammunition for the speaker, and it is one of the best possible books for a new inquirer. (Cloth, \$1.00.)

### THINGS DONE IN 1906.

We began the year with not quite twelve hundred stockholders united in our co-operative publishing house. We close the year with sixteen hundred. This means an addition to our capital of four thousand dollars, and our co-operators may fairly expect us to show a corresponding increase in the publications of the house. Here is the showing:

We have issued twelve volumes in the International Library of Social Science, retailing at \$1.00 each.

Five volumes in the Standard Socialist Series, retailing at 50c.

Three volumes in the Library of Science for the Workers, retailing at 50c.

The first volume of a complete American edition of Marx's "Capital," retail price \$2.00.

"The Rebel at Large," a volume of socialist stories by May Beals, retail price 50c.

The average edition of all these books exceeded 1,000 copies, but figuring it at this, the total retail prices of the new books issued by us in 1906 amount to \$18,500. This does not include the reprints of other books, nor the pamphlets. We issued 75,000 copies of a single pamphlet, "What to Read on Socialism," 25,000 copies of "Confessions of a Drone," and large editions of many other booklets.

The earnings of the publishing house have paid all expenses and its resources are far in excess of what they were a year ago.

### THE OUTLOOK FOR 1907.

But we have scarcely made a beginning at the work which is urgently needed. There are at least 400,000 socialist voters in the United States who would talk in a way to make more socialist votes if they only had the right books to equip them to talk convincingly. And there are millions of other voters who would study socialism for themselves if socialist books were brought to their notice.

No publishing house but ours is making any serious attempt to put the best books of International Socialism within the reach of these voters. To enlarge our work we need more capital and need it now. Here are some of the books already printing that we need it for:

**Class Struggles in America.** By A. M. Simons. Third edition, revised and enlarged, with notes and references. (Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 18, 50c.)

**Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.** By Karl

**Kautsky**, translated by John B. Askew. (Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 17, 50c.)

**Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 13, \$1.00.)

**The Rise of the American Proletarian.** By Austin Lewis. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 14, \$1.00.)

**The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 15, \$1.00.)

**Landmarks of Scientific Socialism** (Anti-Duehring). By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 16, \$1.00.)

**Ancient Society;** or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. By Lewis H. Morgan, LL.D. Cloth, \$1.50.

**The Ancient Lowly:** A History of the Ancient Working People, from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two large volumes, \$4.00. Either volume sold separately at \$2.00.

**Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.** Volume II, The Process of Capitalist Circulation. By Karl Marx, translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, \$2.00.

### HOW THE MONEY CAN BE RAISED.

To publish these books will cost five thousand dollars, and it will all be needed in the next few weeks. No capitalist is backing this publishing house; it depends for its support on the socialists who want the books it publishes. If you are one of them, you will want to do your share.

If you are not already a stockholder the first thing to do is to become one. It costs ten dollars; we prefer to have you send the full amount in one remittance, but if this is not convenient, you can pay a dollar a month for ten months. As soon as you have paid your first dollar, you have the privilege of buying our books at half price if they are sent at your expense, or at forty per cent discount if sent by mail or express prepaid.

If you are a stockholder, there are three things to do. One is to find other stockholders. We do not ask you to buy more shares; the stock draws no dividends, and you get books at the lowest possible price by subscribing for one share. We want the stock held by as many different socialists as possible. Every new stockholder makes the publishing house stronger.

A second way to help is by buying books, either for yourself or for others. We prefer that you charge others the full retail price,

and use the profit to buy books to lend or give to those unable to buy.

The third way to help is to lend money. Our ordinary receipts average nearly a hundred dollars a day, and we are in a position to return all loans for a hundred dollars or less on demand without notice, though we prefer to have notice when convenient. We will when desired pay four per cent interest on loans made with the understanding that we shall have thirty days' notice before the money is withdrawn. We do not offer high interest rates because the publishing house is not run to earn profits but to circulate the greatest possible amount of the best socialist literature at the lowest possible prices. It is probable that the new stock subscriptions received during 1907 will make loans unnecessary after this year, but meanwhile they will enable us to hasten the publication of important books that might otherwise be delayed.

#### FINANCIAL REPORT FOR NOVEMBER.

The book sales for the month of December were \$1,765.00, the receipts of the Review \$350.95, and the sales of stock \$349.15. This last item is not gratifying. There are probably two thousand readers of the Review who have a half-formed intention to subscribe for stock some time. They realize the need of publishing more socialist books, yet they seem entirely willing to wait and let some one else provide the necessary capital. The receipts of the Review are encouraging, since they are considerably more than the expenses of the Review for a month; it should be remembered however that more subscriptions expire with the December issue than with any other, and that a considerable addition to the list of subscribers is still necessary to put the magazine on a safely self-supporting basis. But there is real encouragement in the sum total of the book sales. The cost of replacing the books sold for \$1,765.00 can not be exactly determined since there is a slight variation in the cost of each book, but it can not exceed \$600, leaving nearly \$1,200 available for general expenses and for the plates of new books. These general expenses are to a large extent fixed, and will not be greatly increased with increasing book sales. Even on the present basis there is a margin of some \$300 above all expenses to apply on the plates of new books, and with the increased sales that 1907 is likely to bring there should be several thousand dollars available during the year from this source for the making of new books. But the first need is the ready money to print the new books that are already secured, and here is where we need new stock subscriptions and need them now.

#### SPECIAL CASH OFFERS FOR JANUARY ONLY.

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These offers do not apply to books imported by us and listed on page 34 of the November edition of "What to Read on Socialism," but only to our own publications. They are made for the special purpose of raising without borrowing the money that is now urgently needed for bringing out new books, and at the same time of securing new stockholders who will become regular book-buyers. The offers do NOT apply to those who have already subscribed for stock.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

FEBRUARY, 1907

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## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

*No. 3. (At the French Congress.)*

THE German congress was an impressive gathering of intelligent and wide-awake men. The Italian congress was full of excitement and pyrotechnics. The French congress, held in Limoges, in the heart of the great potteries, was impressive, enormously interesting and not without its fireworks. The delegates thought with a thoroughness, not inferior to that of the Germans, and debated with a vivacity and charm not exceeded by the Italians. They were men from the workshops, men from the study, men from the sanctum of the great journals; and there were there, men of international reputation in science, economics and politics. The congress was therefore not so exclusively working class as the German, nor so middle class as the Italian. Those who were intellectuals took their inspiration from the people, and those who had come from the workshops were as capable of thought and of leadership as were the intellectuals.

The movement in France is superb! It has all the necessary qualities and elements of a great party. If it has its opportunists it has also its impossibilists. If it has its cautious ones it has also its impetuous ones. If it has its pure theorists it has also its thorough practitioners. And the balance is wonderful. But it is not the balance which comes from the dominance of one powerful mind. Criticism runs high, each tendency is represented by some mind and voice of a high order. And a tactic or a policy which runs the gauntlet of the keen and piercing intelligence of men of such different points of view is pretty

certain to be sound. About the best wish that I could make for the socialists of America would be that the French should bottle up some of this remarkable mixture of a Socialist Movement and send some of it over to us.

For the first time in my life I have seen some good resulting from divisions among socialists. The socialists are to-day united, but for thirty or more years they have been separated into various groups, sometimes attacking each other, often competing with each other, and at times wickedly maligning each other. Again and again they have achieved some sort of unity, only to break again into bitterly antagonistic groups. Schism after schism occurred, and the weary years of propaganda dragged on, without that unity of the proletariat that was the watchword and fundamental doctrine of all their teaching. There was a bad side to these divisions which I would be the last to wish to minimize, but at least it had one good result. It produced great men, great debaters, great propagandists, and powerful polemical writers, and now that unity has come and all the men of the old groups are fighting together for the common end, the French party has in its fold, more brilliant and capable men than any other party I know of. Each of the four or five old parties has contributed to the united party its quota of extraordinary men. Some of the groups had drawn to themselves the ablest minds from among the workers, others had drawn from the intellectual proletariat men of brilliant ability, and all together contribute now to the united party the valuable results of their divided labors. It is inspiring to think that this same end may some time be attained in England, and when it is, the men constituting the socialists of Great Britain will rival in ability even those of the French party. Think for instance of Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Irving, Thorne, Hardie, Snowden, Russel, Williams, Barnes, O'Grady, Blatchford, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sydney Webb, Olivier and Hobson all together in one great national party. One thing at least is certain, staid respectable old England would have a merry time of it, and a national congress of the party would not be as dull as, for example, a ladies' sewing circle.. This is, however, all speculation. But in France the thing has happened.

Let us therefore go back to the potteries. The evening before the first regular session of the congress was devoted to propaganda. About thirty meetings were held in all parts of this great industrial district. All of the best orators of the party were down for speeches and some of the comrades from foreign countries were put into the service. For one night the full strength of the united party was devoted to the work of assisting the local federation in its propaganda. Simultaneously in Limoges and in many of the small neighboring towns and even

among the peasants, the guns of socialism were turned to account and the speakers of the party were rushed from one meeting to another as soon as they had finished their addresses in one part of the district. It was a beastly night. It rained torrents and the streets rivalled those of Chicago. We all waded to the meetings which were full to overflowing—not with mud and rain—but with enthusiastic workingmen. After the meeting we splashed back through the mud and rain to the one cheerful and warm place in this abominable center of industrialism—the co-operative restaurant. And there gathered nearly all the congressists and many of the local workingmen to partake of the jug of wine and the loaf of bread which Omar in his poem of the potter so warmly commends.

The congress itself was held in a big barnlike structure, which belonged to the Co-operative Union of Limoges and which under ordinary circumstances served as a great storehouse for their supplies. Two splendid banners were displayed above the platform. One bore the magnificent motto of modern socialism, which has become its rallying cry throughout the world, and which carries in its five words both the philosophy and the program of the contemporary struggle for freedom: "Proletarians of all Countries Unite!" The other, a banner with letters of gold, breathed forth the spirit of internationalism with which the French movement is specially permeated and glorified: "*Parti Socialiste: Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière.*" This then is a congress of a great national section of the International Socialist Party!

At ten o'clock in the morning, 220 delegates, representing sixty-seven sections of the French party and several foreign parties or sections, took their seats at the tables, provided for the delegates, and the third congress of the National Socialist Party was declared in session, by the secretary of the local federation of Limoges. They were a strong looking lot of men, and while, as I have said, the middle class element was large, the delegates were mainly workingmen.

I almost instantly picked out Jules Guèsde, that tireless propagandist, who is perhaps more responsible for the socialist movement of France, than any other one man. One would remark him anywhere. The pallor of his dark skin gives one a first impression of physical weakness. He has great masses of long black hair which he tosses back over his head and ears. He is upwards of sixty, but his eyes still burn and his thought comes like flashes of lightning. Every expression, word and act tell of what he is and of what he has always been. He is a zealot. His whole being loathes the system under which we live, and he fights it, not calmly, but at fever heat. His voice is piercing and almost painful at times, but his thought is as clear as a

mountain stream and it tears its way through all obstacles at a rate which is almost unbelievable. He knows no compromise and he gives no quarter. He is fearless and imperious. His words come like rapier thrusts and he often uses them as unmercifully. To the reader of this description Guèsde may not seem a lovable personality, but no one can forget that he, Jules Guèsde, has been starved, exiled, imprisoned, hunted with blood hounds, and tracked like a murderer in order to crush him and forever to hush his voice. Before I was born he was in revolt against the system and had already been condemned for five years, and when many of us were in our mothers' arms, he was like the wandering Jew, hungry, in rags, and homeless, preaching socialism even to those who stoned him. The fine jovial face with merry twinkling eyes and the white hair in abundance is Paul La Fargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx. One could see that it must be he who had written the fantastic socialist tracts, which we have all read with such pleasure, and who, as Emile Vandervelde has said, loves nothing so much as to shock the timid by his extreme paradoxes. By the side of Guèsde sits Gustave Delory of Lille, who, I am told, was breaking stones on the streets two years before he was elected mayor of that great city, and who is now a deputy in parliament. In both places he has astonished friend and foe alike by his extraordinary ability. The strongly built, grey bearded man, with blue glasses and a small cap, is Edouard Vaillant, the veteran revolutionist, who was the leader of the "Commune," that terrible insurrection of '71. It has been said that he once made the remark that he had never known any kind of a revolution that he was not in favor of. He is still fighting at the head of the movement, and perhaps no other man in France is more long-headed in times of stress than Vaillant. Jaurès sits far away to the back of the room. He is a short, thickset man, powerfully built, with an immense head. He shows in every movement of his body, his quickness of action, his tireless energy and the enormous quantity of physical and mental power which he possesses. One can feel the sentiment of the south in him. He is a man of emotion whose whole being revolts at the cruelties, the miseries, the brutality of the present system. And one can see that he likes to be in the thick of the fight. He reminds me most strikingly of Senator La Follette. Physically and mentally as well as in their power of debate and oration they are as alike as two brothers. Besides the men I have mentioned there were many others of international renown, such as, for instance, Gustave Hervé, the great apostle of anti-militarism, who has only recently come out of prison for his propaganda among the conscripts.

But I should take too much space if I were to attempt to describe the noted men who were there. There were others al-

most as well known as those named, and many younger men of brilliant ability who are fully prepared to take the places of the older when they are gone. My purpose must be now to tell a little of the work of the congress. Perhaps the most important question was the relation between the trade unions and the socialist movements. This is the most important question before the socialist movement in all countries, except possibly in Belgium where the movement of the workers, politically and industrially is closely and firmly united. It was the real problem back of the discussion of the general strike in Germany, and it was also at the bottom of all the discussions in the Italian congress. And with us in America, it is one which must be solved or the socialist movement may long continue in its present ineffective position.

The question was brought before the congress upon a motion made by the Guèsdists. This motion was aimed against the neutrality of the unions. In France, as in Italy, the trade unions are extremely revolutionary, and the most advanced wing and some of the most ardent fighters in the unions are bitterly opposed to parliamentary methods. Some of them are of course anarchists and others are "syndicalists," that is to say, believers in direct action by the workers themselves, by means of the general strike. The Guèsdists wished to begin a war upon these elements in the unions, and by resolution, to condemn the independent action of the unions. It also called for the constitution of a permanent committee to consolidate the federation of labor and the Socialist Party. This resolution submitted by the Guèsdists called forth an immense and heated debate. Two days and all of one night were consumed in discussion. About forty delegates inscribed their names for the debate, but after several had spoken it was seen that this debate alone would occupy the entire time of the congress unless some limits were put either as to time or as to the number of speakers. As the French have a prejudice against time limits, it was decided to ask all those desiring to speak to retire and select from among themselves those who were best fitted to place the various points of view before the congress. Eleven out of the thirty who still desired to speak were then selected. Among those selected were Jaurés, Hervé, Allemane, and Guèsde. The debate was both brilliant and instructive. It represented every point of view. I might almost say that Debs, Berger, Hayes, De Leon, and Simons spoke, because, while some of the debate comprehended questions which we do not have in America, much of the debate was upon the relative power of the two organizations, the one upon the economic, the other upon the political fields, to achieve the emancipation of the working classes.. The only view that was not represented was that of the pure and simple trade union-

ist, for there is no one of importance in the labor movement in France that would consider that the movement of the working classes should concern itself merely with a struggle for shorter hours and better wages. Nor on the other hand would anyone suggest that the labor movement should ally itself with one of the old parties. The movement is too far advanced here for that. The fundamental question is whether the unions shall themselves take industry into their own hands, by means of the general strike and any other revolutionary method available, or whether they shall pursue the parliamentary method and in this way gradually capture the state and through it socialize industry.

So much for the ground of the debate.. The Guèsdists are revolutionary parliamentarians, and they are so convinced that the workers can do nothing without having the state in their hands, that they are apt to underestimate the value of the trade unions. Beside this the Guèsdists would like to drive all the anarchists and syndicalists out of their positions of power in the unions. The opposing elements in the party, like Vaillant and Jaurès desire to leave the unions independent of the party, and to neutralize the propaganda of the anarchists by their own. Vaillant feared that the resolutions of the Guèsdists would only serve to aggravate the conflict between the party and the unions. The congress, he said, ought to affirm the necessity of the economic movement and it ought not to wish to subordinate the unions to the party. The congress ought to recognize the Federation of Labor as the economic unity of the proletariat and to say that the socialist party will give it every aid in its economic struggle. This was very much the trend of the debate against the motion. Jaurès made a very long but, it seemed to me, a not very effective address, although it was delivered with all the power and magnetism of his personality and impressive oratory.

There was an effort made by both sides to arrive at an amicable settlement of the difference of opinion, but neither side could conscientiously yield upon the question vitally at issue. After two days of discussion, representatives of the varying views were sent into a special committee to arrive, if possible at a compromise. After sitting most of the night without reaching a settlement, the two following resolutions were submitted to vote. That supported by the Guèsdists was as follows:

"Considering that it is the same class, the same proletariat, which organizes itself and acts, now on the economic field through its unions, and now on the political field through its socialist party;

"Considering that if these two methods of action and of organization of the same class can not be blended, as they are, and must remain distinct in their end and methods, they cannot ignore one another, without mortally dividing the prol-

etariat against itself and rendering it incapable of emancipating itself;

"There is cause to see to it that, according to circumstances, the trade union action and the political action of the workers may be able to work in concert and unison."

That supported by Jaurés, Vaillant and others was as follows:

"The congress, convinced that the working class will only be able to fully free itself by the combined force of trade union and political action, by the unions going as far as the general strike, and by the conquest of all the political power, in view of the general expropriation of capitalism;

"Convinced that this double action will be so much the more efficacious as the political organizations and the economic organizations shall have their complete autonomy;

"Taking official notice of the resolution of the trade union congress at Amiens, which affirms the independence of the trade union movement of all political parties and which assigns at the same time to the economic movement an end which the socialists alone as a political party, recognize and pursue;

"Considering that the fundamental agreement of the political and economic action of the proletariat will necessarily bring about, without confusion or subordination or defiance a free co-operation between the two organizations;

"Invite all militants to do their best to dissipate all misunderstanding between the Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party."

These two resolutions were put to the vote and the last was carried by 148 mandates against 130 with nine abstentions. The closeness of the vote shows that the policy of the party in this matter is not finally settled. And it is needless to say that had the vote gone the other way it would have offered no solution to the relation which must exist between these two great movements of the working class. The solution lies not so much in resolutions as in convincing the proletariat that there is danger in the present friction between those who would take the view that parliamentary action is alone necessary to emancipate the working class and those unionists who are constantly proclaiming that the economic movement with revolution at the end is the sole method worthy of engaging the energies of the proletariat.

Upon the report of the socialist group in Parliament another interesting discussion took place. This time it was the attitude that the party should take in its relation to the Clemenceau ministry. This ministry had been formed on the eve of the congress, and two of the ablest socialists, Briand and Viviani had



taken posts in the new cabinet, and Millerand, a former member of the party, had been offered a portfolio, but had refused it. The entire cabinet was made up of men of radical opinion, and the parliamentary session at hand promised to be one of the most interesting that France had recently had. There were many questions upon which the opinion of the socialist party could not be easily distinguished from that of the ministry. It was decided therefore that there should be a resolution formulated expressing the views of the congress as to the relation which should exist. After some discussion, in which Jaurés and Guèsde took part, the following resolution was passed:

"The congress, considering that any change in the personnel of a capitalist government could not in any way modify the fundamental policy of the party, puts the proletariat on its guard against the insufficiency of a program, even the most advanced, of the 'democratic bourgeoisie';

"It recalls to the workers that their liberation will only be possible through the coming of the social ownership of capital, that there is no socialism except in the socialist party, organized and unified, and that its representation in parliament, while striving to realize the reforms which will augment the force of action and the demands of the proletariat, shall at the same time, oppose unceasingly, to all restricted and too often illusory programs, the reality and integrity of the socialist ideal."

Everyone rejoiced that there was no serious difference of opinion in this matter, for many had feared that Jaurés would be inclined to view favorably the new government. The passing of the above resolution without a dissenting view proved beyond question that the party was firmly cemented in its bonds of union, and needless to say it was a cause of supreme happiness to the entire congress. In a discussion on the previous day, Jaurés said to a few comrades who were speaking to him of this resolution and "the socialists," Briand and Viviani, "Outside of the unified party, there are no socialists."

Unity, submission to the will of the majority of the party, friendly words between those of different views on tactics, the absence of ill feeling of any kind, all of these things impressed one with the new life of the French movement. The desire for accord was so great that Hervé remarked on one occasion that the congress was afflicted with a strange malady, that of unanimity. One could still see everywhere the signs of the old divisions, and occasionally they seemed on the point of breaking forth in their old lines of battle, but the spirit of unity was too strong, and I am sure that Guèsde expressed the view of everyone who attended that congress when he said to me afterward with joy, "Unity has come to stay, and there is no man in the

socialist party who is strong enough to destroy it." This is the word of courage that thirty years or more of splits, differences, quarrels and schisms of the French socialist movement now sends forth to the world.

But I have said much more than I intended to say upon the work of the congress. I fear it is not very interesting to the reader and certainly not very instructive to those in America, who have altogether different conditions to face. What I have been trying to do in these articles is to convey some general impressions of the personnel and power of the movement in Europe. Therefore a word as to one thought that has been running through my head again and again while attending these congresses. It is not a thought of programs, tactics, personalities, brilliant phrases, or profound economics. It is a thought of democracy, mere political democracy. I have come from a country where democracy is no more, a country in which the people are dominated, corralled and voted not like free citizens but like sheep, a country in which the machine and the boss control and dominate political life. In their turn they are financed and commanded by the corporations, who need political power in order that they may more perfectly rob the very voters that are the source of their power. I have seen workingmen go, hat in hand, to their lordly representatives to be for legislative justice. I have seen their officially constituted commissions lobbying piteously in the halls of their own legislatures. I have seen the bills of the working class mutilated and emasculated, by the very men that the votes of the workingmen have elected. I have seen legislators smother in committee, bills which aimed at preventing union men from being killed by dangerous machines. These and countless other like things have I seen in the "home of the brave and the land of the free." But now I am in the old fatherlands, the lands of autocracies, kings and oppression and what do I see? In Germany seventy-eight members of the Reichstag, in Italy twenty-one members of the Chamber of Deputies, in France fifty-two members, and in Belgium thirty members,—all direct representatives of the working class. I have seen all of these representatives sitting at the same tables with the workingmen, with trade union officials, and their constituents, taking their instructions. I have seen a great brawny miner who had but a few hours before laid aside his drills, washed and dressed himself, sitting opposite his political representative, and therefore servant, explaining the defects in the mining law. I have seen these official representatives in parliament, most of them workingmen it must be said, facing the criticism of men direct from the workshops. They were not the lords and governors of the workers, they were in parliament to execute their bidding. If they failed to do so, this street sweeper under my window,

might, for all I know, go to his section meeting to-night to formulate charges against his representative. This is political democracy, the government of the people by the people and for the people. I go about among these workingmen of these kingdoms, aristocracies and autocracies with a kind of reverence for their wisdom and self-reliance, and if I am sometimes sick at heart at the thought of growing oppression and decaying democracy in the land of my home and heart, then the sight of our foreign brothers brings courage and revives in me that confidence in the wisdom and power of the masses, whose destiny has been and is to create lands of freedom, justice and democracy in all parts of the wide world.

ROBERT HUNTER.

## Why the Workingman is Without a Church.

**S**TUDENTS of history, whose investigations have been illuminated by the principle of historic materialism, do not need to be told that the ritualistic churches of Christendom were the direct outgrowth of the feudal system, and a perfect reflection of the semi-barbaric culture of the middle ages. More than that, they were, for the feudal nobility, a practical administrative expedient of the highest value, employing as could no other agency, the terrors of superstition to support the fabric of baronial oppression. It was a matter of course, therefore, that when the bourgeois revolt came, the new trading class should find itself outside the established church, and even in direct conflict with it. But the bourgeoisie did not, except for a time in France, become irreligious. On the contrary, a new church organization, or rather group or organizations, was founded by it, which ministered to its religious needs, and also formed an instrument for the preservation of its dominance, second in efficiency only to the service rendered to the feudal aristocracy by the ritualistic establishments. Not only did the democratic organization, the somber service and the individualistic piety of the evangelical churches mirror the social ideals and daily life of the bourgeoisie, but the peculiar austerity of the new morality was excellently adapted to check in the wage-worker the vice which would impair his efficiency as a laborer, and the personal indulgence or amusement which would lead him to demand higher wages for its satisfaction. In short, the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding its revolt from feudal constraint and its hostility toward the ritualistic churches, needed and found a fresh organic expression of religious sentiment and life.

Now, some hundreds of years later, a new economic class is rising to power in opposition to the bourgeoisie, and again, naturally and inevitably, finds itself outside that church which is the creation and instrument of its opponent. The workingman is outside the church of today because the church belongs to his master and voices only the interest of the capitalistic class. This is so obvious as to become a sociological platitude, and even to penetrate the minds, here and there, of the good clergy themselves. But the distinctive peculiarity of the modern revolt is that the revolutionary proletariat has neither founded any religious organization of its own, nor shown the slightest disposition to do so. Individual wage-workers may be religious, but the proletariat as a class is serenely indifferent to spiritual things,

not to say happily irreligious. Why is this? Why has not the working-class evolved a religion especially its own, or at least accepted the eager offer of the Catholic church in America or of certain of the smaller Protestant denominations to function as a proletarian church? For disciples of the brilliant Italian, Loria, the answer is easy. The proletariat is without a religious organization *because it has no subject class to oppress and exploit*. It has no need of the repressive and disciplinary influence which it is the business of a church to exert, it does not require the social machinery for the perversion and suppression of natural egoism, because there is none beneath it to be kept in unwilling subjection. There is, therefore, no economic service which a religious organization can render to the proletariat.

The declaration of the German comrades that "religion is a private affair," was much more than a tactical maneuver. It was a profound prophecy. With no man economically interested in the religious belief of his fellows, and no necessity for an ecclesiastical organization to enforce such an interest, with the natural egoism of the individual harmonizing with and furthering, under a sane industrial system, the general interests of society, it is manifest that religion must cease to be a matter of social concern. Religious and philosophical views, divested of economic significance or consequence, become mere subjects of academic discussion and difference, and no longer furnish groundwork for rigid organization, or material for envenomed debate. Religion must always be, for the proletariat, in view of its position as the lowest class in society, a private affair.

The failure of modern churches to espouse the cause of the working-class, is not merely due, as superficial observers are apt to think to the fact that their support is derived directly from the exploiting class. They are purchasable, the support received is in many instances none too large, and if the proletariat were to offer substantial, even if still less liberal, support, it would have no difficulty in winning church bodies to its cause. The chasm between the churches as social institutions and the working-class, is deeper than this. It is more than a mere matter of monetary allegiance. It is fundamental, unbridgeable, because the proletariat has no end to serve by maintaining an ecclesiastical establishment. For a church to become a distinctively proletarian organization would be to disband. It is the half-unconscious perception of this lethal atmosphere, which compels all churches to remain the instruments of the oppressing classes.

Of course the purposelessness, for the proletariat, of religious organization, has nothing to do with the tenets of religious faith. One may be a class-conscious proletarian of the most aggressive type, and adhere implicitly to a rigid Christian or-

thodoxy of philosophical conception. Religious or philosophical belief, and proletarian loyalty and activity, are irrelevant to each other. This is the essence of the declaration that religion is a private affair. And from these considerations is apparent the eternal futility, not to say the mischievousness, of the efforts of certain comrades to foist upon the working-class a cut-and-dried system of religious or philosophical beliefs or disbeliefs. Whether it be a revamping of the militant atheism of the eighteenth century (Bax), or of the dogmatic agnosticism of the nineteenth (Ladoff), or of the crude and rather stupid materialism of the same era (Untermann), or whether, at the other extreme, it be Spiritualism, apocalyptic mysticism or primitive Christianity, the various systems, each heralded as the "religion of socialism," or the "religion of the proletariat," signify no more than the failure of their promoters to grasp the true social function of religion and the true economic position of the working-class. The real proletarian attitude on these matters must always be, from the necessities of the case, one of perfect individual freedom and collective indifference.

CLARENCE MEILY.

# The National Strike.

## II.

Out in pretty Cabanne, the land holders cut down the many fine trees to provide themselves with fuel for a time. But in a few days it was not a question of fuel, but a question of food, and there began a general exodus from the city. Thousands of people of all classes, leaving their houses, their "valuables" and property of every kind, streamed out into the country. It was back to Nature with a vengeance. I saw them in droves, in flocks, in herds, like sheep or cattle, flowing out the Olive Street Road, the millionaire's wife and daughter shoulder to shoulder with the shop girl and the house maid; the banker next the proletarian; the hodman lockstepping with the merchant prince. "Here, indeed," I thought, "is humanity stripped of its frills and furbelows. Here they are back to the realities of life. And here is the opportunity of Love and Fraternity. In this herd of refugees from the collapse of a decayed civilization, where now is the snob? Who is there to command, and who to serve? Where is the master? Where the hireling?"

It did my soul good to see the acts of kindness simple, pure, and unaffected, enacted here, there, and everywhere.

"Surely," I thought, "though there result much suffering and many calamities, it is well that these things have come about: for what else save so good a mixing of the clay, could illustrate to mankind its essential unity? What else could make them know and feel so well their dependence and interdependence?"

And I noticed that, in the main, it was among them who had been poor, that deeds of kindness, natural, touching, and spontaneous had their most plenteous source. Many of them that had been rich marched along, the men muttering curses and imprecations, the women pouring forth hysterical cries and prayers. But among those who had been the dispossessed there was shown little of the spirit of revenge or vulgar triumph.

I saw the wife of a tobacco magnate, her fingers flashing with gems, her shoulders carrying a heavy burden of ermine and rich furs, begging bread of a poor old bent market woman. And the old soul, her eyes moist with compassion, gave it to her, readily; nor would accept the dazzling ring which the recipient of her charity offered her in return. "Nay, nay, thank you," she said, shaking her head, and revealing her toothless gums in a broad smile; "it is but a bright pebble: why should

I want it? I am glad to give you the bread. Why do you wish to pay me for it?"

A moment later I saw a great manufacturer whose reputation was almost world-wide, asking of an erstwhile pauper a drink of brandy for his sick wife. What made it more remarkable was that the pauper, a seller of shoestrings and pencils, had once been an humble tenant of the manufacturer, and had been evicted for non-payment of rent. But he bore no malice toward his former landlord. Long had he known in his lowly way, perchance, that the distinctions of property were neither of God nor Nature. He gave the brandy gladly, nor seemed to marvel or exult that a turn of events had brought such strange things to pass.

Out on the Clayton Road I fell in with a group of the dispossessed and could not but overhear some of their talk.

"The end of the world has surely come," said a corpulent gentleman, whom I recognized as a notable figure, but a few days since potent on 'Change; "our nation is ruined. The people are infernal fools. They are cutting their own throats. I made thirty thousand in stocks last week, and where is it to-day? Where are my rents for my down-town property? Where are my dividends from the companies in which I am a director? The social gear is out of order. Our city is Bedlam. The mob have seized the provisions. Nobody will work for me — not even for money."

"Yes," replied a heavy-set, red-faced politician, "the masses are surely mad. Property values are utterly destroyed. It is now a question of something to eat. We are face to face with fundamental problems. He who can get the bare necessities of life is lucky."

"Capital may be the mother of labor," put in a lawyer, who for many years had been an unscrupulous but invaluable hireling for several large corporations; "but at present she seems to be practicing race suicide. What good are money, stocks, bonds, interest, and dividends unless you can get a lot of fools to work for you? What does it avail a man to be a Croesus if he has to wash his own shirts, bake his own bread, clean his own shoes, and even cut his own hair?"

"Well," remarked the chubby bishop of an influential See; "for my part I realize, as I never did before that charity begins at home, and should stay there until it can do nothing more, when it will be time enough to send missionaries, whiskey, and civilization to the healthy, happy heathen. Whereas, we gave them Christ for the hereafter, it now appears that we sometimes gave them the devil for this world.... I'm fearfully hungry.... If I and my brethren of the cloth had devoted more time to real issues and less to dogmas and rituals, perhaps we would have



stemmed the tide of these frightful disasters. Alas! I was a good man in my way, but I never had the courage to attack the palpable but powerful injustices of our national life. . . . Oh, for a piece of that duck I ate last week in Vandeventer Place! And the puddings, the sauces, the condiments, the wines, — gentlemen, I tell you they were delicious!"

"Don't have such vivid reminiscences, if you please, Bishop; or at least don't express them aloud, said a real estate man, whose boasted *embonpoint* was rapidly diminishing. "I am nearly famished myself. I hope the farmers will feed us when we get out into the country."

"The farmers nearly all are union men," put in a bestial-faced quondam owner of a thriving bucket shop. "The American Society of Equity and The Farmer's Co-operative Business Congress unionized and organized them years ago. They have struck with the rest of the workers. The grain trusts, the railroad freight charges, the cornerers of the market, the monopolies of farm machinery, and the exploitation of that surplus capital, which seeking investment, at last took to bonanza farming, brought them to their senses years ago and made them class-conscious. It was simply a matter of self-preservation with them, as it was with the other workers and creators of wealth. It was union or die. At last they came into the American Federation of Labor. They constitute thirty-five per cent. of our entire population. With them lies the strength of the Revolutionists. For we are all dependent upon the farmers. Civilization rests on the shoulders of the men who till the soil. All art, all science, all law, all glory, power, and greatness owes its being to the man who sweats in the fields. With him lies the destiny of the Nation."

"I have read somewhere," said the Bishop, that the Economic of a polity determined the Politic, the Religion, and the Ethic. I wonder what it means."

"I do not know, I am sure," replied the president of a brokerage company, — a man whose possessions and forceful assurance had placed him high in the councils of State: "I do not know, I am sure; but maybe we shall find out now. This upheaval will no doubt show us many hidden meanings in things."

"I dare say," rejoined the Bishop, sadly. "Meantime we can only pray that order may come from this fierce and frightful seething of the political cauldron, and that our lives may be spared us. I am a man of peace, and am willing to lay aside my cassock and rake hay for some honest farmer until things settle themselves, and our social system is running again. God grant that our people may not lapse into savagery. I do not fancy wearing a breech-clout, or seeing my children grow up

with rings in their noses and all manner of strange creatures tattooed on their backs."

"Be not disheartened, comrades, interposed a fair-haired, intelligent-looking young stranger, whom I had not noticed before. "Things will settle themselves again; but on a new basis. These are the birth-pangs of a new epoch. We are writing a glorious page in history to-day. There are blots on it — aye, even smudges of blood. But what matters it! I see, that from this time, Humanity starts on a new tact, whose goal lies little short of godhood. There shall be struggles, hardships, discouragements, adjustments, before the day is won entirely. Time must pass ere all the harmonies can be sounded. Yet, nevertheless, now is the day of joy and glory, for the people are awakened and the blow has been struck. From this time on, we shall set up new ideals; and the greatness of men and the reality of their successes shall be measured by new standards. Old values are broken. Enough of us know to point the way and guide the masses. Democracy has scored another victory. Mankind has scaled another rung towards its bright destiny. Rejoice that America leans the van in a world-wide regeneration. Now shall the nations fall in line to freedom's quickstep, and ere long the whole wide world shall swing along in the conscious march of Human Progress. Cheer up, my friends, these clouds shall pass, and we shall all be able to catch a glimpse of the glorious vistas of the future, stretching away into illimitable time."

Saying which he passed on and was lost in the throng. And they, children of the old order, that had heard him, and had seen the light of hope, knowledge and prophesy in his face, stood there for a moment blinking at one another, as persons who half understand, as seekers for the full blaze of that great light whose glimmerings had at last penetrated their souls.

But why write of these things now. Already has the news come that in the National Convention at Washington, the industrial despots and tyrants have bowed their heads to the will of the people, and acknowledged the sovereignty of them that work. The transition to the co-operative commonwealth will not be a bloody one. The luxurious old drones and parasites, the brutish exploiters, the ruthless apostles of greed and force are not to be hanged or burnt as some had supposed. Many of them are to retain their position as captains of industries on comfortable salaries — captains of industries that are now owned, controlled, and run not for private profit, but for the welfare of the entire people. Thank God it has come. The dawn is bright but the day will be far brighter. We are to have a scientific organization of society along industrial lines. The questions of livelihood, comfort, and a sane life will be forever answered. If, under intelligent guidance, every one works three hours a day,

it will be more than enough to supply all the necessities and luxuries of our modern life. We can now pass on to our children a heritage of security, independence, and true manhood and womanhood. Now that the problem of subsistence is answered once and for all, men can look up from the ground and the sordid paths of avarice, and with a mental and spiritual vision ever brightening, see things undreamed of before. Now have we ploughed and made ready the soil for that love and fraternity which science tells us is the fairest flower — and not the root of progress. Now has begun the time when "Those who take honors in Nature's university, who learn the laws which govern men and things, and obey them, are the really great and successful men in this world." Charity shall cease when justice reigns. And the time will come when men, knowing the nature of things, shall no longer dally with effects, but hurl their remedies at the cause of wrong. Posterity will reap the full rich harvest. But to us of to-day there shall be a joy and a glad peace in knowing that we laid the foundations for the splendid future; that we put our shoulders to the wheel and did our best in the face of selfish narrowness, calumny, hatred, and antagonistic power; that we gave the world an impetus which shall never cease till all men have become—

"A race of peace-robed conquerors and kings,  
Achieving evermore diviner things."

FRANCIS MARSHALL ELLIOTT.

## To Ernest Howard Crosby.

(Mr. Crosby, lawyer, lecturer, author, legislator and social reformer, died suddenly, January 3, in Baltimore.—Press dispatch.)

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A man of strong and noble parts has gone.  
Yea, one whose love for fellow man  
Knew neither limit, line nor ban.  
Of gentle birth with easy lot, yet he  
A poet was of real democracy  
Did mankind suffer or where'er distress,  
His voice was ever raised for those oppress.  
Hater of war, exposing every wrong,  
Author of note, writer of stirring song,  
Learned in the law, man of majestic mien,  
Speech of great power and pleading ne'er in vain.  
Made of stern stuff, he knew not what was fear,  
Tho' left alone, cared naught for taunt or jeer.  
Ofttimes misunderstood, yet what cared he,  
Conscience-approved, he worked unceasingly.  
Lover of truth, he ever blazed the way  
To help mankind, to lift humanity.  
Man of ten thousand, highest tribute pay,  
He lived, not for himself, but all society.  
Rome, N. Y., Jan. 12, 1907.

EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE.

## Oligarchy and Imperialism.

More and more the literature of socialism in America is becoming an American socialist literature. It deals with American problems, draws its illustrations from American life and is in every sense of the word indigenous. The latest accession to this new class of works is a book by Austin Lewis on "The Rise of the American Proletarian."\*

The introductory chapters give a general survey of the proletariat as a class. Its relation to industrial development and American progress are well described. Although this task has been done so many times before by socialist writers, seldom, if ever, has it been done in a more condensed and accurate manner.

The American proletariat can scarcely be said to have arisen as a distinct class until about the time of the War of 1812, and has grown into a prominent factor only since the Civil War. It is with this modern period, which he treats under the title of "Oligarchy and Imperialism" that Comrade Lewis is at his best. There is so much that is good in this chapter and it gives so good a general idea of the whole work that we reproduce the larger portion of it herewith.

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Following the period just described, we come to another, in which the psychological tendencies of the newly developed, but speedily omnipotent commercial and industrial classes, made themselves apparent. Legislation, the administration of justice, and national policy very soon bore witness to the power of the new idea. The old faiths which had suffered grievously in the early part of that period which immediately succeeded the Civil War were attacked more fiercely, so that the merest remnants remained of that vigorous Americanism which had exercised so profound an influence over the youth of the country and which had been the very symbol of individual liberty and democracy in government. Internal politics on the legislative side responded rapidly to the new tendencies but not more rapidly than did the law courts, so that strange and hitherto unheard of applications of ancient legal remedies were employed in a fashion which left no doubt of the intention of the jurists to interpret the law in terms of the new conditions.

Never has the effect of the influence of economic facts upon legislative and judicial forms been more evident. Just as the industrial development in this country proceeded more rapidly than in others by virtue of the entire newness of the conditions and the freedom from artificial restraints, so the necessary legis-

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\* The Rise of the American Proletarian. By Austin Lewis. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00.

lation and legal decisions were more easily obtained here than elsewhere. The possession of the political machinery by the greater capitalists and the dependence of the judiciary upon politics gave the commercial revolutionists control of the avenues of expression. The capitalization of the press and its employment by the same agencies was another very important factor in bringing about the same result. Practically all the channels through which force could be employed were in the hands of this class at the beginning of this period and the ease with which success was achieved tends to show the thoroughness of the preparations which had been made to render it complete. It is not too much to say that in this period a revolution was accomplished which, for scope and magnitude, probably transcends any revolution of which we have knowledge. No merely political revolutions can be even compared with it. The industrial revolution which in the short space of twenty-five years converted England from a country in which the domestic industry was dominant to a modern machine-industry community is, probably, unless we except Japanese development, the only other instance of so sudden and complete a change. But it took many years for Great Britain to modify her political and juristic systems sufficiently to render them the best expressions of the new economic realities, whereas, it required but a very short time to convert the Senate into a body recognized as the supporter of the commercial and industrial lords and to make the House of Representatives but a large committee for the registering of decrees to carry out the mandates of the same masters. The government of the country was henceforward to be carried on in the name of those interests which were sufficiently powerful to set the machinery in motion.

That collectivism which follows unavoidably in the train of concentration of industry did not show itself as a collectivism supposedly benefiting the whole community. State socialism to which this industrial development has given so great an impetus on the continent of Europe made but little headway here. Such collectivism as there was consisted in the collectivism of a class against society. The great capitalists pooled their interests and directed their united force to a campaign of public plunder. \*\*\* And when the amount of wealth produced under the new system bade fair to choke the channels of distribution in this country, the demands of the manufacturers and commercialists for foreign markets brought a new idea into American foreign politics. So that the country which had been hitherto self-contained and which had framed all its foreign policy upon the notion of its inviolability and independence and its freedom from the embroilments of foreign powers, leaped into the arena of international strife, and in a few weeks added an empire to its

possessions and became a great modern imperial power, having subject under its sway so-called inferior peoples, who could never in the very nature of things become citizens of the Republic.

#### CRISIS OF 1893.

This new period began, appropriately enough, with a crisis, one of those inevitable breakdowns which serve, much as war does, to clear the air and to eliminate numbers of the unnecessary. The crisis of 1893 displayed itself in the first place as a financial crisis, though it was followed by an industrial collapse which showed plainly that unrestricted competition was still productive of its old effects, and that republican institutions and a high tariff afforded no security against those maladies which have so grievously afflicted the peoples of all modern countries.

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The elimination of numbers of middlemen and small producers has always been the essential characteristic result of industrial disturbance. On the other hand the reinforcement of the working class by those better equipped who had fallen into its ranks owing to the action of the crisis and the feeling of rebellion engendered in the minds of numbers of the working class by their sufferings and privations tended more and more to the building up of a self-conscious working class movement. Just in proportion as the greater capitalism made greater progress than heretofore by reason of the crisis of 1893, the phenomenal growth in power of the proletariat was, at least, equally noticeable. The crisis of 1873 produced an active working class movement, that of 1893 stimulated and informed it. Defeated economically and compelled to submit to conditions against which it had contended with increasing spirit, its wages lowered, its organizations much depleted and in some cases disrupted, it still kept its aim before it, and at the conclusion of the depression was ready to take the field again and to enter upon a more vigorous campaign for its demands.

The working class is the one constant factor. It is not possible to dispose of it. The crushing of its members under the weight of exploitation only serves to amalgamate its forces as a pebble walk is solidified by tamping. Such gains as it makes stimulate its ambitions, awaken its energies, and drive it to seek still further successes at the expense of its natural and implacable enemy. The two forces, the organized capitalists and the organized laborers must face one another on both the political and economic fields. The crisis of 1893 made the lines of the respective armies more distinct and showed to many of those who had not hitherto perceived what was impending, the real social and political significance of modern industrial life.

## COMING OF THE TRUST.

This period was marked by the growth of a new form of industrial organization which had had a very important effect upon the politics and commercial enterprise of the nation and which appears destined to be a still more important factor in future. This phenomenon is classed under the general name of "trusts" and although much condemnation has been directed against it, it appears to be as simple and logical a development of industry as any of the other forms with which industrial evolution has made us familiar.

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This trust phenomenon is really a product of economic conditions since 1898, at which time the industrial depression which had set in with such intensity in 1893 subsided, and a period of buoyant optimism supervened, produced by a succession of good harvests and the popular enthusiasm and confidence which followed upon the termination of the Spanish War. The development of railroad industry had, up to this time, absorbed the bulk of invested capital, but the development and practically complete organization of the railroad stocks in very large quantities at low prices were no longer available. The field for investment of money, released by the feeling of security and the impetus given by the revival of prosperity, was discovered in industrials, and the energies of promoters were directed to the organization of industrial enterprise as outlets for capital seeking investment.

\* \* \*

But while the organization of the trusts made undoubtedly for economic advantage, and while the balance was unquestionably in favor of the new system, there were other effects which were very disturbing. Thus the concentration of the almost incredibly large masses of capital rendered the existence of the smaller firms so precarious as to be practically hopeless, and the outcry which was raised by the sufferers found its expression in jeremiads in the press and in a helpless political indignation which exahusted itself in the cry, "Down with the Trusts," but which was futile against the tremendous financial forces ranged on the side of the new organizations.

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## THE TRUST IN POLITICS.

The rapid organization of such colossal industrial enterprises could not fail to have a most profound effect upon all departments of national life, and the corrupting power of great sums of money used without stint or compunction by those who had



immediate pecuniary interests to serve was soon made evident. An era of corruption and debauchery set in much as had occurred subsequent to the Civil War, and the judiciary and the legislatures were exposed to the full force of the attack of corporate wealth. This descent of the trust organizers and controllers into politics was followed by results which do not reflect any credit upon the honesty and stability of legislative and judicial bodies in democratic communities where the standards are almost exclusively money standards, and where neither the social position nor the financial standing of those who are charged with the control of affairs is sufficient to support them against temptation.

The history of this period of prosperity is a long tale of official misconduct in almost every branch of governmental activity, municipal, state and national. An era of what is simply and cynically termed "graft" set in and the press teemed with revelations of official iniquity. Even the ordinary magazines made it a special point of detailing the operations by which the municipalities were robbed of their utilities, and showed to their own financial advantage and the interest of their purchasers the methods employed by industrial organizers in their efforts to make their organizations supreme. These revelations, while stimulating occasional outbursts of indignation and furnishing professors, clergymen and severely sober journals with opportunities for rhetorical and high flown denunciation, produced but little effect upon the community at large. They were regarded as natural and unavoidable concomitants of the system, and, in the general prosperity, were contemplated with equanimity. Now and again, an unusually bold piece of villainy would create a sensation, but, if the feelings engendered by such occurrences were analyzed, it would probably be discovered that admiration of the powers of the successful promoter was at least as marked as indignation against a public wrong.

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The new industries fell into the hands of a diminishing group of men who exercised an increasing amount of power, the oligarchy which had been foreshadowed even before 1893, was fast being realized, and had become an accomplished fact.

Henceforward the political tendencies of governmental centralization were to be more strongly marked than hitherto. The individualism of the state system began to be a serious obstacle in the path of political and economic progress, and it became only a question of time when the more complete commercial and industrial organization would be mirrored in a more complete political organization. The centralization of industry must necessarily find an expression in the centralization of governmental power. The question thereupon arose, at least by inference, as to which of the governmental organs was to be the representa-

tive of this centralization. There are two departments of the government, each capable of fulfilling that function. The senate by its limited numbers, its recognized role as the representative of the power of organized wealth, and its vast political influence might serve as an active executive committee of the economically powerful; or the President by virtue of his position as the nominal head of the State might act in the same capacity. So there was outlined a struggle between the President and the Senate which has already shown signs of increasing intensity, and which may conceivably, within a very short period develop into the most important incident in the unfolding of American political history.

The incongruity between a closely knit and highly organized economic system and a loosely connected bundle of individual states, any one of which may at any time seriously hamper and interfere with the economic organization, is so obvious that the permanence of the system cannot be seriously considered. The difficulty of course lies in so arranging the power of the units that the national economic system is not interfered with. But this becomes increasingly intricate in proportion as the development of industry transcends the limits of the individual states, and great enterprises come into existence whose ramifications and the extent of whose interests bring them into contact with the state legislatures at so many points. All sorts of impediments have arisen, therefore, to the development of the greater industry, but it, with a confidence born of security, has succeeded in using even these factors in its service, and by a discreet use of corruption funds ever increases its hold upon the various political systems of the individual states. This method is, however, costly, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, and therefore the cry for federal control arises, or for the federal supervision of transportation and other industries which overlap diverse sections of the community. Such "control" is under present circumstances a mere euphemism, for the economic forces are so far in control of the political that any claim on the part of the federal executive or the federal judiciary to exercise a controlling influence over its master savors rather of *opéra bouffe* than of reality.

#### EXPANDING CAPITALISM.

An incident in the course of the development of this greater industry has been the establishment of a strong foreign policy, and the acquisition of territory outside and beyond the former limits of the country. The rapidly developing industry, the greater mutual dependence of the powers owing to the ramifications of business relations, and the jealousies and opportunities for strife engendered by the clash of the interests of the dominant national capitalists made it imperative upon the government of this country that it should have greater influence with foreign

powers, and this, of necessity, rendered the construction of a sufficiently formidable navy essential.

The idea of a strong navy which would be employed outside the country met with much opposition from those Americans who still maintained the independence of this country of foreign embroilments, but a dispute with Great Britain with respect to the conduct of that power in Venezuela furnished an admirable argument to the advocates of the greater navy policy. The navy was needed to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and is not the Monroe Doctrine as essentially American as free speech, a free press and liberty of contract? So the building of the new navy proceeded, and a new and very lucrative industry was founded for the private capitalists who built the ships on contract and caballed, intrigued, and corrupted to obtain these contracts on the best terms possible.

The profits on the building of the navy were absorbed by private firms.. The opportunity of creating a great national ship-building plant was lost, and the country became dependent for its sole effective offensive arm upon a few great firms which in their turn were dependent upon or interested in the powerful steel interests. It must be remarked that the development of the steel industry and the organization of that industry which rendered possible the production of cheap steel were necessary conditions precedent to the building up of the new navy, and hence in the last instance the national navy became a product of and dependent upon a small but exceedingly powerful group of capitalists, who were now practically compelled to look for foreign markets for their surplus products.

The acquisition of the Philippine Islands gave these capitalists an immediate interest in affairs in the Orient which was now, under the leadership of Japan, showing signs of an awakening and promised to be a fine field for commercial exploitation. A war between Japan and China, in the settlement of which the United States took an active part, was followed by a rising against foreigners in China and by massacre and pillage at the hands of a certain sect of fanatics termed "Boxers." This rising led to the active interference of the leading western powers for the purpose of securing peace, and the United States co-operated with these powers in the employment of troops in the land of another people thousands of miles away. Since that time difficulties with outside foreign powers have been not infrequent. Turkey, Germany, San Domingo and Morocco have all had disputes with this country.

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However, the entry of the United States into the group of great nationalities, whose commercialists and manufacturers are engaged in active competition for the possession of the world's markets, is now an assured fact. The demand for a stronger

navy still continues and the demand for a greater army to keep pace with the navy is made with much insistence.

\* \* \*

There are signs also that the same increase in the military forces may be directed against the possibility of civil discord arising from the eternal labor troubles.

There is a still more evident growth of the idea that the chief object of American foreign policy is to secure the best markets for American products and to advance the interests of industrial and financial magnates. All of these phenomena point to the influence of the trader and manufacturer in politics and show that the mainsprings of the international policy of the United States are to be sought in the interests of the greater capitalism.

\* \* \*

It cannot be forgotten, moreover, that the country by its rapid development of its wealth producing resources no longer occupies the subordinate economic position which it once held. It is no longer dependent upon capital from the outside. The growth of the syndicates in strength and influence has rendered the funds at the disposal of the lords of finance much more accessible than hitherto. The preponderance of wealth gives this government a growing influence which is only prevented from making itself still more apparent by the lack of organization of its military resources upon anything like the same scale as has been accomplished in European countries. How far this military organization will be discovered to be necessary is a question at once suggested by the occupation of the Philippine Islands whose proximity to Asia and consequently to the very center of international rivalry has drawn the United States willy nilly into the struggles of the Powers. That the commercial interests of this country are estimated to be very closely bound up with the development of the Orient is obvious from the anxiety displayed by the government with reference to interference in the Chinese troubles, in spite of the denunciations of those American statesmen and journalists who regarded the movement as being on the one hand a departure from traditional policy and on the other as involving possibilities which it would be the part of the discreet to avoid.

#### COXEY'S ARMY.

The crisis of 1893 produced strange psychological aberrations in certain sections of the working class as well as in that portion of the debtor and farming class which saw in free silver and the populist platform the solution of their troubles. The latter propaganda was attended with a fanatical devotion as unusual as it was ridiculous. A sort of semi-religious, semi-hys-

terical socialism not unlike that which had manifested itself on the continent of Europe, in France particularly, in the early forties made itself evident, and the "Burning Words" of Lammenais were re-echoed more or less feebly, on this side of the Atlantic by impassioned advocates of the new doctrine. But beside the mortgaged farmers, there was a great mass of unemployed which suffered privation owing to the dislocation of trade. Impatience with their lot grew more and more marked among the inhabitants of the West, whose frontier life had made them more disinclined to submission than their eastern fellows. The attacks of the free silver preachers had impressed upon the popular imagination that the government was to blame. Therefore they determined to display their poverty to the government. Hence arose the memorable exodus from the West to the East which was popularly known as the march of Coxey's army. \* \* \* As a dramatic exhibition of the poverty of the unemployed it was a complete failure and can only be considered as an example of the vagaries which haunt men's minds in times of economic stress, a species of hysteria produced by their desperate circumstances, and liable, under extreme conditions, to produce strange and even terrible results.

[Another feature of this stage was a series of fierce industrial conflicts, especially the A. R. U. strike, and the Coeur d'Alene struggle which gave rise to a greater extension of Federal power and the introduction of new weapons, particularly the injunction.—Ed.]

#### EFFECT ON WORKING CLASS.

But this conflict between the labor organizations and the greater capitalism did not have that invigorating effect upon the former which might have been reasonably expected. On the other hand, the oligarchy which swayed the political and business world mirrored itself in the labor organizations. The tendency which was noted in the previous decade persisted and developed itself even more strongly. The depression in trade which filled so large a portion of this period had caused the trades organizations to show a marked falling off in power and influence. Such is always the effect of economic crises and hard times. The recurrence of industrial prosperity, on the other hand, showed itself in a wonderful growth in the trades unions. But it is undeniable that this activity in trades union circles produced no adequate effect upon the position of the working class. The share of product which went to the laborer ever diminished. The liberties taken by the courts and the military, as already described, showed that the influence exerted by the laboring class upon the government was of the slightest and that their enormous numerical strength was more than offset by the wealth of the dominant class.

The reasons for this condition of things appear to lie in the characteristics of the American labor movement as it had been developed in the course of the economic evolution of the country. There had been from the beginning, as in England, to a very great extent, a failure on the part of the union leaders to grasp the significance of the struggle in which they were involved. The failure to see the significance of the labor movement resulted in the precipitation of conflicts in which the working class was confronted with the certainty of defeat. Issues also upon which a straight and uncompromising fight between the opposing classes might have been successfully waged were shirked. Thus much needless suffering was inflicted and slight enthusiasm engendered.

The fact was that the trades leaders, even the best informed of them, were continually haunted by the notion of contract. The two necessary factors of production were in their estimation placed in juxtaposition, in eternal antithesis like the ends of a see saw. One, however, could not gain any permanent advantage over the other. The individual capitalist was considered by them to be necessary to the existence of the workingman. They, even the strongest of them, were thus deprived of the enthusiasm and confidence which a grasp of the class war would have given them. Without this support their policy was wavering, indecisive and, though of temporary value, in a few trades, only efficacious up to a certain point, and impotent to prevent the returns to labor continually diminishing in ratio to the growth in wealth and the increase in the amount of invested capital.

Besides, the prospects of reward held out by the political managers of the greater capitalism to successful labor leaders had filled some of the most ambitious and capable with the resolution of gaining place and position for themselves independent of the advancement of the generality of the class to which they belonged. Many labor leaders became little better than freebooters, selling their followers in the interest of rival capitalists, turning from this side to that in the war which rival capitalistic concerns waged against each other, according to the price offered for their services. They were mere condottieri selling their modern equivalent of the sword, the power of organizing and leading men, to the highest bidder. A brisk trade was done in union labels and other devices of a similar character. Black-mail was levied. In fact, in the very ranks of labor itself there was a group of corrupt manipulators whose nefarious activities may be compared with those of the fraudulent army contractors operating in the Spanish War.

It became more and more evident that the morals of the dominant capitalism were finding their reflection in all sections of the community. A period of apathy in the ranks of labor nat-

urally supervened. Strikes and lockouts were, of course, as common as before; the struggle, inevitable in the very nature of things, continued. But local and sectional influences were stronger than the general impulse. The ill-regulated and ignorant, but at the same time generous, enthusiasm of the 80's had waned, and the all-pervading cynicism which had greeted the victories of the Spanish War with a perceptible sneer in spite of the official applause found its counterpart in the attitude of the masses of the laboring classes. Though the numbers of men enrolled in the unions grew with wonderful rapidity in the period of revived prosperity, there was none of that early abandon of belief in the power of the working class which had marked the earlier phases of the trades union movement. Leaders were stronger than ever before, the paper force of the organizations was greater, but the spirit was lacking. The crushing weight of the triumphant oligarchy weighed down the hopes of the toilers. On the one hand, their great industrial lords held arrogant sway, and then bulwarks of American liberty fell before them so easily, so bewilderingly easily that the masses of the toilers educated in the public schools to an absolute belief in the stability of the institutions of the country felt hopeless in face of the aggressions. On the other hand, the small bourgeoisie which was as much opposed economically to the advance of the oligarchy as the working class itself was bankrupt in character as well as in purse. Noisy demagogues with a talent for advertisement but with no ability for leadership occasionally appeared but succumbed to the money force of the oligarchy or wearied the ears of the populace with incoherent and useless complainings. The working class itself was devoid both of leadership and of enthusiasm. The oligarchy was in complete and almost undisputed possession of the field.

Though the official representative of the laboring class, the trades union movement, was in such a deplorable condition, the class war still found its exponents in the socialist movement. It was then in its incipient stage. With the progress of the decade under consideration it developed both in numbers and in the virility and definiteness of its propaganda. The increase in its voting strength was marked. Thus from a vote of a little over two thousand in 1888 it attained a vote of nearly forty thousand in 1896. But the progress of the movement was actually much greater than appears from the consideration of the mere vote. Organization had been effected, speakers trained, an English press established and vast amounts of literature, largely translations from the socialist literature of the continent of Europe, widely distributed.

Thus in the very hour of triumph of the greater capitalism the enemy was developing its strength. Small and numerically

insignificant as it was the capitalistic forces were not slow to recognize its potentialities. The press teemed with attacks upon the socialists and the pulpit, ever the ready servant of tyranny, supplemented the efforts of the press. Such is the free advertisement which the spirit presiding over the progress of humanity always provides and, in proportion as the attacks were absurd in their violence, the interest of the public increased, and socialism, instead of being considered as an amiable weakness to which emotional people and raw foreigners were particularly prone, received very general recognition. This does not imply that there was any particular grasp or understanding of the socialist movement. On the contrary, the views advanced both by advocates and opponents were at this particular period more marked by crudity and feeling than by knowledge and perception. Still the point had been reached when socialism could be discussed, as, at least, a possibility. Thus both socialists and their opponents began to speculate upon a time when the laboring class, tired of the insolence of the oligarchy and the incompetence of the trades union movement, might direct its attention to the new propaganda.

AUSTIN LEWIS.



## New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

### IV.

**L**ET us now look into the character of the theory of the Zionist socialists.

They claim to be orthodox Marxists, and their theory strictly Marxian. It, therefore, behooves us to examine it from that standpoint.

The Marxian philosophy is based on the principle that economic conditions (not economic circumstances) are the axis upon which turns the wheel of history. In other words, the way in which people produce and distribute among themselves the material things necessary for subsistence, is the basis for all human activity, upon which all else is built. This is the philosophy of Marx. This is, at the same time, his method of investigating history. The principle once established leaves nothing else but the investigation of the existing economic conditions of a given period; that is, the investigation of the ways and means in which, and by which things are produced and distributed. And while studying the economic conditions of the capitalistic era, Marx has discovered that the mode of production and distribution under capitalism leads, in the first place, to the accumulation and concentration of large capitals in the hands of a few on one side, and it creates misery, privation, suffering and degradation on the other; that it divides the people into different classes which are arrayed one against another; that it drives the middle classes into the ranks of the proletariat, and those of the proletariat into that of paupers; that it simultaneously engenders and nourishes a healthy discontent and class-consciousness amongst the disinherited classes, which will ultimately lead to the establishment of a new social order, based on justice and equality, in a word, to the establishment of socialism.

This is Marxism in one breath. It will at once be seen that no amount of scholasticism and dialectical jugglery would be able to deduce the idea of Territorialism from this and the Zionist Socialist can not do the trick either; they bring it about, however, with what they arbitrarily add to the doctrine of Marx. And for that purpose they begin at the end instead of at the beginning.

The doctrine of Marx, they say in substance, is true, but

it is only half the truth, the whole truth being that in addition to the class struggle, which, no doubt takes place, there also goes on a struggle among the nations; that in a country like Russia, which includes many nationalities, there goes on a continuous fight amongst the capitalists of the different nationalities, as well as amongst the proletariat. And, what is more, it is always the ruling nation that scores a victory in this contest. Hence, the capitalists of the subordinate nationality can never hope to become capitalists in the real sense of the word, that is, to gain control over any considerable portion of the main industries of the land; likewise the proletariat of the subordinate nationality can never attain the distinction of real proletarians, that is to participate in the main industries of the land.

The "theory" is thus based on Marxism, but upon a misapprehension thereof.

We shall, however, not quarrel with them on that account. We cheerfully concede to them the right to construe—rather to misconstrue—Marx according to their own understanding, or misunderstanding. But then, we have a right to demand of them to reason out logically their own propositions. And what would be the logical conclusion of that interpretation? It would amount to this: The economic conditions of society cause not only a conflict among the different classes; they also are the cause of the eternal strife amongst the different nationalities within the classes. In this struggle of the nations, the stronger nationality, which is in possession of the national industry is sure to come out winner, while the weaker nations are bound to underlie. The Jewish nation being the weakest of them all, having no national industry, and having no hope of acquiring one, is doomed to extinction; it is bound to turn pauper, and no one can help it. The iron laws of economic conditions have so decreed.

Such a conclusion would not be in accordance with the truth, neither would it conform to the spirit of Marxism, nor would it exactly fit the known facts about the Jewish people, but it would be the logical conclusion from their own premises.

This only logical conclusion they fail to draw, instead they seek refuge in emigration.

The abnormal conditions of the Jews, they maintain, drive the nation to seek homes in new lands, where the prospects are not much better; hence the conclusion of acquisition of an autonomous territory becomes an economic necessity. We have thus an entirely new theory which has little in common with Marxism.

The Zionist Socialists may here raise an objection. They may say: "We are not Marxists in the sense that we subscribe to every word uttered by Marx, but we hold to the doctrine in that sense that we believe in the materialistic conception of

history, and that we apply the Marxian method to the solution of the Jewish problem, and applying this method we find that the lack of national industry is the chief trouble of the Jewish nation; and that the remedy, therefore, lies in the acquisition of territory wherein such industry could develop."

This has a scientific sound to the untrained ear. But the difficulty lies just in this very application. They know not how to use the method, and, therefore, confound *economic conditions* with *economic circumstances*—the economic conditions of society at large with the economic circumstances of the Jews within society. Their theories are therefore built on quicksand, and crumble at the first touch.

In an article in "*Das Volk*" of June of last year, one of their chieftains has, as if to order furnished the proof of the correctness of the above statement. Says he:

"Socialism, according to the materialistic conception of history, is an ideal the holders of which are interested not in the name of justice, morality and ethics, but in the name of self-interest. This self-interest begets the subjective will in the class mostly concerned for the changing of society. The subjective will, however, can guarantee the realization of socialism only when it is in accordance with a certain measure of objective force. The production and the technique must have reached a certain point in its development, and then, it is only the class which is employed in the higher forms of production that will inaugurate the desired change. This is also the reason why according to Marxism the machine workers will hold the main position in the changing of the social order."

This paragraph is characteristic of the Zionist Socialist as to clearness of thought, power of expression and understanding of Marx. It is just the opposite of Marxism according to which teaching it is not the *economic circumstances* of this or that class that will establish socialism in the name of its interest. It is rather the *economic conditions* of society (the condition of producing commodities not for one's own use, but for the market, to make profit; the conditions that compel the workingman to sell his labor-power; that deprive him of the tools necessary for production)—it is these conditions that pave the way for socialism, it will therefore not be the machine workers alone it will be the working class as a whole, aided by the remnants of the middle class, and to great extent by the inner struggles within the capitalist class themselves that will help in the establishment of socialism. Whoever is not clear on this point is incapable of formulating new theories based on Marxism.

Let us now once more recapitulate the theory of the Zionist Socialist. It may be reduced to the following few formulas:

- 1) The industry of a land is always national industry.

2) When several nationalities live together under one government there goes on a struggle between the different nationalities for the control of this industry, resulting in the triumph of the ruling nation.

3) The proletariat is divided into two parts—the negative and the positive—according to the part each takes in the industry. The proletariat of the ruling nation, however, always belongs to the positive, while all the others belong to the negative one, with a probability, nay, a certainty, of falling into the ranks of pauperism.

4) The alternative of pauperization is emigration, which, however, leads to no better results.

I have formulated these propositions advisedly, because only as general rules can this theory have any claims to our attention. No theory can be called by that name when it is applicable to only one exceptional case. Let us, therefore, inquire how this theory would work when applied to other nations similarly situated.

## VI.

### NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

What is the meaning of this term? We have heard of national honor, national pride, national flags, national character, national wealth and many other things which may or may not be, but which are called national, but we have never heard of national industry. In vain will we look up the dictionaries, we will not get wise on that point. The Zionist Socialists have not as yet taken the trouble to give us a correct definition of the term. From their literature, however, we gather its meaning to be that the industry of a certain land belongs collectively to the nation of that land, which definition is neither otherwise nor extraordinarily new. But that in a many nationed country like Russia it invariably is dominated by the ruling nationality—in this case the Russian people.

This is the "Marxian" rule. Accordingly, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Armenians, those of the Baltic Provinces and scores of other peoples that pine under the Russian rule, have no share in the national industry; accordingly the Poles in Germany, the Ruthenians, the Chechs, the Italians and all other nationalities constituting the Austrian Empire have no share in the national industry of those lands, and the workingmen of all these nationalities belong to the negative proletariat, which will never be able to take part in the Social Revolution, and is doomed to pauperization. And, if we come thus far, we are bound to make the next step. The economic circumstances of

all those subjected nationalities lead to an emigration on a large scale, which is proven by the following official figures:

From July 1st, 1904 to June 30th, 1905 immigrants arrived to this country, from Russia 184,622, and out of this number 92,388 were Jews, Russians proper 3,278, and the remaining 88,956 from the other nationalities. The immigration from Austria-Hungary was 275,418 out of which number 47,352 were Jews, 22,000 Germans, and the remaining 206,066 recruited themselves from the different nationalities under the Austrian rule. To take the number of immigrants of several subjected nations alone, we find:

Jews, from Russia and Austria .....	129,910
Poles " " " " .....	102,137
Slovacs " " " " .....	52,368

We must, therefore, come to the following conclusion: The Poles and the Slovacs, like the Jews, have no national industry which fact drives large masses of their number to emigrate. In the new country where they arrive they can not hope to get a share of the national industry which is already owned by the ruling nationality. The only remedy for all those peoples, therefore, is a new territory of their own.

This is where we arrive at when we essay to make a general rule of the theory of the Zionist Socialist. We reach a "territory" from whence "no traveler ever returned".

The Z. S. will, no doubt, frown at such conclusions. They are not at all trained to the straight and narrow path of logic: they will, no doubt, try to evade the question by pointing out the incomparableness of the two; by claiming that the Polish nation really has its land, and its national industry, that its trouble consists only in the fact that a strange and tyrannical government captured and holds their land by force of arms. Their remedy, consequently, lies in freeing themselves of this tyrannical government, a thing very possible nowadays, while the Jews are, and will remain in exceptional conditions, no matter what happens in Russia. The Jew will always remain a stranger, and will never have any chance of controlling any part of the large industries.

Such an argument may sound very plausible, even scientific, to some. A little reflection will, however, reveal the weakness of the position.

Whatever the definition of "National Industry" may be no man will deny that the Germans, British, Italians and Scandinavians do own such national industry. If the Socialist Territorialists, the new interpreters of Marx, be right in their assertion, the emigration of those countries ought to have been, if at all, very insignificant. What do the figures tell us? From the year

1881, i. e. from the year since the Jewish emigration began, there arrived to this country :

From Germany .....	2,135,117
“ England .....	2,507,814
“ Italy .....	1,918,971
“ Scandinavia .....	1,319,645
Total .....	7,881,547

While Jews came altogether less than one million.

In the fiscal year, beginning July the 1st, 1904 and ending June 30th, 1905 there arrived here :

Italians .....	226,250
British (including Irish) .....	137,134
Jews (from all countries) .....	129,910
Germans (Germany and Austria) .....	82,360

The nations that live on their own territory, possessing the national industry of their lands, have thus supplied us with a greater number of immigrants than the Jews that have none of these much coveted things. And we must not forget, that the immigration from Germany and England fell off considerably in the last few years. There were times as in the year 1882 when Germany sent to us 250,630 of her beloved children, and England bade good-by to not less than 179,419 of her positive proletarians. This is not guess work as is the theory of the Zionist Socialist. This is the official report of the Bureau of Immigration at Washington.

What do these figures teach us? They tell us in unmistakable language that the “national industry” and one’s own territory do not prevent the emigration of large masses of the people; that, consequently, the lack of it accelerates the movement; that they stand in no relation whatsoever, that there must be other causes for this phenomenon. It is, therefore, possible, nay, probable that the emigration of the Jews, also, has other causes than those designated by the Z. S.

Here, again, the “scientific” Territorialist may raise an objection. He may say: While it is true that the absolute number of the Italian immigrants is larger than the Jewish, relatively, when we consider the size of the two nations, the Jews yielded the greater number, which goes to prove the exceptional condition of the Jewish nation. This is true, to a certain extent, or rather, to an uncertain extent. It is only true in some years, while in others also the relative number of other nationalities is larger than the Jewish. And the years when the Jewish number is greater, it, no doubt, proves the exceptional condition Jews are in. But the exception is in an

altogether different direction than the Z. S. take it to be. When the causes are different the conclusions necessarily must be of a different nature.

In the year 1891 the government of the United States of America sent a special commission to European countries "to investigate the causes which incite emigration to the United States." Two of the commissioners, Weber and Kempster especially investigated conditions in Russia. They visited St. Petersburg, Moscow, Minsk, Wilna, Bialostok and Warsaw, besides a number of minor towns and townlets. The result of this investigation they have embodied in a report to the Commissioner of Immigration, and this report unfolds before us a heart-rending picture of oppression and persecution; of ruined lives and ruined fortunes; of broken hearts and spoiled careers.

The poverty, the misery, the agony which they witnessed, they write in the report, they would never forget in all their lives. And they appeal to their own government in the name of humanity to stretch out a helping hand to this downtrodden, persecuted and haunted people.

What is the cause of this misery and starvation? The Commission knows of one, only one: Government oppression! That is the word. Emigration from all other European countries, the commission reports, is caused mainly by economic conditions—by the poverty at home and prospects of improving conditions in America: partly also by the exaggerated tale of prosperity spread by unscrupulous agents of transportation companies that thrive upon the ignorance and the misery of the people, while the immigration of the Jews is caused solely by persecution of the government and the special laws enacted against them. That even the poverty prevalent amongst them is due, to a great extent, to this very persecution and oppression; that the overcrowding in the "pale of settlement" aggravated by the forced exodus from Moscow, as well as by the laws which closed a number of occupations to them, has created an abnormal competition in all walks of life with the result that comparatively wealthy men were reduced to begging.

Out of the many facts cited by the commission I shall here quote only one: In Minsk the commission met a contractor of government buildings, a Jew, who had just concluded a contract to build some armories in Minsk, one clause of which prohibited the employment of Jews in any capacity whatever. And this in a city preponderatingly Jewish, with a great number of Jewish artisans, which are, according to the testimony of the commission, more skilled, and more reliable than the non-Jews of that town.

The report winds up thus: "In view of the fact that the restrictive measures levelled against the Jews in Russia affect

the condition of from 5 to 7 million people, that these persons are in consequence *forced to emigrate*. and that owing to various reasons, the chief of which being superior advantages, personal and religious liberty their trend is toward our shores, we gave more time to Jewish immigration than to any other, *as in every country visited, except Russia the migration is due almost entirely to normal conditions*. In Russia, however, emigration is incited by causes within the control of the authorities. There is a propulsive force behind it which can be stopped by an Imperial edict, by an intimation to cease the persecutions, just as was done after the 'May laws' of 1882 started the exodus which swelled the figures of emigration to our country and promised to grow into huge proportions, but which was stopped by the protest which came from all directions."

To prove their contention that the immigration of Jews is due to persecution of the government the commission quotes the following statistical figures:

There arrived in this country from Russia in

1880 .....	7,693
1881 .....	10,518
1882 .....	15,900
1883 .....	7,577

Emigration thus rises according to the intensity of persecution, and drops as soon as it relaxes. And this is true until this day. Furthermore, until the year 1881 hardly any Russian Jews left that country. From that year, the year of the first anti Jewish riots, the immigration of Russian Jews dates, and it varies according to the variation of oppression.

From the year 1881 to the year 1890 there arrived to the United States through the three main ports of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore between 20,000 and 25,000 Jews annually, only few times reaching the high mark of 30,000 in one year. In the year 1891, after the Jews were driven out from Moscow, the number of immigrants takes a jump to 69,139. In the following year it again drops to 60,325, to be followed up by another drop to 25,000 and 30,000 annually. In the three years from 1899 to 1902 it rises again to an average to 49,000, and from now on keeps on the ascending point until it reaches the number of 129,910 in the year 1905.

It is thus plain as daylight, that first the possession of a national industry does not hinder emigration; and second, that the emigration of Jews is not due to the lack of national industry; that it is rather the deliberate and arbitrary oppression of the Russian government that incites emigration.

This fact becomes still more obvious when we compare the migration of the Russians with those of Austria-Hungarians.

Jews arrived to this country:



Year	Russian	Austria-Hungary.
1901 .....	37,660	13,006
1902 .....	37,846	12,848
1903 .....	47,689	18,759
1904 .....	77,514	20,211
1905 .....	92,388	17,352

We see here that while the emigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary varies within certain limits, the emigration of Russian Jews is steadily progressing, and has more than doubled, almost trebled in the course of five years.

The same thing is to be noticed with the Roumanian Jews. The Jewish emigration from that country varies with the persecution in that unfortunate country.

To recapitulate on the one hand the theory of "national industry" leads to the conclusion that the Poles, etc. ought to look around for a new territory; on the other hand we see that a "national industry" is powerless to protect the proletariat against pauperization and consequent emigration. In the third place, it is clear that the emigration of Jews is not caused by the absence of a "national industry", but by political circumstances.

We will consider the matter from one more viewpoint:

Out of the 129,910 Jews that arrived to this country from July 1st, 1904, till June 30th, 1905, 60,135 or 46.28 were skilled laborers, while out of the 226,320 Italians that arrived during the same period only 27,897 or 12.32 were skilled. It is true, among the skilled laborers of the Jewish immigrants there were 22,234 tailors, but it is "up to" the Socialist Territorialist to prove that tailoring does not belong, and is not a part of Capitalistic industry.

This again shows us that there is no reason to lament the inability of the Jews to become "positive proletarians". They do, thanks to the Almighty, proletarianize fast enough. On the other hand, it would seem that Italians are more apt to fall into the ranks of paupers. And they have a national industry.

The thing becomes worse yet when we consider the occupations of the most of the Italians in this country. Wherever there is a tunnel to be dug, or ditches to be filled, or hods to carry, or boots to shine, or beards to shave, and more such real capitalistic undertaking, we are sure to find Italians there.

We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Italians, too, are born to be negative proletarians, or that they need a new territory, or—that the Socialist Territorialist would better look out for a new theory, and leave Marxism alone.

\* \* \*

In the next and last chapter we shall treat of the negative proletarianism of the Jews and the positive capitalism of the Russians.

JACOB MILCH.

(To be continued.)

## The General Laws of Evolution as Seen in Social Evolution.

In my volume on "Evolution, Racial and Habitual," recently published by the Carnegie Institution I have endeavored to show that there is a remarkable correspondence in the principles controlling the evolution of racial groups and those controlling the evolution of social groups depending on community of acquired habits.

Correspondence in the racial characters of individuals belonging to the same race is due to Heredity with community of descent maintained by inter-generation. In habitual groups the correspondence in habits and acquired characters is due to Tradition with community of life, maintained by free intercourse under similar conditions and interests.

In racial groups adjustment to changing conditions is attained by individual Variation with Selection, (that is, with the superior survival and propagation of those best fitted to meet the new conditions). In habitual groups adjustment to changing conditions is attained by the power of tentative Innovation with Election, (that is, with the superior success of the individuals attaining the best methods, and the superior transmission, by imitation and training, of the same methods).

In the division of a single race into two or more divergent races, the first condition is Isolation preventing free intergeneration between given branches of the original race, producing initial (or demarcational) racial segregation; and this in time is followed by intensive racial segregation, produced by Diversity of Selection in the isolated branches. In the division of a single habitual group into several divergent groups the first condition is Partition preventing free intercourse and imitation between the separated groups producing initial habitual segregation; and this in time results in intensive habitual segregation; produced by Diversity of Election in the separated groups.

That racial evolution is controlled by Heredity, Variation, Isolation and Selection is now widely recognized; but it has not been recognized that the evolution of acquired habits is controlled by closely analogous principles, and that in many cases the habitual groups thus formed are the first steps leading to isolation and diversity of selection producing racial segregation. That these principles control both the racial and social evolution of man must be admitted. In the first place, there can be

no doubt that the powers of Variation and Heredity are his, and that in his endeavors to secure sustenance the original race has been divided, the separate branches being for many generations subjected to different climates, under different conditions of survival, that have produced different racial types. In the second place it is evident that, while living under the same climate and surrounded by the same resources, separate branches of the race that are prevented from that free communication by which community of interests and of traditional methods are maintained, will through their varied efforts and tentative endeavors develop different methods of gaining a living.

Another phase of social evolution which receives explanation from the same fundamental principles is that of the different classes brought into existence by capitalism. In this case there is increasing Partition, and increasing divergence between the capitalist class and the laboring class, although they are under relations that require more or less communication.

Notwithstanding this seeming anomaly the principles already set forth are fully applicable; for the communication here maintained is not due to harmony of interests, and the longer the relations are continued, the more conscious do the laborers become of the fact that the largest possible percentages are wrung from the products of combined labor and skillful management in order to meet the demands of those who furnish the plant and take risk simply for the sake of profit. Community of interest is blotted out. Moreover, they observe that with their class the struggle is for the necessities of life, while with those who are pre-eminently the capitalists there is an ever increasing competition in extravagance of display. The ideals and habits of the two classes become therefore increasingly divergent, and their conflict is the most striking feature in recent social evolution.

The great problems facing modern society are: (1) The removing of conflicting interests through an organization that will prevent exploitation and conserve the interests of all; (2) The prevention of overproduction and panics with the paralysis of industry; (3) The elimination of waste by some form of combination that will avoid exploitation and will give to every producer the full advantage of the most economic methods of production; (4) The opening of opportunity to all for education in art, science and invention according to the aptitudes that each may develop; (5) The stimulation of the spirit of service in these lines, and in every other line that may be found for the good of the community, by the public recognition of such services through the opening of still wider opportunity for culture in the same lines.

What method of social organization will best secure all these fundamental needs of society? This is the problem that must be solved. The socialists are the only political party seeking to attain any of these ends, and the last point seems to be outside of the program of most socialists, though I think it will some day be adopted by all.

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## A Propaganda Plan.

Through the medium of your magazine the writer desires to outline a plan of propaganda, for which he claims no originality, but which has seemed to him to offer a field of unlimited extension, by applying to the system which it endeavors to subvert the system's own method of reward, through the system's best and most valuable branch, the educational department.

Simply stated the plan is this: In every locality, where possible, an individual socialist on his own account shall offer an annual prize in money to the pupil of the high school of that locality who shall write the best essay or paper on the subject of "Socialism."

The prize to be a permanent annual one in each locality, to pupils old enough to undertake adequate research; to be no trifling sum—as five or ten dollars which would appear unimportant to the heads of schools,—but twenty-five or fifty dollars; which would almost insure proper recognition.

The name of the prize giver to be withheld from the public, and known only to the principals of the school, for the obvious reason that secrecy of the giver lends dignity, and an idea of high purpose of the contest, and does not bring the local "prophet" under personal scrutiny.

The prize may best be offered on the first of January, and the contest closed three or four months later; and judges should be appointed each year, either by the officials of school or the donor or both, to pass upon the papers, the best in their judgment to be selected for the prize, while honors should be given to the five next in point of worth; who, with the prize winner should be required to read their essays publicly.

There should be no rules governing the treatment of subject, the length or point of view; the essayist to be free to oppose or advocate socialism. Points of judgment to be matter for each locality to agree upon.

The officials of schools should be requested to send to the donor a list of the contestants, as soon as they are entered; and the donor to reserve the privilege either by agreements or understanding to supply the contestants with literature either directly or through the school library; this being one of the chief points in the propaganda. As a permanent, systematic, and national method of propaganda, the prize offering would in a year or two become widely known and should have a name, not unlike the Rhodes Scholarship or the Nobel Prizes, and it would ap-

pear that the name of Marx would lend a graceful and simple title to the prize.

Through your journal and others the necessary encouragement might be given to individuals through-out the land to offer prizes by the opening of a small department devoted to this field of propaganda, and by the advocacy of some of our best known men, continual improvements could be brought about so that in a few years the method would be perfected and generally accepted.

Some of the more fortunate comrades in the country may be expected to lead off, with offerings, and they themselves can render splendid service in the spreading of the plan, by prevailing upon friends or acquaintances in other places to establish such prizes. So that in time a society with well thought-out regulations may be founded, looking toward the furtherance of the plan, and its control.

The writer is convinced that no method of propaganda holds more vital and direct power for education. It is a keen weapon in the very camp of the enemy, and its first fruits may be looked for in a tendency to allay the world-old prejudices in a capitalistic world and make the championing of Socialism more favorable especially among the intellectuals who predominate in the higher classes of these schools; thus causing the contemporary, rising generation to prepare and look with favor upon what has hitherto been regarded with open intolerance and fear.

Even should prizes at times be awarded to essays antagonistic to our cause (as are likely) there will be no hurt to socialism, and rather tend to strengthen the defenders of socialism by forcing them to become deeper and more earnest students.

Assuredly no time in the lives of persons is more auspicious for enlightenment and preparative than the years just prior to manhood and womanhood; at which time principles become set and accepted; even prejudices pass through the same process; and if seriously and significantly presented, may not the soul of socialism then and there be tried and measured and balanced against the spirit of egoism and capitalism with a fair opportunity of acceptance?

It may be that in time very strong opposition will develop from the powers that control, to resist the effort to have the schools enter these contests, in which event the very opposition is likely to be viewed by the most fair-minded as open intolerance and weakness, and react against them in the field of political action; also that the opposition can be as strongly met in many ways; — as with ripe conditions, — ways have always been found to gain advantage over intolerance and bigotry.

Always and ever we hear the cry that socialism can never

be brought about except by education; education of the masses into a consciousness of their condition and state; — the writer submits that here is a plan which seeks to meet this contingency and to insinuate itself into the very processes of growth of the race.

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# EDITORIAL

## The Evolution of Socialists.

One of the common-place principles of the comparative philosophy of history and psychology is that the individual lives over the race history; that he passes through the various social stages through which the race has passed in his progress from infancy to manhood. This principle has been very much overworked, yet it is fundamentally true.

Striking illustrations of its truth appear at unexpected points. One is constantly struck with the similarity of the evolution through which individuals and local organizations of the socialist party pass. The young convert comes burning with enthusiasm over his new found discovery. He believes that he accepted socialism the first time he really heard it, no matter though his friends know that it took months of argument and countless repetitions to teach him the truth. The philosophy of socialism appears so clear, so simple, so logical, so certain that he feels absolutely confident that the only reason that everybody has not long ago become a socialist is because no one had ever been able to tell the world exactly what socialism is. He sets about writing or preaching the doctrines. After having written his first statement of socialism, or delivered his first speech he sits down and waits for revolution to come.

Wonderful as it appears to him, however, no revolution appears; on the contrary the world moves on very much as it has been moving for years. If he is a working-class socialist he generally shuts his teeth together a little tighter at this stage and sits down to good solid work. If he has approached socialism from the intellectual or sentimental point of view and does not himself feel class tyranny he generally has a brief period of discouragement. He has told the working-class what they have to do to be free and they won't do it; therefore, what is the use fooling with them, is his conclusion.

Here is the critical point in his stage. If he has the real backbone in him he will study a little deeper into the philosophy, look a little closer into the history of the movement and will discover the forces which are really moving for socialism, and will recognize that they are infinitely more powerful than the spoken and written prop-



agenda. He will take new heart, and become like his working-class comrade a steady enthusiastic worker for socialism.

If on the other hand, he is lacking in persistency and determination, here is the point where he turns into the reform road and goes chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of "Right Now."

And still another way the individual reflects the evolution of socialist thought: It is proverbial that the new convert shows a tendency towards impossibilism. The doctrine of the class struggle, as grasped in its simplest form appears so clear, so simple, so logical that he makes of it a rule of thumb, by which to measure every problem he meets,—and woe unto those who do not accept his measurement. If the process of evolution is complete, he will discover that social phenomena are extremely complex, evolutionary forces many and powerful, and that society seldom or never moves forward in the beautifully symmetrical form that would fit it to the syllogisms of a system of thought. If on the other hand he is somewhat dyspeptic mentally, he is apt to develop into a confirmed impossibilist, with an eternal grouch against the remainder of mankind.

Like the individual, so the various socialist organizations go through almost the same evolution. There are the stages of fierce enthusiasm, of impossibilism, of steady propaganda and continuous achievement.

Now, none of the old socialists are at all surprised when a local from Nebraska or Louisiana or Arkansas proposes to reform the entire party and set it right on questions of theory and practice. The proposition is only met with a smile over the exuberance of youth and the joyous confidence and ignorance of industrial conditions, which are born from studying them through a telescope. We all know that as these localities really begin to meet the great industrial problem, the socialist theorist will take his post graduate course in the great University of Experience and will come out of it the same steady, enthusiastic, eager worker, of which are composed the millions of the socialist movement of the world.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## AUSTRALIA.

The struggle for free speech still continues in Australia. Tom Mann was recently forced to serve a five weeks' term in jail. The date of his discharge was made the occasion of a great demonstration. Laborism seems to be falling more and more into disfavor and the genuine socialist movement to be taking its place.

## BOHEMIA.

The seventh congress of the Bohemian socialist party met at Prague during the holidays. The report of the National Executive Committee stated that the number of local organizations affiliated with the party had increased from 1,005 in 1904 to 1,517. These organizations include 99,098 members. The party press had shown an especially gratifying increase. There are now sixteen political papers, including three dailies and a monthly scientific review. The circulation of the total party press had increased steadily. In addition to this the publication office of the party has kept up a constant and systematic publication of scientific and literary books and pamphlets, partly original and partly translations. During the last year 349,930 copies of the different publications were sold; 30,660 meetings had been held under the auspices of the party during last year.

Some idea of the difficulty under which the party labors is gained by the fact that 3,159 persons were arrested, of whom 2,748 were punished. The total years imprisonment suffered by members of the party amounted to 162 years, 9 months and 29 days, while a total of 88,886 kronen was paid in fines. The party press was not without its difficulties. Its periodicals were confiscated 212 times, editors arrested thirty-three times and a heavy list of fines and imprisonment was piled up against them.

## GERMANY.

It is still too early to give any definite facts as to the German vote. It is probable that there has been a slight increase in the number of votes cast, but the solid massing of the opposition has decreased the number of Reichstag representatives. The campaign was waged with a virulence hitherto unknown in Germany. Every ob-

stacle was thrown in the way of socialist meetings throughout Saxony. The restaurants were forbidden to permit their rooms to be used for socialist meetings as had always been the practice in the past. The Old Soldiers' Patriotic Organization combined with the Anti-Social Democratic League, and backed up by the united reactionary and imperialistic forces of Germany, waged a bitter war on the socialists. They threw their strength in all districts for the candidate who was thought most likely to be able to defeat the socialists without regard to the party which he might represent.

#### ITALY.

The Italian movement still seems to be in very great confusion. The Syndicalists have started a daily paper in opposition to "Avanti." The economic organizations are preparing to enter into a struggle with the state in the government-owned industries.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

One of the most convincing illustrations of the craziness of craft unionism has just been given the labor world in the printing industry. As is already known to readers of the Review, the compositors in the commercial and job houses of the North American continent, after three years of fruitless appeals to the employers to reduce the hours of labor in their dangerous and unhealthy occupation, went on strike a year ago as a last resort and determined to enforce their demands in the face of unyielding resistance not only from the United Typothetae of America, the employers' association in the industry, but also the combined opposition of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Alliance and similar organizations whose only mission is to destroy trade unions and drive the workers below the line of pauperism and slavery. This struggle, which is still in progress in a number of important cities and towns, has already cost the International Typographical Union upward of three million dollars, but once having gone into the battle the members of the organization are fully aware that there is no retreat—that it is either victory for labor or demoralization and death to their union, which has been in existence more than half a century and is the oldest and one of the strongest organizations in the country.

However, after a year of desperate fighting and unprecedented sacrificing, during which period the members employed paid ten per cent of every dollar they earned into the strike fund, the book and job printers have slowly but surely battered down the combined opposition and all but destroyed the Typothetae except in a few places, as noted above. The Typographical Union was compelled to wage the contest single-handed, and the labor world was treated to the disgusting spectacle of compositors tramping the streets and pouring money into the campaign like water while the employes of the press rooms and the book binderies remained at work and assisted in turning out the product of scabs. The pressmen, like the locomotive engineers on the railways, in a large measure hold the key to the situation in the printing industry. If they cease work the wheels stop revolving and the business is paralyzed. But despite having this advantage, about five years ago the officers of the pressmen's union, although knowing full well that the compositors would demand the introduction of the shorter workday, made an agreement with the Typothetae in which they recognized the vicious open shop principle and repudiated the sympathy strike. Thus the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union were as effectually tied down to their presses as is a bull to his stake. It is true

that quite a number protested and charged that President Higgins and his associates had resorted to fraud in forcing the agreement through the referendum, but the protestants were squelched, and thus the printing office forces had been cleverly divided by the capitalists and an organization of 16,000 men was forced to appear in the unenviable role of assistant strike-breakers against a sister union of 45,000 members engaged in a deadly contest. Yet, as stated, the compositors gradually hammered their way toward their goal over the ramparts of the combined employers and those "neutral" union men in their camp.

Now comes a second act of perfidy that is unequaled in trade union history. While the compositors are still struggling against the routed Typothetae, which is making a last desperate stand in a score or more of important cities and towns, and just as the pressmen's five year agreement is about to expire and they would be enabled to throw their forces into the fight, assist in destroying the enemy completely and gain the eight-hour day for themselves with hardly an effort, what does President Higgins do but boldly flaunt his treachery before the eyes of the people, deserts the compositors completely, betrays his own membership, and encourages the remnants of the Typothetae by renewing the five-year open shop agreement and postponing the introduction of the eight-hour day in the press rooms until 1909! And this is the man upon whom is usually conferred the distinguished honor of presiding at A. F. of L. conventions when Gompers and other officers are re-elected! This is the man who served in the Massachusetts legislature as a "labor representative" during the period when Thomas W. Lawson declares its members were bought like sausages in the market and fish on the wharves. Is it any wonder that the great capitalists of the nation have the utmost contempt for so-called "labor leaders" and their stupid or knavish practices?

It is only fair to say that the International Typographical Union was originally an industrial organization, but owing to the craft animosities that were engendered by would-be leaders, who played upon the ignorance and prejudice of members, a gradual segregation took place until today practically all in the I. T. U. are employees in the composing room. Whether or not this plain example of the insufficiency of craft unionism and the barefaced betrayal of an alleged leader will serve to educate the rank and file to the necessity of uniting in a compact and centralized industrial organization, which recognizes that "an injury to one is the concern of all," only the future will determine.

This is the time of the year when capitalists and laborers engaged in the marine industry begin to discuss conditions for the coming season. During the past month the Lake Carriers' Association convened in Detroit and voted to give its executive committee full power to act in arranging labor conditions this year. There is a premonition among some of the unionists that serious trouble is threatening. Almost daily hints have been thrown out by vessel owners that a stand must be made to regain control of their property, that the unions are arrogant and dictatorial, that the "open ship" is the ideal working condition that should prevail upon the Great Lakes. The shipping masters who were defeated and demoralized when they struck to gain some advantages have organized into a sort of mutual admiration society under the protecting wing of the Lake Carriers' Association and are cheek by jowl with the bosses and complain that they are unable to enforce discipline on board ship. Union officials believe

that these declarations are being made with the purpose in view of establishing an excuse for making war upon organized labor. The seafaring men have strengthened their unions considerably during the past few years, and along industrial lines, and they have been watched with a jealous eye by the capitalists. Some of the latter have declared openly that the time has come to strike a blow at organized labor, and, therefore, the opening of spring navigation may witness a sea fight to the finish. What gives color to this probability is the fact that Coulby, the directing power of the United States Steel Corporation fleet, which is "open ship," is a member of the executive committee of the Lake Carriers' Association, and he is credited with controlling his colleagues and as the one man whose word is law. That Coulby is determined to obliterate unions as factors in water transportation is generally admitted. If there is any dictating to be done Mabel Gilman's future husband will do it, and Coulby will see that his edicts are obeyed. Having destroyed the iron and steel workers' organization so far as the trust mills are concerned, and refusing to recognize the mineral miners of the Northwest or the seamen on its own vessels, the octopus may take the notion to start a war of extermination against the unionists employed by the independent lake carriers who haul a part of its tonnage under contract in order to beat down freight rates. If the seamen are attacked this year the longshoremen will probably feel the iron heel next year, when their present agreement expires. The great captains of industry have now reached that point in their evolution when they not only refuse to brook interference in their own business from unions in matters of determining wages, hours of labor and other working conditions, but they lend assistance to their competitors and dependents to smash organized labor in order that they may also profit indirectly. In other words, the capitalist class is becoming thoroughly solidified when dealing with the working class in any form.

The miners held their annual convention in Indianapolis during the past month and several significant features developed. In the first place the long threatened contest for the mastery between President John Mitchell and Vice-President Tom Lewis seems to have transferred to the open. It is no secret that Lewis has been ambitious for several years to step into Mitchell's shoes, and he has become heartily tired of playing second fiddle and taking orders from a man whom he believes to be his inferior. Mitchell has been just as determined to keep Lewis in the background, and it is not unlikely that at the election next fall Lewis will enter the race against Mitchell for president of the U. M. W. Lewis' friends claim that he is more popular today in Mitchell's own state than the latter, and Ohio and Pennsylvania would be almost a "cinch" in favor of the former in an election. Another incident of note was Mitchell's statement, in his annual report, that the membership had decreased nearly 40,000, mostly in the anthracite region, and he was unable to account for such a condition. Lewis presented a table of figures in which he claimed that the loss in membership in four states alone (Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland) was nearly 49,000, the big slump being in the anthracite districts. It is reasonable to expect a loss in the anthracite field, where the "open mine" system was agreed to, thanks to the interference of Roosevelt, "the workingman's friend," who stands for nothing else but the open shop, and where Baer and his minions would naturally encourage the workers to desert the union under prevailing conditions. It is also logical to suppose that the more selfish and parsimonious miners, realizing that

they had three years of peace ahead and no compulsory payment of dues and assessments, dropped out of the union with the expectation of being re-instated gratuitously when the next struggle is due, and probably receiving strike benefits in the bargain. Vice-President Lewis promulgated a platform in his report to the convention, the keynote of which sounds: "Our organization of the mine workers of the American continent." Lewis is a strong industrialist when the miners are considered, but in A. F. of L. conventions, where he usually serves on the grievance committee, which wrestles with the jurisdiction squabbles, he always hands the brewery workers a lemon. His general attitude toward progressive ideas is somewhat contradictory, but then that is always a sign of simon-pure statesmanship in this country. The miners at the convention seemed to feel that next year the bituminous operators will attempt to drive another hard bargain, and it was the consensus of opinion that every effort should be made to meet the issues that may be raised by the employers.

It would require a Philadelphia lawyer to determine accurately which faction of the divided Industrial Workers of the World has the advantage. The De Leon-Trautmann wing claims to be flapping as of yore, while the Shermanites insist that they are it with a capital I. When the split occurred Sherman grabbed the headquarters and Trautmann leveled an injunction at him. After considerable money was turned in lawyers' fees the court rendered a decision which is a dandy straddle. It was held that Sherman could keep his headquarters and the official organ, and Trautmann could also have headquarters and as many, official organs, as he might need. According to the court, the membership are graciously extended the extraordinary privilege of paying dues to whomsoever they please—Sherman or Trautmann—which shows that American liberty still exists. As to the money that was in bank when the factions ripped the organization up the back, that remains where it is—where the court, the master in chancery and the lawyers can keep an eye on it. The great mission and delight of the legal profession is to watch money. Anyhow, Uncle Dan De Leon sees in this court decision a "great victory," while Sherman says "there is nothing to it" but good things for him. Meanwhile the Western Federation of Miners, the backbone of the I. W. W., votes by referendum to pay dues to neither faction until their convention in May decides who's who, and it is believed out West that they will formally withdraw from the I. W. W.

It should be added that this wonderful organization which, according to some of its most zealous advocates, would cause the capitalists to tremble in their boots, had its baptism of fire recently at Schenectady, N. Y., and probably by this time some of the brethren who displayed fine scorn for pure and simple fakirs and the "Slows-hulists" realize that it is one thing to prepare a fine diagram on paper and quite another to give real battle to the enemy. At Schenectady three men were discharged for joining the I. W. W. and to secure their reinstatement about 5,000 workers went on strike. The fight lasted just ten days, and on nearly every day it was announced that "we've got 'em whipped!" But it was as complete a defeat as was ever administered to the most reactionary pure and simple union. The management kindly volunteered to take back "practically" all the men and the open shop goes. As the workers of Schenectady are human and about the same as other men, they discovered that they could not support their families on stereotyped phrases and highfalutin generalities. So the men went back to work and quite likely the agitators, as is customary, will be weeded out and then the dox-

ology will be sung over the lapsed locals. I pointed out in the Review several months ago that to-day the American capitalists have become so powerful and so strongly entrenched that they don't bother a tinker's dam to even inquire what form of organization their wage slaves are connected with. If the latter become obstreperous they are given a fight to the finish, and that's all there is to it.

While some concessions may have been and still will be won from the capitalists by hard fighting, the fact is becoming plainer every day that the struggle is being transferred to the political field, no matter what desperate efforts may be made of various forms of reactionists to keep the labor question out of politics. The Socialist party occupies the correct position, politically and economically, and there is bound to be a stampede to that party sooner or later, when it will be able to swing a "big stick" in a manner that will bring down big game.



## BOOK REVIEWS

**A Captain of Industry**, by Upton Sinclair. The Appeal to Reason, Cloth, 142 pages.

This is a series of snap-shots in the life of a millionaire, who is a roue, bloated physically and mentally and who goes through life crushing strikes, making panics, ruining girls, tossing champagne to his friends, and living the life at once of a sybarite and a monster.

There are some strong passages in the book that recall Comrade Sinclair's other work,—particularly in a portion of his description of the stock-exchange panic and the final death of the millionaire. On the whole, however, the work gives one the idea of melo-drama rather than tragedy. The colors are put on with a whitewash brush. His villain is most frightfully villainous, and everything he does makes a record for wickedness. The book sounds decidedly amateurish, which might have been excused as it seems it was written about the time that the author has told us elsewhere his principle work was writing nickle terrors. It would seem as though the matter would have justified a little more polish and expansion and toning out. At any rate the story is interesting, and exciting. Few persons who begin it will lay it down.

**White Fang**, by Jack London, New York: Macmillan. Cloth, 327 pp., \$1.50.

After "The Call of the Wild" one picks up "White Fang" with a sense of jealousy and almost resentment. Sequels and replicas are notoriously unsatisfactory, and the first impression is that "White Fang" is one of these. Then you begin to read of it. You discover that while it is a sort of obverse of the earlier work, dealing with the taming of a wolf instead of the transformation of a dog into a wolf, and although there are constant tantalizing reminiscences of "Buck" running through the later work, yet on the whole it is a new creation and not a resurrected "Buck" that confronts us.

We are introduced to "White Fang" as a puppy, three-quarters wolf, in the midst of the wild where he and his mother are fighting the battle of tooth and claw. We see him develop in this battle, learn its lessons, make his kill, and then pass under the dominion of man. At first he is owned by an Indian to whom his mother belonged before she went to the forest. Here he learns that there is a power outside dog or wolf life, a strange resistless power possessed by man which dogs are powerless to resist. So man becomes a god to him, giving and withholding life and bounty and punishment.

He falls into the hands of a beastial disfigured human brute, who keeps him as a fighting wolf, trains him to a new and even greater ferocity than he had inherited from the wild and he becomes famous as a terrible fighting monster until at last he meets the "clinging death" in the shape of a bulldog, whose manner of fighting is so wholly different from anything he has ever met in the wild wolf like dogs of the north, that he is overcome and nearly killed. He is rescued by a passing mining engineer, after a passage at arms between his former owner and his new defender that will make every lover of a fighter and a hero feel good. Then comes his gradual taming, not by fear, as hitherto, but by love an emotion to him hitherto unknown.

The story ends in Southern California, where White Fang has become the pet of the family, the defender of the household, fully adjusted to all the intricate relations of civilized family life.

So runs the story, if you care only for the story, but we who know Jack London read much more. We see in the upward struggle of White Fang the race fighting its way from savagery to civilization; we see it adjusting to complex relations arising out of new achievements; we see life moving upward, with all its brutality, its ferocity, as well as its love and co-operation.

There is much more of animal psychology in the book than in "The Call of the Wild". In fact you are constantly haunted with the idea that a few more pages of this will get tiresome, and yet you read on and on eagerly, fiercely, with never lagging interest. London has met the specialists in the field of animal literature and beaten them at their own game.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

We have just purchased the socialist books heretofore published by the Standard Publishing Company (formerly known as the Debs Publishing Company) of Terre Haute, Ind., together with the electrotypes plates and copyrights, and the good will of the business. This purchase gives us a stock of the following:

#### FIVE CENT BOOKS.

**Socialism: A Reply to the Pope.** By Robert Blatchford.  
**A Primer of Socialism.** By G. C. Clemens.  
**Government Ownership of Railways.** By F. G. R. Gordon.  
**Municipal Socialism.** By F. G. R. Gordon.  
**Oration on Voltaire.** By Victor Hugo.  
**Socialism and Slavery.** By H. M. Hyndman.  
**Why Physicians Should Be Socialists.** By Thomas J. Hagerty.  
**The Object of the Labor Movement.** By Johann Jacoby.  
**What Is Capital?** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**Unaccepted Challenges.** By Father McGrady.  
**The Evolution of Industry.** By William Watkins.

#### TEN CENT BOOKS.

**The State and Socialism.** By Gabriel Deville.  
**Economic Discontent.** By Thomas J. Hagerty.  
**The Right to Be Lazy.** By Paul Lafargue.  
**The Workingman's Programme.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**Open Letter to National Labor Association of Germany.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**City of Angels.** By Rev. T. McGrady.  
**Social Democracy Red Book.** By Frederick Heath.

#### TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS.

**The Civil War in France.** By Karl Marx.  
**Science and the Workingmen.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.

**The Passing of Capitalism.** By Isador Ladoff.

We have also "The Passing of Capitalism" in cloth at 50c, also "Beyond the Black Ocean: the Story of a Social Revolution," by Rev. T. Grady, in paper at 50c and in cloth at \$1.00.

While these books last we will supply the five cent books to our stockholders at the special price of 80 cents a hundred, purchaser to pay expressage. These books are much larger and heavier than the Pocket Library of Socialism booklets, and if it is desired that we prepay expressage the price per hundred will be \$1.25.

The other books will be sold at our regular discount to stockholders, which is now the same on books in paper covers as on books in cloth binding. Thus, a ten cent book will cost a stockholder six cents if we prepay postage or expressage and five cents if sent at his expense, a dollar book will cost him 60c postpaid or 50c if charges are paid by him to the express agent, and so in proportion on all other books. In other words, a stockholder buys our books at half price if we are not expected to prepay the postage or expressage, but in that case he pays us three-fifths of the retail price.

Other books of which we have bought the plates and copyrights from the Standard Publishing Company, and which we shall republish at once, are "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," by Karl Marx, and "Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism," by Gabriel Deville. These will sell at 25c and 10c respectively.

We already had over three fourths of the standard books on socialism published in the United States, and this purchase gives us at least three fourths of the remainder. Our newly-issued order list, mailed to any one who requests it, contains the titles and prices of 101 books in paper and 96 books in cloth binding. At retail prices these come to exactly a hundred dollars and ten cents. A stockholder, buying them from week to week as he wants them, can have them for half price, making a saving of fifty dollars on an investment of ten dollars for a share, even if he only buys one copy of a book. But he may buy as many copies as he likes, and may if he chooses sell either at retail or at wholesale, fixing the prices to suit himself. No wonder we have over 1600 stockholders, and no wonder there are several hundred more who write that they are thinking of taking stock soon.

But we need more capital at once to provide for the new books we are bringing out, and it was to hasten the new stock subscriptions that we made the special offers on page 448 of last month's Review. The Review was late in coming out last month, and the responses are coming in rapidly as we go to press with the February number. We have therefore concluded to extend the offers to the end of March. If you have not a January number at hand, write us for particulars.

## NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

Our binders have for some weeks past been swamped by capitalist prosperity and have been unable to keep up with their orders; consequently we have been unable to publish our new books on schedule time. This has caused some disappointment to comrades who have sent advance orders. We shall try to give definite information in this department each month regarding the books newly published or in press.

**Class Struggles in America**, by A. M. Simons, now ready, is for the first time issued in cloth binding. It is moreover considerably enlarged, and contains over 100 notes, with references to the authorities for the many startling statements which dethrone the heroes of American history and interpret its events in the light of economic determinism. (50c.).

**The Ancient Lowly**, by C. Osborne Ward, has now been reprinted in a handsome edition, the style of binding being uniform with our recent edition of "Capital." The second volume is identical in contents with the previous edition purchased by us from the heirs of the author, but the first volume contains about a hundred pages of new matter, including an elaborate topical index and translations of the Greek and Latin notes; these add greatly to the value of the volume. It would be hard to over-estimate the importance of these two volumes; they represent a life-time of careful research into the forgotten history of the working class of ancient times. Volume I deals mainly with the history of classic Greece and of Rome before the Christian era, while Volume II traces the relations between the ancient labor unions and the early Christian church, before Constantine had made Christianity the state religion. Price \$2.00 per volume; either volume sold separately.

**Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History**, by Karl Kautsky, translated by John B. Askew, will be ready by the time this issue of the Review reaches its readers. It is one of the most important contributions to socialist thought that has appeared for years, and will be eagerly awaited by many hundred readers. Kautsky is the editor of the *Neue Zeit*, the leading exponent of Marxian thought in Europe, and he is the literary executor of Marx and Engels. (Price 50c.).

We have just published the third edition of Kautsky's "**The Social Revolution**". It is in two parts. Part I, "**Reform and Revolution**", gives the oft-required explanation of why we as socialists call ourselves revolutionists rather than reformers, while the second part, "**The Day After the Revolution**," answers some of the numerous questions pressed upon socialists as to the first measures that would probably be adopted if we were in control of the powers of government.

**The Republic of Plato, Book V.** Translated by Prof. Alexander Kerr of the University of Wisconsin. With general introduction to Books I-V by the translator. Paper, 108 pages, 15c. Plato's Republic is the first Utopia, the model not only for More's work but for all that have followed it. It is in the first place a study of ethics and in the second place a picture of an ideal state, based of course on the economic conditions that prevailed at Athens 400 B. C. The complete work is in ten books, five of which are now available in our edition. The style of the present translation, while more literal than most other versions, is at the same time simple and forcible, making far easier reading for the average workingman than any previous edition. This latest book has by way of introduction a summary of the contents of the preceding books, so that it can be read independently. The price of the five books is 75c, with the usual discount to stockholders.

**A Captain of Industry.** This is Upton Sinclair's latest novel. It is published by the "Appeal to Reason," but we have made a special arrangement by which we can supply it to our stockholders on the same terms as if we were the publishers. It is a strong novel, compressing many terrible truths about capitalism into few words. Price \$1.00; to our stockholders 60c, postpaid.

**The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. The second edition of this remarkable book has just been published, and it is selling more rapidly than when first issued. It was at once recognized by the ablest socialists as a book of the highest value to the movement. Eugene V. Debs says: "It is impossible for me to express my appreciation of your masterly work. It is simply great, and every socialist and student of sociology should read it." And Jack London says: "I do not know of any book dealing with evolution that I have read with such keen interest.... The book reads like a novel. One is constantly keyed up and expectant." International Library of Social Science, Vol. III. Price, \$1.00.

#### BOOKS NEARLY READY.

**Ancient Society; or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization.** By Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D. Cloth, \$1.50.

Our edition of this great work, announced several months ago, is nearly completed, and apart from accidents should be ready before the end of February. It has been recognized for a generation as the one great authority on the early stages of social institutions. One of the most serious obstacles to the spread of socialism is the stolid conviction that there always have been rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, just about the same as now, and that therefore it is hopeless to try to change things. Morgan's researches prove that this conviction is a mistake, that wealth and poverty,

far from being eternal, are a passing phase in man's history, that the era of private property is a necessary transition from the limited and exclusive communism of the ancient barbaric gens to the world-embracing communism of the future. Morgan's book is not an impassioned plea, it is a summary and classification of proved facts. Its circulation thus far has been limited to a very few readers, because the price has been held at four dollars. Our price is \$1.50, with our regular discounts to stockholders, making the net price to them 90c if mailed or 75c if sent at purchaser's expense.

**The Rise of the American Proletarian.** The chapter from this book by Austin Lewis which is published in this issue of the Review will give our readers a better idea of the book than pages of description. American history is as full of facts for the socialist propagandist as the history of any other country, but thus far the facts regarding England, France and Germany have been easier to reach, and they have thus been used more frequently in our literature. But they are far less effective arguments than are the facts drawn from the history of this country. For there is a prevalent opinion among Americans that industrial conditions are so much more favorable to laborers here than in Europe that arguments from European conditions do not apply here. This opinion is contradicted by present conditions, but it is on the other hand the direct outgrowth of past economic conditions. The way to overcome it is to explain precisely how past conditions in the United States differed from conditions in Europe, and how recent developments have brought the working class of the United States into a condition much like that of the laborers of England, France and Germany. This book will be the 14th volume of the International Library of Social Science, \$1.00. Ready about Feb. 20.

**The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin. This will contain, with some revision, the articles on Karl Marx and his Critics which appeared in the International Socialist Review for 1905 and 1906. It will also contain a considerable amount of entirely new matter, rounding out the subject, the entire work constituting one of the most satisfactory manuals of scientific socialism ever published. Nearly the whole book is in type, but Comrade Boudin's illness has delayed his completion of the final chapters, and we can not announce the exact date of publication,—it will probably be in March. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 15, \$1.00.

**Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring.)** By Frederich Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. This is one of the classics of socialism. It is the larger work of which "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" is a fragment, and its scope is fully explained in Engels' introduction to the smaller work. The translation by comrade Lewis does not duplicate any of the matter in "Socialism Utopian and

Scientific," and omits certain portions now obsolete, retaining all the new matter of permanent interest. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 16, \$1.00. Ready about March 5.

**Marx's Capital, Volume II.** This is the new translation by Ernest Untermann of a volume never before published in the English language. It will be published in uniform style with Volume I, and will sell for \$2.00, with the usual discount to stockholders. The type is about half set, but the printing has been delayed by causes beyond our control. It is probable that copies will be ready toward the end of March. Only a few advance orders have thus far been received, since we have made no great effort as yet to obtain such orders. We have already sold nearly 1,000 copies of the first volume, and it is selling now more rapidly than ever. The publication of the second volume involves a cash outlay of over a thousand dollars, and most of this ought to be covered by the sale of copies within the next few weeks.

#### OUR RECORD FOR JANUARY.

The book sales for January were \$1,725.98, the sales of stock \$330.06, the receipts of the Review \$324.45, and we received a contribution from Eugene Dietzgen of \$250.00. The total receipts of the publishing house from all sources during the month of January, 1906, were \$1,867.82, while the receipts of last month were \$2,630.49. There is every reason to believe that we shall be able to maintain this ratio of increase, but it will require the active co-operation of all who want socialist books circulated.

#### OUR NEW ORDER LIST.

We have just issued a new order list of books, including 101 titles of pamphlets and 96 titles of books in cloth binding. At retail prices one set of these books would amount to \$100.10. We will send the entire assortment with a full-paid certificate for a share of stock on receipt of \$50.00. They are all either socialist books or books of special interest to socialists. The list does not include the books published previous to 1899 which we are closing out to make room for new books.

#### SPECIAL CLEARANCE OFFER.

Most of these are gone, but we still have a few which we need to close out at once to make room for new books. We therefore offer to send postpaid five books in cloth binding and five books in paper covers, all for one dollar. This offer is for a set of books which sold originally for not less than five dollars. If purchaser pays expressage we will send them for sixty cents, or we will send ten books in cloth and ten in paper, all different, by express prepaid for \$2.00 or at purchaser's expense for \$1.20. The selection must be left to us. We will, however, send mostly fiction, or very little fiction, as preferred. It must be distinctly understood that these are not so-



cialist books; we are not selling socialist books for less than the cost of printing. These are, apart from the novels, either books of liberal religion (with a few orthodox or semi-orthodox books) or else books on social problems from the point of view of the non-socialist reformer. This clearance offer is not limited to our stockholders but is open to any reader of the Review. There is no time limit on it, but the best assortments of books will go to those who order first.

### ANNUAL STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING.

This was held on January 15, 1907. Seymour Stedman, A. M. Simons and Charles H. Kerr were re-elected as directors of the publishing house for the ensuing year. Charles H. Kerr was re-elected president, A. M. Simons vice-president, and Seymour Stedman secretary. The annual report showed the business for 1906 to have been as follows:

#### Receipts.

Sale of books .....	\$17,086.03
Sale of stock .....	4,047.27
International Socialist Review .....	2,337.13
Contributions .....	867.34
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$24,337.77</b>

#### Expenditures.

Manufacture and purchase of books.....	\$ 8,213.32
Plates for new books .....	3,349.97
International Socialist Review .....	2,432.56
Interest .....	181.75
Taxes .....	78.53
Postage and expressage .....	3,260.96
Advertising .....	1,323.19
Rent and miscellaneous expenses .....	1,746.60
Wages .....	3,750.89
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$24,337.77</b>

In addition to the new plates, the assets of the publishing house have been increased during 1906 by \$1,900 worth of new books, figured at the actual cost of paper, press work and binding. But the most important asset is the copyrights of the books that socialists want, together with the accumulated advertising that brings in the orders. The increasing importance of this asset is shown by the fact that our book sales increased from \$10,587.37 in 1905 to \$17,086.03 in 1906. A united effort will make the increase for 1907 even greater.

# THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST

published daily except Sunday, 28 columns, including all the important news of the day, fearlessly discussed from the point of view of the working class. Two dollars a year by mail to subscribers in the United States outside Chicago.

We do not publish the CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST, but we recommend it, and we have made an arrangement by which we give our readers the advantage of the following combination offers:

For *Two Dollars* we will send to subscribers outside Chicago the CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST one year and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW one year

For *Three Dollars* we will send both periodicals for one year and will also send postpaid any book or books published by us to the amount of \$ 2.00 at retail prices.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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# The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT  
TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

MARCH, 1907

NO.

## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

*No. 4. The Congress of the British Labor Party.*

I T may seem curious to begin this chapter of my first impressions by some reminiscences of previous visits to Great Britain, but it is not absolutely untrue to my subject because, in the year 1899, when I lived for a while at Toynbee Hall in East London there was very little socialism to be impressed with. The socialists of London were very much discouraged and the movement seemed to be standing still. I remember penning at that time a letter to the editor of this review in which I told him that, so far as I could see, socialism was not taking root in England. Such sentiment as there was seemed to be middle-class, and I must confess that I wrote with considerable irritation against the "Gas and Water" propaganda which then was thought to be socialism. Later in the summer I attended the conference of the Social Democratic Federation at Manchester, but I did not change my conclusions. In fact it was not until I spent a few days with Keir Hardie at his home in Scotland that I began to think my estimate of the socialist movement was wrong. I arrived in the late afternoon, and as the night came on, Mr. and Mrs. Hardie took me for a walk. There was a beautiful full harvest moon and Hardie, after listening to my criticisms of the movement said, "Ah! but you have only seen London, and everyone that breathes the air of London loses hope. If you want to see the socialist movement, spend some time in the provinces and you will see that socialism is making tremen-

dous headway." He then went on to tell me of his own effort to organise the workers politically. He went fully into his plans and outlined to me at that time the lines upon which the movement would progress. It was a remarkable prophecy, and when I returned to England in 1903 I saw the movement had taken the form he had previously outlined, and that the Labor Party was becoming a substantial reality full of promise for the future. My wife and I went to see Hardie at his rooms in London. He lives in an old court reminiscent of bygone centuries, in the very garret of an old fourteenth century house. In this ancient and quaint old place he again spoke with enthusiasm of the rising socialist movement and prophesied then, that at the next election, at least twenty-seven labor men, a majority of them socialists, would be returned to parliament. It seemed a rash prophecy and most of the other socialists I met in London doubted that the Labor Party would develop such strength, but Hardie's prophecy was again true and as we now know, considerably more than that number were returned to parliament, and about thirty of them belong now to the Labor Party.

But it was not the propaganda of the socialists alone that brought into existence the Labor Party. It was to no small degree the result of an attack upon the very existence of the trade union movement. A decision of the courts, now known to history as the Taff Vale decision, threw the entire trade union movement into a state of excitement and dismay. The Taff Vale Railway Co. had sued the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for having conspired to induce the workman of their company to break their contracts and also for having conspired to interfere with the traffic of the company by picketing and other alleged unlawful means. A prominent justice granted an injunction against the society and while this was later reversed by the Court of Appeal, the House of Lords finally sanctioned the decision as first rendered. It was decided that a trade union could be sued and as a result of the suit the Railway Union was forced to pay damages to the amount of about \$100,000. This decision was staggering, and the unions saw very clearly that unless something was done to alter the situation, the union movement would be destroyed. According to the English law, the decision practically amounted to new legislation against the unions, and a nullification of the old rights which had been won in 1871. Immediately there began a tremendous agitation among the unions to find some way of exerting their political power upon parliament so as to have a new law passed which would assure to unions the same rights which they had enjoyed under the law previous to the Taff Vale decision. By referring to the figures given later in this article it will be seen that the number of uni-

ons joining the Labor Party in the next two years increased from 41 to 127.

The party came into existence first under the form of the Labor Representation Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The idea at that time was that the committee should endeavor merely to get parliamentary representation for trade union men, but as the movement developed, it became a definite party and took the name of The Labor Party of Great Britain. In the short time of its existence it has grown to a membership of nearly one million. In other words, this enormous number of voters severed their connection finally with the two old parties, and the only candidates who could hope to obtain their support in the parliamentary election were those pledged to the principles and objects of the Labor Party. Their object, as defined in the constitution of the party, is to organise and maintain a parliamentary Labor Party with its own whips and policy, to secure the election of candidates for whose candidatures an affiliated society has made itself financially responsible, and who have been selected by the regularly convened conference in the constituency. Candidates and members must accept the constitution; agree to abide by the decisions of the parliamentary party in carrying out the aims of this constitution; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labor Candidates only; abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any party not eligible for affiliation; and they must not oppose any candidate recognised by the executive committee of the party. Candidates must also join the parliamentary Labor Party if elected." The party is a federation consisting of trade unions, trades councils, socialist societies, co-operative societies and local labor associations and all members elected under the auspices of the party are paid from a fund an equal sum not to exceed \$1000 per annum, but this payment is made only to those members whose candidatures have been promoted by societies which have contributed to the funds. Absolute independence of action from both the old parties is enforced upon those elected and absolute loyalty to the constitution and rules of the party is insisted upon.

The independence of the party should not be confused with what is known in Europe as neutrality. It is a definitely class party working to improve the conditions of life and work of the workers of Great Britain, and while sections of the tory or liberal party are not permitted to join the movement, the two socialist parties of Great Britain and the Fabian Socialist Society are welcomed. In fact both the Independent Labor Party (a socialist organization) and the Fabian Society are at present affiliated and members of these societies are put up as candidates of the



Labor Party. In other words, the party is independent politically of all parties except socialist parties. Indeed, although there has been every effort made by the capitalist papers and politicians to create a division between what they call the socialist section of the party and the trade union section, there is no real distinction, for most of the 17,000 affiliated socialists belong to trade unions and many of the affiliated trade unionists are also socialists. The strength of the socialists cannot, therefore, be measured by the number of adherents coming direct from the socialist groups. For instance, out of seven candidates successfully promoted and financed by the Independent Labor Party, three of them were trade union officials whose societies comprised about 50,000 members. At the same time, of the twenty-three candidates put up by the trade unions themselves, ten were leading members of the Independent Labor Party. Altogether thirteen members of parliament are both trade unionists and members of the Independent Labor Party, and they represent trade societies with a total of 330,000 members. Another striking fact which illustrates the identity of the two movements is illustrated in the fact that nearly all of the ablest militants are socialists. The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, the chairman of the Executive Committee and the chairman of the Congress are all socialists and of the new Executive Committee only three are not socialists. In addition to these evidences of the socialist strength, a large majority of the candidates selected at present to contest new seats in the next general election are well known socialists. It is with this unity of purpose between the various movements of the working class that The Labor Party has carried on its electoral campaigns. The brilliant results of this combination are now known. At the first general election in which the party was engaged, twenty-nine members were elected to parliament, and a majority of them are socialists.

It was a great achievement, and when the news was cabled round the world it created untold amazement. The old political parties, the metropolitan newspapers, the leaders of thought, and the grave and wise governors of the destinies of the British people could not understand. No one seemed to know how such a movement could have arisen, could have attained such proportions without any of them knowing of its existence. British labor in politics! Fifteen or twenty socialists returned to the House of Commons! It seemed incredible. Of all the workers in the world none seemed less class-conscious, less imbued with socialist sentiment or revolutionary ideals than the British workingman. He had suffered every injustice. He lived in the most frightful conditions of squalor and poverty. When ac-

cident, old age or serious illness afflicted him, he and his family went to the workhouse or subsisted on the meager rations of outdoor relief, but heretofore there had been no complaint and such a political revolt seemed unbelievable. It had always been said that that "shocking and immortal thing" called socialism would never appeal to the Briton, and the governing classes, sure that it never would, were almost paralysed. The working man had severed his connection with the capitalist parties and what they had failed to give him as a mere matter of common human justice he demanded now in no uncertain way by sending his own representatives into parliament.

To-day everybody in England is discussing socialism. The capitalist papers are doing their utmost to split the party by separating the conservative Labor members from the socialist members. The "Daily Mail" during last summer ran a column called the "Fraud of Socialism." It is and always has been bitterly antagonistic to every aspiration of the working class; it has fought every measure for the benefit of the workers, but in this campaign it posed as the real friend of the working man. With a sensational appeal to the mass of trade unionists it endeavored to rouse them to "the raid the socialists were making upon their funds." According to the "Mail" the socialists were endeavoring to capture the unions by stealth and use them for their own nefarious and anti-social purposes. Other papers came into the battle. All Great Britain was discussing The Labor Party. Everybody wrote letters to the papers as everybody does in England, expressing views on the matter, and bishops, ministers, politicians and even the nobility began to take sides. Nothing has ever happened that has done more to advance socialism, and the socialists came out of the fight stronger than ever. But every capitalist influence in Great Britain is using all possible means to divide the workers. The weaker and more conservative members of the party are patted on the back and flattered; their vanity is worked upon; their jealousies and ambitions fed, and so the campaign progresses publicly and privately, openly and underhandedly to disrupt the party and disorganize the working classes. The capitalists want the working men to return to the good old days when "in the quiet, sensible and truly British fashion" they supported the ancient and honorable Liberal and Tory Parties.

Not the least important of the efforts that have been made to destroy The Labor Party has been the shrewd politics of the Liberal Party. It has given Labor all and more than it has asked for. It is my opinion that if the Labor Movement had not gone into independent politics, it would have worked ten years without getting the legislation that has been obtained im-

mediately by this new method of using its political power. I don't mean to say by this that the measures are of fundamental except by bringing to bear on the two old political parties power—I don't mean to say by this that the measures are of fundamental importance. All I mean to say is that even these petty measures in the interests of the workers could not have been obtained except by bringing to bear on the two old political parties powerful political pressure, and that pressure is best exercised by an independent political party. The old parties see that if they do not endeavor to placate labor, labor may return a hundred or more members to the next parliament and this means that many Tories and Liberals must lose their seats and therefore their political power. They begin to realize that they have got into "an awkward" situation, and so they now lavish upon labor evidences of their good will. But they do not do so because they love labor more than they have loved it in the past. It is because their political life has been threatened and the wise British masters have a curious way under such circumstances. They give nothing until they have to, but when no alternative is open to them, they give gracefully and after the manner of true philanthropists. It is a very skillful method of retaining power and even some of the labor members are puzzled and perhaps a bit inclined to think they have too harshly judged their masters; but the masters have yielded on no vital point and all they have given has been for the purpose of destroying the Labor Party. They hope that the measures passed this year will satisfy the mass of trade unionists and that they will gradually permit their independent political movement to die. The longheaded politics of the British statesman is the greatest danger that confronts the Labor Party.

With these things in my mind I went to the Labor Party congress at Belfast. It convened on the 24th of January for the purpose of discussing the progress of the last year, and of making plans for the year to come. On the morning of the 24th at 11 o'clock, 350 delegates, all but half a dozen of whom were working men, assembled in Wellington Hall. There were representatives from almost every trade and from almost every section of Great Britain. Most of them were trade union officials or had had experience in responsible positions in the trade union movement. There were very few men there known outside of England, although I instantly recognised some fifteen or twenty men whose names are well known. With the exception, however, of Hardie, Pete Curran, S. G. Hobson, Quelch, Ben Tillet, Jowett, Pease, Bruce Glasier, Will Thorne, O'Grady, a few members of parliament, and those who had been fraternal delegates to the congresses of the American Fédération of Labor,

they were men unknown to us. Only a handful of the militant socialists whom we all know by name were there. Many of them are middle-class men and of course cannot come as representatives of unions. In fact the only members of the middle-class who were there were of the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society, both of which are affiliated to the Labor Party. It would have been possible for some of the well known men of the Social Democratic Federation to have been at the congress if they had retained their affiliation with the Labor Party, but as is well known, they withdrew from the organization in the early days of the movement. The congress, therefore, was distinctly working class. It was even more so than the German congress, and the movement in England represents more distinctly than any other movement in Europe, the class struggle in politics. From this point of view it was distinctly interesting to attend the gathering of these men.

The British workman has no theories. He is stolid, quiet thoughtful; he is practical, a good workman after his own quiet thoroughgoing way. The thing he is doing is an end in itself. If he is interested in co-operation, trade unionism or a labor party, he is interested in it for the practical good that can be obtained by the use of that thing itself. The Frenchman has his unions and co-operatives, but not at all because he cares about the immediate ends of these institutions. To him they are merely weapons, ammunition in the social revolution. But to the British working man these things are an end. If he wishes to exercise his power in co-operation with others in buying, selling, or producing, if he wishes to exercise his economic power by co-operating with his fellow workmen in trade unions, or if he desires to exercise his political power by uniting politically with his fellow workman, he does those things because he feels that there is some definite, concrete end of distinct advantage to himself that he wishes to obtain by these means. Formulas, fundamental principles and eternal verities irritate him. It is perhaps because of these fundamental traits of his character that he has formed one of the most distinctly class movements to be seen in the world, but he refuses to call himself class conscious or at present to discuss very seriously or exhaustively the advantages of the socialist state. For my own part while admiring the quick intelligence, the enthusiasm, and the high ideas of the Latin peoples, and the thorough thinking and fatal logic of the Germans, there is much in the British method which appeals to me, and I am not certain that the movement in Great Britain is not equally advanced with the movement elsewhere in Europe, simply because it refuses phrases which it does not fully understand. So long as it moves definitely on the lines of the class struggle itself

it is the most important matter, and that if the working classes can be united politically and economically against the exploiter of labor the rest will take care of itself.

This, however, is philosophy and may seem to the reader as having little to do with the congress itself, and in fact, if these ideas were not with me more or less matters of conviction, they would have been thrown overboard after the first day's session of the congress. It was the dullest, the most petty and most trying session of a serious body of men that I have ever happened to witness. All the questions were small, all the discussion was trifling. There was none of that fine idealism, lofty sentiment and passion for the welfare of humanity which enthused the French, German and Italian congresses. It was all machinery and organization like a Lancashire cotton-mill. The best thing of the session, was the address of the chairman, Mr. J. J. Stephenson, a remarkably able young man and a thorough-going socialist and after that the report of the executive was offered. It showed, among other things, a very considerable increase over the last year in the membership of the party. In fact the growth of the party from the beginning is so strikingly shown, that it may be well to introduce here a very illuminative table of figures:

Trades Councils and L. R. C's				Socialist Societies		Total
Trade Unions	No.	M'ship.	No.	No.	M'ship.	M'ship.
1900-1	41	353,070	7	3	22,861	375,931
1901-2	65	455,450	21	*2	13,861	469,311
1902-3	127	847,315	49	2	13,835	861,150
1903-4	165	956,025	76	2	13,775	969,800
1904-5	158	885,270	73	2	14,730	900,000
1905-6	158	904,496	73	2	16,784	921,280
1906-7	174	974,509	83	2	20,885	**997,665

\*Social Democratic Federation withdrew.

\*\*This total includes 2271 Co-operators.

From these figures it will be seen that the party has about trebled in size since its beginning six years ago and the number of unions have increased fourfold. The miner's unions, which have thirteen men in Parliament, under the auspices of the Liberal Party, have not yet decided to join the independent movement. But the balloting on the question this last year was very close and showed that within a very short time the miners will also join the Labor Party. The report of the executive asked for the coming year a considerable increase in the administrative and electoral forces now employed by the committee. Up to the

present time the Labor Party has confined its efforts almost exclusively to the parliamentary elections although in the last municipal elections the labor and socialist votes amounted to nearly 300,000. It is proposed to take up systematically the municipal campaigns, and an effort will be made in the forthcoming elections for the London County Council to elect some representatives of the Labor Party.

The report of the chairman of the party in Parliament, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, was extremely interesting, and showed how great a force labor was becoming in British politics. He said, "As I have remarked elsewhere, the influence of the Party is beyond question. The object of those who pioneered and organized the Labor Movement was to create a political force which, by concentration on social and labor questions, would keep these from being obscured by mere political issues or relegated to the small hours of the morning in which oddments of reform are dealt with as matters of little moment. We have, however, been alive to the fact that no party could obtain or retain a footing in British politics which ignored the wider issues of our national life. Questions of foreign affairs, education, the welfare of subject races, militarism (that sinister foe of progress) and finance have all been dealt with by members of the Party speaking for their colleagues, whilst the Party vote has been cast on the side of a progressive policy both at home and abroad.

"The motions for which the Party has made itself responsible and which it directly brought before Parliament in the evenings which its members secured in the ballot, included one for the provision of Old Age Pensions out of State funds: the payment of trade-union rates to all government employees, and a recognition of the trade unions by the various Governmental departments. In addition there was a motion declaring for the Political Enfranchisement of Women, and another to put an end to the evictions of workmen on strike who happen to occupy houses belonging to their employers. A small bill to class as undesirables, aliens who are being brought into this country to take place of workmen on strike was successfully piloted by the Party through the House of Commons, and is now stranded somewhere in the House of Lords. On the Committees which dealt with Workman's Compensation, the Reform of the Income tax, the Procedure of the House of Commons, the Provision of Meals for School Children, Electric Supply, Taxation of Land Values (Scotland) the Nationalisation of Canals, the Postal Servants, and with various other subjects upon which the Special Committee have sat, members of the Party have been active and vigilant.

"The Party has also succeeded in obtaining by ballot two

of the first places for the eleven Fridays set apart for Private Members' Bills, and gave priority to,

(a) The Trades Disputes Bill.

(b) The Provision of Meals for Children Bill.

A third measure to provide for the right of workmen who are paid by weight or measurement to appoint checkweighers as is the law in the case of mines was also put down on the off-chance of its finding a place, but in this we were not successful.

"I have no desire to reopen old controversies, but it will be well within the public recollection that the Trades Disputes Bill introduced by the Government was subsequently not merely altered, but completely changed from its original draft in order to meet the views of the Party. It is questionable whether in the history of recent politics an instance is to be found which more conclusively proves the advantage of concentration upon a well-defined object than does that of the Trades Disputes Bill. Finally bills to enable Educational Authorities in England and Wales to provide meals for school children were brought forward by the Party, and referred to a Select Committee. The mere enumeration of these items is, I think, sufficient justification for our claim to be regarded as a non-partisan Labor Party. It has been charged against us that inasmuch as we have in the main, supported the Government in their measures, our independence is more assumed than real. This objection proceeds on the assumption that it is the business of the member of an independent party to be always running amuck at the Treasury Bench. Such critics forget that these would be the tactics of despair and we are not in a despairing mood. Thirty men cannot hope to monopolise the time of Parliament, and the most that can be expected from them is to see that value is received for the support which is given to the Government of the day. We have supported the Government and opposed the Government just as we deemed the interests of the workers required."

In the evening, before a large meeting for which many hundreds could only get standing room and hundreds of others were refused admission, Hardie spoke again of the work of the party. He said they were witnessing just now the emergence of a people from political and industrial bondage. If the Labor Party made mistakes, at least it did so while attempting to learn how to walk alone and it was better that it should stagger a little in its footsteps than attempt to lean on the wornout crutches of either a liberal or conservative party. He also ventured to say that no party in British politics ever came out of a single session with a better record of good work accomplished than the Labor Party. Three bills were known to them: The Trades Disputes Bill, restoring freedom to the trade union movement, the Work-

man's Compensation for injury, and last, but by no means least, a bill to enable the educational authorities to provide meals for starving children at public cost. That was a record of which no party need be ashamed. He also called attention to the very striking fact that while all other bills before the House had been weakened by compromise as they passed through, the labor bills were immensely strengthened in their passage through the House of Commons. He ventured to say that that could never have before been said of labor measures. He said that the Labor Party must be more than a reforming party. A labor party without an ideal could not last. There must be some Holy Grail which they were ever in search of, which they were making sacrifices to reach, and which would inspire and enable the men and women comprising the Party to do mighty deeds for the advancement of their cause. Many of them in the Labor Party — most of them — found that ideal in Socialism. They were not content to be merely a Red Cross Brigade to staunch the wounds caused by the system under which they lived. They stood for reform, for progress, and finally for freedom of the class to which they belonged.

The second day of the congress was more interesting. The discussion was no longer confined to details, but certain important questions of policy came up for discussion. For the first time one could gauge the real strength of socialism. Unfortunately, however, the resolution upon which the first discussion took place was meant to exclude from the party all but those who were definitely socialist. As a result the socialist strength was largely exhibited in opposition to the motion. The motion was proposed by the Paper Stainers' Union of General Workers and seconded by Quelch of the Social Democratic Federation. The executive of the Party had asked Pete Curran to oppose the motion. He said among other things that the resolution if carried out would mean the exclusion of all men who were not pledged to the class conscious principle. That might suit some people, but as a socialist it did not suit him. The mover and the seconder knew quite well that if the resolution were carried it would destroy the movement. He insisted that it was neither in the interest of the solidarity of the movement nor of socialism throughout the trade unions that the motion was proposed, and, therefore, with all the vigour at his disposal he would resist it, regarding it as a subterfuge for the purpose of creating dissension in the ranks. This was very much the line of discussion taken by the ablest socialist in the congress. Hardie regretted that the motion had come up in this form as it prevented socialism being discussed upon its merits. Many good socialists present who would have voted for a socialist statement would, he



said, be compelled to vote against the present resolution. As the socialist unions and organizations voted practically unanimously against the measure, the resolution was defeated by 835,000 against 98,000 votes.

Mr. Ben Tillet shortly afterwards moved the adoption of the following new clause, "Every Labor Party member of parliament candidate or delegate shall be a member of a bona-fide trade union, professional or trade organization recognised by the executive." This resolution was supported by Mr. Quelch. The resolution was aimed at excluding from the party the members of the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society, as we know, socialist organizations. Having failed to exclude the non-socialist trade unions, it was apparently the tactics of those of the social-democrats who were there, to exclude the socialists of all but trade union organizations. These are but two samples of the contemptible tactics of certain socialists! They first endeavoured to wreck the organization by forcing out all those who are not avowed socialists, and failing that, they made an effort to force out the middle-class socialists, now members of the Party, many of whom had taken an active part in its formation. The tactics of these socialists were, "Anything to wreck the new party," but the only result of these efforts was further to discredit these men and to injure the influence of the Social Democratic Federation in the new movement. However, these and similar motions in an indirect way brought forth a discussion which proved pretty conclusively that if the rank and file of the union men are not yet socialists, the ablest militants and most capable leaders in the new movement are thoroughgoing socialists.

The last day of the congress was interesting only because of one incident. After a number of resolutions were hurriedly voted upon, and other important matters decided, in the few minutes immediately before the close of the session, a resolution came up dealing with Woman's Suffrage, a question which has been recently agitating England in a very sensational way. Hardie, ever since the movement assumed definite form has manifested on every possible occasion great sympathy for it. During the last session the Party in the House pledged itself to the effect that women's suffrage would be one of the first measures that the Party would advance this year. A resolution was brought before the Conference which read as follows: —

"That this Conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the equality of the sexes, and urges an immediate extension of the rights of suffrage, and of election, to women on the same conditions as to men."

The resolution seemed satisfactory as it left to the parlia-

mentary group the ability to support any measure in the direction of complete adult suffrage. Mr. Quelch, however, moved an amendment. He expressed himself in favour of equal voting rights being extended to all men and women but he demanded that the Party oppose any restricted measure. This was of course for the purpose of preventing the Labor Party from supporting in any way the present limited suffrage bill before Parliament. The delegates were evidently largely in favour of passing the amendment and instantly all over the hall there were cries of "Vote." When Hardie arose to speak, however, the Conference listened to him. It had been said that the bill would only permit women with property to vote and that Hardie had dropped the Unemployed Agitation in favour of Woman's Suffrage. In answer to these and other objections Hardie said briefly that if the bill were a property qualification bill he would not support it, neither would he support it if it were an attempt to put women's suffrage before a remedy for unemployment. What was the fact? Women to-day were classed with criminals and lunatics as being unfit to exercise the vote. There were no men so classed? (Voices: "There are") "No; a man did not require to have property to have a vote; his was a householding qualification. The bill did not propose to establish any new qualification at all. Under it two millions of women would be enfranchised, and of these  $1\frac{3}{4}$  millions would be working women. The difficulty about the Bill was that people would not take the trouble to understand it."

The vote was taken, and it was found that the resolution was lost by 605,000 to 268,000. A loud cheer from the majority, almost the only demonstration of the kind that had followed any vote of the Conference, greeted the result.

No one seemed to have thought that the amendment would carry with it any serious consequences, but to the astonishment and dismay of everyone but the enemies of the Labor Movement, Hardie, after expressing the thanks of the Congress for the hospitality of the Belfast workers, made the following important statement:

"Twenty-five years ago this year I cut myself adrift from every relationship political and otherwise, in order to assist in building up a working-class party. I had thought the days of my pioneering were over. Of late I have felt with increasing intensity the injustice which had been inflicted upon women by the present political laws. The intimation I wish to make to the Conference and friends is that, if the motion they carried this morning was intended to limit the action of the Party in the House of Commons, I shall have to seriously consider whether I can remain a member of the Parliamentary Party.

"I say this with great respect and feeling. The party is largely my own child, and I would not sever myself lightly from what has been my life's work. But I cannot be untrue to my principles, and I would have to be so were I not do to my utmost to remove the stigma resting upon our wives, mothers and sisters of being accounted unfit for political citizenship."

These words fell upon the Conference like a bomb.

The Conference of the Labor Party was over, but for a long time the men stood about the hall not knowing what to do and we all went sadly away. It was an immense surprise to everyone and no one, not even Hardie's most intimate friends, had felt that he would treat so seriously his defeat. But Hardie believes, and rightly believes, that the right of suffrage is a fundamental fight of democracy, and he afterwards said in answer to a friend who wrote him urging him not to resign and that socialism must be first: — What my friend "overlooks is the fact that with us it is Socialism first *because we already have the vote*. With our voteless fathers it was votes first. In Russia just now it is votes first; in Belgium the same; and so it would be here if men were outside the franchise as women are. Our fathers fought against class disability just as the women are now fighting against sex disability. If only that fact could be grasped, all the trouble would disappear." Later in the same statement Hardie says: — "The spectacle of women being treated as though they were dogs or pariahs revolts and humiliates me; their admission to citizenship on terms of political equality with me is with me a sacred principle, and I would not wish to be in association with any movement or party which could be guilty of the unfairness and the injustice of denying to women those rights which men claim for themselves."

It was, I must confess, a conference neither impressive nor uplifting. The first day bored everyone, and at the end, as the reader must well see, we went away sad and depressed. In contrast with the continental congresses, the men of the Labor Party lacked the passion and warmth which come only with the possession of a great ideal. Everywhere in these foreign countries the masses are fired with a new religion and the cold machine-like method of The Labor Party chilled the enthusiasm that had steadily grown in me ever since I began to observe the movement on the continent. There are perhaps many explanations that might be given. Perhaps it is because the movement is just beginning, and the detailed questions of organization pressed themselves forward so that little time remained for developing the ideas which the movement must have if it is to rank with similar movements the world over. Perhaps this coldness is inherent in the British temperament. But whatever the cause the

lack of far vision in the Labor Movement irritates and saddens a great many socialists. I have at various times talked with many who refuse to identify themselves with the new movement because they fear it is not and never will become a socialist movement. I must confess, however, that I do not know how any socialist can take this view. Indeed I have no sympathy for it. —The party represents the working-class. It is a class struggle in politics. It is a definite class organization, and while it maintains its absolute independence of the capitalist parties, it extends an open hand of welcome to every socialist whether of the working class or not who belongs to an affiliated organization. No member or parliamentary representative is limited in any expression of his views. Certainly no better opportunity was ever offered socialists in any country to carry on their propaganda, and even to lead the working-class into the lines of socialist development. As I write this, a famous saying of Liebknecht comes to my mind. When Liebknecht was an exile in England, he and Marx used to go to the Communist Alliance of London, but Marx finally left it in disgust because of its stupidity and unscientific thinking. Liebknecht, however, remained in the Alliance, partly at least, for the purpose of trying to explain to them Marx' doctrine. When Marx heard of this he bitterly assailed Liebknecht as "a mediator" and insisted that he did not want to be understood by such workmen. Liebknecht retorted by saying that it was "crazy tactics for a workingmen's party to seclude itself away up above the workers in a theoretic aircastle: without workingmen, no workingmen's party, and the laborers we must take as we find them." These were the tactics of the greatest leader of the modern socialist movement, and they were responsible for the building of the great German Social Democracy. It would be wise if some of the English socialists who still refuse to connect themselves with the new movement, were to adopt similar tactics.

ROBERT HUNTER.

## The Political Situation in France.

FOR the last three months, apart from the clerical question, which for the French working class has now become a secondary matter, the struggle for the weekly rest day voted for by parliament and constantly violated, especially by the small employers, has been the great question of the day in the proletarian and socialist life of France. This situation is very instructive for the sociologist, and especially for the socialist steeped in the Marxian conception, which alone furnishes him a means for understanding the facts and the attitude of the different political parties. But, first I wish to sketch briefly for the American reader the recent political evolution of France.

It will be remembered that in the last parliamentary election, May 1906, a heavy majority was obtained by the radical party, which corresponds closely enough to your democratic party, at least the Bryan wing.

Already in the two preceding parliaments, from 1899 to 1902 and 1902 to 1906, the radicals had had a majority. But this majority was precarious, since to govern in parliament the radical ministers had to depend on the help of the section of former opportunists which had left the opportunist party (that party corresponds pretty closely to your republican party) at the time of the Dreyfus affair, to stand with the radicals and socialists in defense of democratic institutions. These were threatened by the Nationalists, the Clericalists and the Monarchists, who counted on the support of the mass of the opportunist party, apart from those dissenting opportunists who followed Waldeck-Rousseau, who had been up to that time the representative par excellence of "Capitalist Republicanism".

It was under these conditions that Waldeck-Rousseau formed a cabinet with the radicals and that in 1902 he was replaced by Combes, who accenuated this policy in the direction of anti-clericalism. At the same time a considerable group of Socialist deputies, entangled in the policy of collaboration with the "advanced" parties of the bourgeoisie, sustained these ministries in a consistent fashion by their votes. Nevertheless these radical majorities from 1899 to 1906 were not homogeneous since they comprised on the Right the Waldeckists or former Opportunists, called "Group of the Democratic Union", which often threatened to abandon the Government as too advanced and on the Left the Socialists who, in spite of their policy of

combination, at some times made occasional demands which were considered *too revolutionary*.

This situation was still further complicated by the successful formation of the socialist "Unity" after the Amsterdam Congress, which was finally brought about in April, 1905. The majority of the fusing socialists, including Jaures, de Pressense, and Rouanet then united with the uncompromising socialists like Guesde and Vaillant to form a single class party which inevitably took, in the Chamber, an attitude of resolute independence toward the bourgeois parties and leaders. The few self-styled socialists of the Jaures group who refused to join the "Unity" were mainly composed of ambitious politicians desirous of entering into a ministry, a thing which the "Unity" did not permit. This was notably the case with Briand and Viviani, who at the present moment are both in the Clemenceau cabinet, one as Minister of Public Instruction; the other as Minister of Labor, a post created for Viviani, but the little group called "Independent Socialists" did not suffice (there were only about fifteen of them) to replace in the governmental majority all the deputies of the socialist "Unity". It was in this way that the Combes ministry fell and a ministry representing rather the interests of finance and greater capitalism, the ministry half Wädeckist, half Rouvier radical, was formed in April, 1905. Soon, however, it fell and on the eve of the election, in March 1906, the radicals gained the upper hand. It was replaced by the Sarrien-Clemenceau ministry. Sarrien represented moderate radicalism; Clemenceau the more-advanced radicalism. Sarrien being a man of no great force of character was rapidly eliminated by Clemenceau, especially after the elections of May, 1906.

These elections resulted in a startling victory for all the parties of the Left. The organized socialists, whom the capitalist parties ironically gave the name "The Unified", obtained 52 seats as against 37 in the preceding parliament. The "Independent Socialists" increased their representation from 16 to 20 and the radicals, who had held 230 seats, raised their number to more than 320. The reactionary parties, opportunists, nationalists and monarchists were crushed, in spite of their attempt to profit by the law of the Separation of Church and State. This law had been voted in 1905 under the ministries of Combes and Rouvier as a sequel to the aggressions of the papacy, and, thanks to the socialists, it was enacted in a spirit of broad tolerance,\*

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\* The French radicals, who are thorough Jacobins, having the old tradition of the ideological struggle against Catholicism, wished to enact a much more rigorous law. On several occasions the socialists, with Jaures, voted with the opportunists for certain more tolerant articles of the law. In spite of this the French socialists are accused, in America, of persecuting the Church.

so that no voters took very seriously the lamentations over their persecutions of which the clericals pretended to be victims.

But the radicals, in spite of their victories, had their souls poisoned by the success, relatively greater than theirs, of the terrible "Unified" who refused to take part in the pretty little arrangement for co-operative housekeeping and had the presumption to remain a class party, absolutely independent. And so it was that their great orator and minister, Clemenceau, delivered himself on his return to parliament in June 1906, of a violent attack against the socialist doctrine in response to Jaures, a part of whose speech is already familiar to the readers of this Review.\* Clemenceau showed that while thoroughly imbued with the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the encyclopedists and the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the encyclopedists and the immune to the conceptions of modern socialism as defined by Marx and Engels, and as they emerge at once from the philosophy of modern development and from the daily experience of the organized working class on both sides the Atlantic.

Nevertheless the radical party and its leaders fully realized that after their imposing victory at the polls it was incumbent on them to give the proletarian masses in city and country something more than the sarcasms of the Ministry of the Interior upon the bad working—hypothetical, of course—of the future collectivist system or than complaints about the "iron discipline" wickedly imposed by the socialist party upon its members. In a stirring speech, after the ministers had announced their reform program, Jaures had hurled at them this startling accusation, "You do not stand on Universal Suffrage." ("Vous etes au dessous du Suffrage Universel").

It was for the radicals to prove, on the contrary, that they were in close touch with the wishes of the country and that they knew how to realize them. The difficulty was great for this party of the little bourgeoisie which for thirty-five years had always been able to satisfy its constituency by "hitting the priest" and systematically ignoring economic problems, claiming like the petit bourgeois democratic parties of all countries to "rise above class lines".

Two reforms had been practically demanded by the French proletariat notably at the time of the recent May Day demonstrations. These were the eight hour day and a law establishing the weekly rest day for all municipalities. The establishment of the legal work day of eight hours, or even ten hours as is vaguely promised by a draft for a law in the distant future, clashed with too many capitalist interests. On the other hand,

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\*) See International Socialist Review for September, 1906.

the government thought that the establishment of a weekly rest day for all laborers would meet with the unanimous support of all parties and, in fact the Chamber, fresh from its promises to the good people, voted enthusiastically and almost unanimously the first draft of the law. Who could protest against so humane a measure! Was it endurable that the very "future of the French race" should be threatened longer by the debilitating labor imposed upon the workmen in certain crafts such as bakers or cooks who often had not a single rest day a month.

The current was so strong that even in the senate where, as with you, all labor laws passed by the lower house generally go to pieces, the vote for the reform was not delayed more than a few months; it was finally enacted at the end of last October.

But then from all sides came violent protests from the capitalists. The great employers, however, almost everywhere yielded before the pressure of organized labor. On the other hand, the whole class of small employers and small merchants, who, sad to say, are the very class represented by the radicals, began to protest violently against the "ill-considered" law for they dared not attack the principle of the law itself. They merely wished to be allowed such exceptions and combinations that any control on the part of the labor inspectors should become impossible.

Pulled one way by the class whose psychology they especially represented and the other way by the proletariat, firmly resolved not to lose the benefit of the reform, the government and radical majority are greatly embarrassed. In spite of the demands of the small employers and merchants they have not dared to nullify or modify the law by legislative action. On the other hand, in practice the ministry and especially the Minister of Labor (the self-styled "socialist" Viviani) has felt itself called to close its eyes often upon the violation of the new law. Along this line there have been published in the socialist press and especially in the *Humanite*, circulars of the Minister of Labor to the factory inspectors counseling them to apply only with moderation and reserve the legal penalties which had been incurred.

The same radical government headed its platform with the nationalization of railroads and to begin with that of the Western Line, (Normandy and Britany). This has been voted by the Chamber but the great capitalist interests are fighting it bitterly and there is every reason to fear that finally the senate will reject the reform. The government does not seem in any way resolved to act energetically to break down this resistance of our "House of Lords".

Likewise again the law for workingmen's pensions, voted by the preceding Chamber before the election, is chronically be-



fore the senate, which refuses, on account of insufficient financial resources, to give the old laborers the crumb of bread which the republican government has promised them for so long. The government, however, does not act. I might add again that had it not been for the ardent and incessant campaign of the socialists, the same government would have permitted the Russian government to float its abominable loan with the support of the Christian or Jewish financiers of France to afford means for slaughtering the Jewish or Christian proletarians of Russia. At the moment of writing it is not yet known whether Rouvier, the former Prime Minister, now at the head of a syndicate of the great banks of Paris, will yet have succeeded through the weakness of the government in carrying through this loan "under private uniform".

In spite of all this the working class is organizing itself and its strength is growing everywhere. The socialist party, which in its several sections, then antagonistic, numbered in 1894 at the time of the Amsterdam Congress scarcely 20,000 members, has at the present moment more than 60,000.

The relations between the political organization of the working class and the federation to which our trade unionists belong were until lately about as bad as possible on account of the socialist dissensions which had been echoing for twenty years in labor circles. To-day we are coming closer and closer to a complete and lasting understanding between the federation and the socialist party. This will make the condition of the proletariat so much the more healthful, and will give new efficiency to its combined efforts.

JEAN LONGUET,

*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*

## The Russian Bastille.

### I.

THE history of mankind gives the assurance that the principles of liberty will ultimately triumph over oppression, and that human happiness will sometime cease to be only a dream. But the road to liberty is covered with so many martyrs, and the pages of history are soiled with so much of humanity's blood, that one often despairs of the cause of the human race."

Such are the words of Mr. L. Melshin-Jacoubovitch, a Russian poet, journalist and revolutionist, in his book, "The Schlüsselburg Prisoners", recently published in St. Petersburg. They are words embodying thoughts which inevitably force themselves upon anyone who has formed only cursory knowledge of the facts concerning the prison near St. Petersburg, known as the Schlüsselburg Fortress, which was abolished after the manifesto of October, 1905, and which for years held within its walls the ablest and noblest pioneers produced by the Russian revolution.

The Schlüsselburg Fortress was not an ordinary prison. It was a Bastille—a place for the arbitrary incarceration, torture and execution of political offenders. It is situated on an island in the Neva, thirty-five miles north of St. Petersburg. In earlier days it had been used as a prison, but not until the summer of 1884, after a long period of disuse and desertion, was it consigned to the purpose which it so effectively served for more than twenty-one years.

Before that time the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress, within the boundaries of the capital, was the national Bastille. The Alexeieff Ravelin, a tower within this fortress, kept the imprisoned revolutionists in absolute seclusion. It was well equipped for confining its inmates, and it served all purposes of the government. But causes arose which made necessary the removal of these dangerous prisoners to a more isolated place, and the Schlüsselburg Fortress was chosen.

### II.

The period in Russian history following the emancipation of the serfs was marked by wide-spread discontent. The reformers had come to realize that emancipation, instead of being a great reform, was but a measure of deceit and a means of enrichment for the nobility and the government. The heavy

payments which the peasants were compelled to make for the land that had ostensibly been given to them, and the restrictions placed upon their civic life for the purpose of securing these payments, had firmly fastened upon them a new system of dependence on the bureaucracy. Uprisings followed all over the land, and oppressive measures increased. The peasants were wholly disregarded in their demands for land, and were kept in ignorance, while new and oppressive powers were given to the police, and the press was again placed under a censorship similar to that under Nicholas I.

For the first time in history, a revolutionary movement took hold of all Russia, and propagandists and agitators covered not less than thirty-seven provinces, as officially stated by Count Palen, then secretary of justice. The so-called political case of "50" stirred the entire nation. During the following year more than a thousand men and women were arrested, their arrests resulting in the famous trial of "193." The propaganda was peaceful. The society *Semlia e Volia* (Land and Liberty), to which most of the propagandists belonged, was more an educational organization than a political party. But though the agitation was peaceful, it was met by prosecution more severe than any previously known in Russian history. The methods of oppression that were employed inflamed the educated Russian youth, and the party *Narodnaia Volia* (People's Will), with terrorism as its principal weapon, was organized. The world then witnessed a heroic duel between a small number of men and women and a tremendous army of gendarmes, prosecutors and spies. The movement was bound to fail, since it was one almost purely of "intellectuals" having but little foundation in the will of the masses. But until it was crushed, in 1887, it kept the government in constant fear for its existence.

The more dangerous revolutionists whose lives were spared by the gendarmes were thrown into the Alexeieff Ravelin of the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress. As a result of its régime, most of the prisoners were soon attacked by consumption, insanity or other diseases. Among the first to perish were Alexander Michailoff, Obolesheff, Barannikoff, Kletochnikoff, Langans, Kolodkevich, Shiraieff, Telaloff, all members of the *Narodnaia Volia*. There was fear that other prisoners might soon follow. Through a conspiracy between prisoners and guards, in 1881, however, some modification of the grosser cruelties of the dungeon was obtained, and the lot of the inmates was for a time made more tolerable.

The head of this conspiracy was Sergius Netchaieff, who had organized a revolutionary movement in 1869. Escaping to Switzerland, he had been extradited in 1872 on the false plea

that he was a felon, and not a political offender. Tried in 1873, he had been sentenced to ten years at hard labor and subsequent banishment to Siberia. He was imprisoned in the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress, and in 1877, before his term had expired, had been tried for violation of the rules of the fortress and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was the first revolutionist who succeeded in winning over the soldiers of the prison guard. These soldiers not only established for him a system of communication with the executive committee of his party, but they even conspired to place the Emperor under arrest on his visit to the fortress. It was during the time when the *Narodnaia Volia* was bent upon assassinating Alexander II., and the executive committee placed Netchaieff in the dilemma of choosing the liberation of all prisoners, including himself, or the assassination of Alexander II. One enterprise excluded the other, and there was fear that if all the prisoners were to escape from the fortress, the Czar would, in his fear, take extraordinary precautions for his safety, and a new era of persecutions would follow.

Without a murmur Netchaieff refused to be liberated. Alexander II. fell on the 1st day of March, 1881. Netchaieff remained in the fortress. But soon thereafter the police discovered the garrison's conspiracy. Forty soldiers were arrested and tried in December, 1882. To this day the fate of Netchaieff is unknown. After the discovery of the conspiracy, the government decided to place the dangerous political prisoners beyond possible reach. Count Dimitri Tolstoi, then the Secretary of the Interior, ordered the re-establishment of that historical dungeon and mainstay of autocracy, the Schlüsselburg Fortress. The old prison, within the walls of which Czarowitz Johann Antonowitch was strangled and other enemies of the old Czars had perished, was hurriedly renovated and repaired, and the Russian Bastille was founded.

### III.

In August, 1884, the first barge with twelve prisoners left the Ravelin for Schlüsselburg. On the barge the prisoners were allowed to see one another. Chained hand and foot, they were placed in separate cells in the swimming prison. This was the gloomy prologue to the history of the Bastille.

A long, narrow and dark corridor, hardly lit by lamps; small, damp, half-dark cells on both sides of the corridor, barred and locked by iron and steel; all about the corridors gendarmes and wardens, now and then looking into the openings of the cell-doors; sentinels outside; towers and walls surrounding the prison yards and cells and water all around—such was the dungeon to which these prisoners were consigned.

The question of who "deserved" Schlüsselburg was regulated by rules embodied in the General Code of Laws, which provided that only revolutionists who after a trial were sentenced to hard labor for lifetime or whose death sentence was commuted to a term of years at hard labor, were to be placed in the Bastille. There were other prisons in European and Asiatic Russia in which revolutionists were confined. The Bastille, however, purported to serve as a permanent threat to all Russia, and the final disposition of prisoners was therefore left to the discretion of the Department of Police.

The Police Department used its discretion freely. Thus there were to be found in the Bastille among the life prisoners men like Vasily Karaouloff, who had been sentenced to four years of hard labor and to subsequent deportation to Siberia. There was also to be found there one Michael Lagovsky, an army officer, who having been punished by administrative order, was also to be deported to Siberia. But after the expiration of his term, of five years, the Police Department, without cause, prolonged his imprisonment to a life term.

At the end of 1884 the Bastille held thirty-five men: eleven from the Ravelin, eleven new arrivals from the Kara Prison in Siberia, eleven participants in the "Military" case of Vera Figner, two of whom (Stromberg and Rogatcheff) had been hanged immediately upon their arrival, and four participants in the famous Kieff case of 1884. During the following two years a few were added, among whom were the participants in the "Proletariat" case from Warsaw. In 1887 a new array, victims of the last famous trials of the *Narodnaia Volia*, were brought in, some of them only for the purpose of execution. Thus five men (Ulianoff, Generaloff, Osipanoff, Andreiushkin and Shevareff) of the seven so-called "First of March Men" were hanged a few days after their arrival. They were charged with the attempt upon the life of Alexander III. in March, 1887. Then came Herman A. Lopatin and his comrades and Boris Orgik. Lopatin and Orgik were the last organizers of the *Narodnaia Volia*, who fell in their attempt to re-organize and re-establish their party. From 1887 on, political trials in Russia ceased, the government preferring punishment by administrative order; and from that year up to the close of the Bastille, for the period of seventeen years, only eleven men and women were added to the list of "dangerous," among whom were Sophie Ginzberg, accused of conspiracy against the life of Alexander III., and all members of the party of Revolutionary Socialists, accused or convicted of terrorist acts, with Gershuni, the leader of the Fighting Organization, at their head. Thus during twenty-one years of its existence the Bastille had held sixty-seven men and

women. The amnesty, however, found in the Bastille only thirteen out of the sixty-seven originally imprisoned.

During these years only fourteen men and women left Schlüsselburg. The fate of the remainder is most tragic. *Thirteen were shot or hanged within the walls of the prison. Four committed suicide in jail. Fifteen died of consumption, insanity or other diseases. Only three of the insane were allowed to leave the Bastille.* Among these prisoners the following men and women are specially to be noted:—

Alexander Dolgushin was the oldest prisoner. In 1874 he was sentenced to ten years at hard labor for the publication of three proclamations. He had never taken part in the terrorist acts. On his way to hard labor in Siberia he defended a comrade from an attack made on him by an officer in the Krasnotarsk jail, and *for this interference he received fifteen years' additional servitude without a trial.* He was transferred from Siberia to the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress in 1883, and died in the Bastille in 1886.

Nicholas Stchedrin was twice sentenced to death, once for organizing the South Russian Labor Union in 1881, and once for attacking a prison official while the latter was passing insulting remarks to female prisoners. His treatment was exceedingly cruel. *For many years he was fastened to an iron cart, which he dragged wherever he went.* In 1886 he became insane. Up to 1891 the authorities would not admit that he was insane, and they even placed him in a cell specially designated for disorderly prisoners. Not until 1896 did they transfer him to Kasan Institution for the Insane.

Michael Trigoni was a friend of the famous Andrew Sheliaboff, who in 1881, together with Sophie Perovskaia and others, was tried for the assassination of Alexander II. Trigoni protected Sheliaboff against the police for some time and kept him in his house, where both were finally arrested by spies. After twenty years of servitude Trigoni was deported to Saghalien, where he was rescued during the Japanese War by Dr. Nicholas Russel, a representative of the Revolutionary Socialists.

Nicholas Morosoff, who was the editor of the revolutionary journal, *Land and Liberty*, took part in several famous trials and was known as the poet of the *Narodnaia Volia*. Jointly with Alexander Michailoff, the organizer, and Andrew Sheliaboff, the leader, he formed the most influential circle in the executive committee of their party.

Michael Frolenko was known for many daring enterprises, among which was the successful rescue from jail of the well-known Social Democrat, Leo Deutsch, author of "Sixteen Years in Siberia."

Peter Polivanoff, author of the "*Alexeieff Ravelin*" and of a remarkable letter to Secretary Muravieff, served twenty-two years. Many times he attempted suicide in the Bastille. After his release he was sent to Siberia. Subsequently he escaped and reached France in safety. He finally committed suicide in a suburb of Paris.

Vera Figner had first taken part in the organizing of "Land and Liberty," but soon devoted her energy to terrorist acts, and finally established the first military organization in connection with the *Narodnaia Volia*. She was arrested in 1883, and released in 1904.

Ludmila A. Volkenstein took part in the agitation of the "People's Will" party and was one of the prisoners at the Figner "Military" trial. She was arrested in 1883, released in 1896, and sent to Saghalien. She wrote her memoirs about the Bastille, known as "*Thirteen Years in Schlüsselburg*." During the Japanese War she was transferred to Vladivostok, where only a few months ago she was killed in a street demonstration of mutineers.

The fate of Michael Popoff, one of the oldest prisoners, was particularly tragic. He was sentenced in 1879, and sent to Siberia. From there, with sixteen others, he was transferred to the Bastille, being charged with an attempted escape, in which he took no part. He survived all his comrades and served the longest term.

#### IV.

The régime in prison during the eighties, when at the head of the Russian gendarmery stood men like Shebecco, Orjevsky and Pleve, may be characterized as most atrocious. Sokoloff, the brutal warden of the Alexeieff Ravelin, was placed in command of the new prison. He was an ignorant, cruel soldier and always ready, as he said, "to kill his parents, if ordered by superiors." The prisoners called him "Herod." All communications between the prisoners by knocking on the walls, singing, whistling, rapid walking, as well as interviews or correspondence with relatives or friends, were forbidden. For violation of the rules, disobedient prisoners were beaten, bound and incarcerated in dark cells, and deprived of their daily promenade and of their meals. The meals were worse than those in the Russian army. Foul food was given even to sick prisoners. When, as a result of such diet, almost all the prisoners became sick, and there was fear that they all might perish, those who were dangerously ill received a small portion of milk and were allowed more time for promenade. But as soon as a prisoner's health improved the milk would disappear. No books except

the New Testament were allowed. There was no hospital attached to the jail. The iron bed in each cell was closed early in the morning, and even the sick or dying were compelled to lie upon the cold floor, their expectoration making the surroundings dangerous for the rest. As an instance, the case of Arontchik may be cited. Paralyzed and insane, he remained in his cell for more than two years. Judging from the number of deaths in prison, we may say that this was not an exceptional case.

For new arrivals and those who were guilty of slight offenses in prison, disciplinary cells were in readiness. They were dungeons in a separate part of the building, damp and dark, known among the prisoners as the "Stable." They had been established by "Herod" in the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress and were subsequently introduced by him in the Bastille. Mr. Melshin asserts that once placed in the "Stable," the revolutionists were subjected to extraordinary brutalities and that few left it alive.

The Schlisselburg régime thus continued the deadly work begun by the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress. The heroes of the "People's Will," one after another, descended into their graves in proud silence, never repenting, pleading or petitioning. It was the desire of those in power to force these men and women to plead for clemency or pardon. Orjevsky, Shebecco and Plevé had cynically defended the system in vogue in the Bastille, on the ground that it had for its "good" object the breaking of the will of the prisoners. But the history of the Bastille does not record one case of a "broken will," of a plea for mercy or leniency!

Of course, the system provoked stormy protests by the incarcerated men and women. General and individual hunger strikes frequently took place. In one case Michael Shebalin, as a protest against his unlawful imprisonment in Schlüsselburg, refused meals during twenty-one days. He demanded his return to his wife and son in Siberia. The unfortunate man did not know that they had died long before in the Moscow prison. In 1899 the entire prison starved for eleven days in order to remove restrictions placed upon their little library, enlarged sometime before. But this method of protest, agonizing for the prisoners, was not very effective. The prison keepers well knew that it was hard to accomplish death in this manner, as only a few could endure hunger for any length of time. Then, too, it was possible to feed by force those who weakened. Such forcible feeding was practiced many a time by the lackeys in the Bastille, who bore the name of physicians. The conduct of the prison physicians was such that in 1885, Ippolit Mishkin, in a fit of



anger, threw a dish at Dr. Zarkovitch, one of the physicians. For this act he was court-martialed and shot. He had long sought death, and purposely committed the act.

While a youth, Mishkin was a reporter for the reactionary Moscow *Vedomosti*. In 1871 he was sent by Katkoff, the editor of the paper, to report the trial of the so-called Netchaieff conspirators. Here Mishkin for the first time became acquainted with revolutionary ideas, and he soon after determined to devote his life to the revolution. In 1875, dressed like a gendarme, Mishkin went to Viluisk, in the Yakutsk province in Siberia, to rescue Tchernichevsky, the famous writer and economist, who was at hard labor there. Tchernichevsky had been the hope of the revolutionists for a number of decades, and many men and women dreamed of his rescue and attempted it at various times. Mishkin presented to the local authorities an order from the Irkutsk chief of gendarmes, directing them to place Tchernichevsky in his custody for transportation to Irkutsk. Mishkin was, however, suspected and compelled to flee, which he did in a boat, and sailed north on the Lena River. He was caught and taken to Russia, where he was wanted for his agitation among the peasants and for the establishment of a secret printing plant. After a preliminary imprisonment, which lasted four years, Mishkin was tried in the famous trial of "193," together with Katherine Breshkovsky. His speech in court was for many years considered the gospel of revolution. He was sentenced to ten years at hard labor. While in the Central Prison in Charkoff, awaiting deportation to Siberia, he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape by the way of an opening in a wall, which he himself dug out. While in the Irkutsk jail, Mishkin made his famous speech at the grave of a revolutionist, Dimochovsky. Denouncing the system which brought about the early death of his comrade, he closed by saying: "And upon the soil drenched with the blood of the martyrs, the tree of liberty will rise!" For this speech Mishkin's term of hard labor was prolonged. Katherine Breshkovsky, in her biography of Mishkin, comments upon these incidents in his life as follows: "Two speeches—two hard labors." From Kara he made a successful escape with a workman named Krustchoff, and even reached Vladivostok. But an insignificant incident again placed him in the hands of the police. It was then that the government decided to imprison him in the Bastille.

Mishkin's insubordination was followed by that of Bunakoff, who also invited capital punishment by striking another prison official. This happened only three months after his term of imprisonment began.

Knocking on the walls, which for years was the only means

of communication between the prisoners, afforded great relief. The unwritten rule among the prisoners required that every knock should at all times be answered by the one to whom it had been directed, no matter how sick or exhausted he may have been. But each knock and answer invariably resulted in the incarceration of the offender, male or female, in the "Stable."

It should not be wondered at that the prisoners refused all favors from the gendarmes. When Chief Shebecco, on his visit to jail, offered to Madame Volkenstein the regards of her mother, she stopped him, saying: "Even about my mother I wish to hear nothing from you."

Another method of torture, more poignant than anything else described, was the placing and retaining of insane prisoners in the Bastille. Ignatius Ivanoff, who was an inmate of the Kasan House for the Insane prior to the re-establishment of the Bastille, was brought to the latter place apparently for the purpose of harassing the other prisoners, since he had been declared hopelessly insane in the institution from which he was taken. Shortly thereafter Stchedrin, Arontchik, Juvasheff, Pochitonoff and Konaskevich became insane. Insanity was the lot of a great many. Some were subject to quiet and harmless attacks of mental debility. Some had violent attacks; they laughed, they sang, they cried, they shouted, and their wild shouts shattered the nerves of the sane inmates. The latter considered it the height of happiness to see their afflicted comrades removed to a medical institution, and they often appealed to the authorities, on their visits to the jail, to remove the sick or insane, but mostly without avail.

Last, but not least, of the horrible incidents of this inferno were the executions. It was the rule to send those who were sentenced to death to the Bastille, there to be hanged within a day or two after their arrival. The unfortunate inmates invariably learned of the approaching execution of a newly arrived revolutionist. The jail promenades would cease. The noise around the prison would increase, the sound of the work about the gallows would tell the rest. The inmates could even see from the top of their cells the awful machinery. In 1884 Schlüsselburg saw the hanging of the army officers, Rogatcheff and Stronberg. In 1887 it saw the execution of five young students accused of conspiracy to assassinate Emperor Alexander III. Stephen Balmasheff, the author of the terrorist act against Secretary Sipiaguin and Ivan Kalaieff, who was responsible for the death of Prince Sergius, were also hanged there. In the same manner, Hyman Herschkovitz and Alexander Wasilieff, both minors, were executed. And as if to consecrate the Bastille with the blood of woman, Zinaida Konopliannikova, was hanged

after the Fortress had ceased to serve as a prison. Konopliannikova shot General Min, who as the commander of the punitive expedition during the month of December, 1905, slaughtered thousands of innocent men and women without a trial, hearing or investigation. The bodies of all victims were thrown into graves dug in the prison yard and chopped wood was placed on the graves.

Between 1887 and 1901 the Bastille had only one new prisoner, Sophie Ginzberg. Having been placed in a secluded tower, the girl committed suicide almost immediately thereafter, and even before she had an opportunity to communicate with her comrades. In 1901 young Karpowitch, author of the terrorist act against Secretary Bogoff, was brought in. He carried life and hope into the Bastille. During the previous years the female inmates, Vera Figner and Ludmila A. Volkenstein, were the only upholders of hope and courage. Many a man owed his life to these women. But still suicides continued. The most horrible case was that of Gratchevsky. He soon tired of the régime of torture and insult and decided to follow Mishkin's example. He assaulted one of the various wardens and demanded a trial. Because of the demand a trial was refused him, and he was declared insane. He was not, however, removed to an institution. He then attempted to starve himself, but was fed by force. Thereupon he threw kerosene from his lamp over himself and set it on fire. It was a most agonizing death, and even those in the distant "Stable" heard his shrieks. Not until after this tragedy did the police department grant privileges to the prisoners. New books were allowed, better meals introduced, work was permitted. The prohibition of communicating by knocks was not strictly enforced, and at times the prisoners were allowed to promenade by twos. After Sophie Ginzberg's suicide the prisoners were permitted to take care of their sick comrades. At the deathbed of the famous engineer, Yurkowsky, the prisoners were allowed to watch in turn. Madame Volkenstein, describing this singular incident, says that for a long time he refused to disclose the fact of his illness, believing that no help would come. The physician came to see him only upon the urgent request of his fellow prisoners. It was then that the administration, as if conscience stricken, made a special effort to save his life, refusing, however, to transfer him to a hospital in St. Petersburg. Before death he requested the warden to permit him to take leave of the two female prisoners. His request was granted. His was the only death at which prisoners performed their last duty to a departing comrade.

The régime, however, was not substantially affected by the

new privileges. For the slightest violation of a rule, the administration still continued its arbitrary and cruel punishments. Thus when Michael Popoff was caught sending a letter to his mother, the entire prison was deprived of the privilege of having books and magazines, although only magazines of previous years were allowed in jail.

## VI.

The last thirteen inmates of the Bastille consisted of two parties. The first party of eight were the remaining old prisoners—Lopatin, Morosoff, Popoff, Frolenko, Antonoff, Ivanoff, Lukashevitch, and Novoruski; the second party of five—Gershuni, Sasonoff, Sikorsky, Melnikoff, and Karpowitch were the younger prisoners. The five young prisoners, although ordered released from the Bastille, were sent to Siberia and placed in the Akatoni hard labor prison.\* The old prisoners served various terms, ranging from twenty-one to twenty-six years. Although their sentences were definite, they could never tell when their terms would actually expire. It was a principle of the autocracy to keep the inmates in ignorance of the time of their release; and even the imperial manifestos, which were now and then issued, commuting the sentence of convicts, did not always apply to them. In this respect the following is noteworthy:

Peter Polivanoff published in No. 27 of *Revolutionary Russia*, in July, 1903, and in No. 11 of *La Tribune Russe*, in February, 1904, an open letter to N. V. Muravieff, then Secretary of Justice in Russia, by which he hoped to call his attention to the unlawful régime in the Bastille and to ameliorate the condition of those who still lingered there. Citing the 14th Volume of the Code of Laws, and the Statute of Penalties, Polivanoff proves that the régime in the Bastille was a violation of all regulations embodied in the law, in that some inmates were illegally imprisoned and that the prohibition of seeing or corresponding with relatives was not at all provided by law. He further shows that Sections 299 and 310 of the Statute of Criminals, and Section 341 of Volume 14 of the Code of Laws, distinctly provided that each sentence should be reduced and that prisoners should be kept in jail or at hard labor only a certain part of their sentence and should thereafter be sent to settlements in Siberia, while paragraph 2 of the regulations of the Schlüsselburg Fortress unlawfully deprived its inmates of privileges which are allowed to ordinary convicts. He further contended that all prisoners except Karpovitch should have been freed long prior to the date of his letter; *that all of them had actually served time*

\* ) G. A. Gershuni escaped from Akatous within a short time after his arrival there and safely reached the United States.

*in excess of their sentences, and that none of them had served less than eight years in excess of their respective terms; while one of them—Michael Popoff—had been kept there fifteen years beyond his term. Finally he showed that in violation of the general rule that a life sentence meant twenty years without the usual allowance, prisoners were being kept there a real life time, and that some of them who had served the lawful life sentence and who had been officially freed by the various manifestos, were still in jail, and that others having served the full sentence and having been freed by the manifestos, had died in jail long thereafter.* Polivanoff's letter aroused public opinion in Europe, but it was ignored by Muravieff.

One of the eight men released in October, 1905, was Lopatin. In 1896 his sentence was commuted under a manifesto, but Secretary Goremykin specially petitioned the Czar that the commutation should not apply to Lopatin. A subsequent manifesto, known as that of August 11th, also failed to affect Lopatin's status. Count Mirsky refused to apply it to him for the reason that "Lopatin could himself petition the Czar." There was good reason why Lopatin should have been kept in Schlüsselburg until freed by the revolutionary wave, which resulted in the amnesty of October, 1905. He was one of those wonderful Russians who devote themselves unreservedly to the cause of their country. His biography is a part of Russian revolutionary history. Born in 1845, in 1866 he had already finished his university education and was to become a professor of biology in the University of St. Petersburg. A man of unusual education, he was a friend of Karl Marx and Peter Lavroff, and he translated into Russian the greatest portion of the first volume of "Capital." In 1866 he was for the first time connected with a revolutionary circle, known as the circle of Korokossoff. In 1867 he took part in the Garibaldi crusade in Italy. Upon his return to Russia, his first arrest took place. A forcible speaker, witty and energetic, he was the object of persecution for a number of years.

In 1870 he was in London, whence he went to Siberia to rescue Tchernischevsky. It was the first attempt of its kind, subsequently followed by that of Mishkin and others. He thought that Tchernischevsky would be in position to gather around himself all the revolutionary forces in Russia. Having been discovered before he accomplished his task, he was arrested, but escaped. Soon afterward we find him in Zürich, assisting Peter Lavroff in the publication of the famous revolutionary magazine, *Forward*. In 1883 he assisted in the publication of the *Messenger of the People's Will*, published in Paris. His last effort was to re-organize the *Narodnaia Volia*, which had

been crippled by the persecution of the government, most of its members having been either hanged or imprisoned. In a short time he established about three hundred circles and organizations. In 1884 he was recognized by an agent of the secret police in St. Petersburg, and after a fierce struggle, he was overpowered. After a preliminary imprisonment for three years he was tried jointly with others, the celebrated poet Melshin Jacobovitch among them, in June, 1887. The gendarmes made an effort to hang him. They accused him of organizing the assassination of Colonel of Gendarmes Sudeikin, but the Military Court, before which he was tried, rejected this accusation. In fact Lopatin opposed terrorism for a number of years and began to advocate it only on his last journey to Russia. He was, however, sentenced to death as a dangerous revolutionist, and his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment in Schlüsselburg. Altogether he has been arrested twenty-six times, and he has crossed the threshold of seventeen prisons. This martyr, who is now sixty-one years old, has served his cause for forty years, twenty-five of which have been spent in jails.

Such is the brief story of the Bastille. We have omitted many of its shocking details. They are beyond the imagination of those who have not lived through them. Let us hope that the Russian revolution, unhampered by renewed oppression, will ultimately triumph over Czarism and make the repetition of such a story impossible forever.

SIMON O. POLLOCK.

## Socialism and Religion.

### I.

**I**F we try to find a key for the mutual relation of socialism and religion in the practical attitude of socialist speakers and writers and religious spokesmen, we are easily led to believe, that the greatest misunderstanding, confusion, and internal contradictions reign in this regard. On one side we see that numerous laborers, when joining the ranks of the socialists, also throw their theological faith overboard and often combat religion fiercely; moreover, the teachings, which form the basis and strength of present-day socialism, and which together form an entirely new world conception, stand irreconcilably opposed to religious faith. On the other hand, we see faithful adherents of Christianity, even priests, demanding socialism precisely on account of their Christian teachings and gathering under the banner of the labor movement. And all agitators, and, what is still more significant, all programs of international socialist parties, unanimously declare religion to be a private affair of individuals, in which others have no business to interfere. Nevertheless most priests and official representatives of religion combat the social democracy very zealously. They contend, that this movement aims merely to exterminate faith, and they harp unctuously upon all statements of our great champions Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, in which they make critical remarks about religion and defend their own materialism as a scientific doctrine. This, again, is opposed by comrades in our own ranks, who, relying upon the declaration of neutrality toward religion in our party program, would prefer to forbid the spreading of such statements, which hurt the feelings of religious people. They say that the goal of our socialist movement is purely economic. In that respect they are right, and we shall not fail to repeat this again and again in refutation of the lies of the preachers. We do not wish to inoculate people with a new faith, or an atheism, but we rather wish to bring about an economic transformation of society. We desire to displace capitalist production by a socialist one. Any one may realize the practicability of such a collective production and its advantages over capitalist exploitation, for reasons which have nothing at all to do with religion. To this end we want to secure the political power for the working class, since it is indispensable as a means to this end. The necessity, or at least the desirability, of this transfer of the po-

litical power can be understood by any laborer from his political experience, without any further ceremony, regardless of whether he is in matters of faith a Protestant, a Catholic, a Jew, or a Freethinker without any religion. Our propaganda, then, is to be exclusively devoted to the work of elucidating the economic advantages of socialism, and everything is to be eschewed, which might run counter to the prejudice of religious minds.

Evident as this conception may be, at least in its first part, yet it has its drawback, and there will be few, who will agree with the ultimate conclusion. If it were correct, and if it were our aim to preach the beauties of socialism to all people, then we should naturally have to address ourselves to all classes of society, and first of all to the most educated. But the history of socialism has thoroughly disavowed the utopian sentimentalists, who wanted to do this. It was found, that the possessing classes did not care about these advantages, and that only the working class became more and more accesible to this understanding. This in itself indicates, that something more has to be considered than merely to prove to people the practicability of an economic transformation of society. This transformation, and its instrument, the conquest of the political powers by the working class, can only be the outcome of a great class-struggle. But in order to carry this class-struggle successfully to its conclusion, it is necessary to organize the whole working class, to awaken its political intelligence, to endow it with a thorough understanding of the internal forces which move the world. It is furthermore necessary to be familiar with the strength and weakness of the opponents of the working class, in order to make the best use of them, and in order to be able to meet all influences energetically, which might weaken the internal and external strength of the organized army of workers. Only a clear grasp of all political and social phenomena can preserve the present leaders and members of the socialist movement from missteps and mistakes, which might seriously injure the propaganda among the still unenlightened masses. Only profound knowledge will enable them to wrest ever new concessions from their enemies by their tactics and to benefit the working class.

If it is a fact, that the greatest amount of knowledge and understanding is required in our ranks for the purpose of waging our fight well, and if the materialistic writings of our masterminds tend to increase this intelligence, then it would involve great disadvantages to try to conceal and suppress these writings and conceptions for no other reason than that of avoiding a clash with the prejudices of people of limited knowledge.

Our theory, the socialist science founded by Marx and Engels, was the first to give us clear glimpses of the different social interrelations, which influence our movement. It will, therefore,



be necessary for us, to turn to this science for a satisfactory answer to the question of the relation between socialism and religion.

## II.

If we wish to decide upon our attitude toward religion, it will first be necessary for our science to enlighten us concerning the origin, the nature, and the future of religion, and this enlightenment, like every science, must be based upon experience and facts. Now we find in all countries with a strongly developed socialist movement, that the mass of the class-conscious workers are without religion, that is, they do not believe in any religious doctrines and do not adhere to any of them. This seems at first sight all the more peculiar, as this mass has generally received but little schooling. On the other hand, the "educated" classes, that is, the bourgeoisie, return more and more to faith, although there was at one time a strong anti-religious movement among them. It seems, then, that belief or unbelief are not primarily a result of culture, of a certain degree of knowledge and enlightenment. The socialist workers are the first among whom irreligion appears as a social mass phenomenon. There must be some definite cause for this, and if this does not prove to be merely a transient fact, it must necessarily result in a greater and greater restriction of the field of religion by socialism.

Now the partisans of religion often contend that this is not the case, for religion, according to them, is something more and higher than a mere theological faith. The devotion to an ideal, the willingness to make sacrifices for a great cause, the faith in the final victory of the Good — all this is said to be also religion. In this sense the socialist movement must even be called deeply religious. Of course, we are not going to split hairs about words. We will merely say, therefore, that this meaning of the term religion is not the customary one. We know very well that the socialist working people are filled with a great and high idealism, but with them this is not allied to a belief in any supernatural power, which is supposed to rule the world and guide the fates of men. We use the term religion only in this last meaning, that is, as a belief in a god.

Now let us ask ourselves whence this faith comes, and what it signifies. It is obvious, that the faith in a supernatural power, which rules men and the world, can exist only to the extent that the actual forces controlling the processes in nature and in the human world are unknown. A Kaffir, who serves as porter in a South African railway station and who suddenly hears the Morse apparatus starting in to give signals, believes that a god is concealed in it. He bows deeply before the apparatus and says reverently: "I will at once inform the boss" (the telegraph

operator). This conception of the untutored man is quite intelligible, and so is the fact that the primitive people believed the nature around them to be filled with all sorts of mysterious spirits. In their economy they depend wholly upon nature. Many natural forces and unknown powers threaten their lives and their work, while others are favorable, useful, benefiting to them. They have no means of knowing and controlling those powers. These appear to them as supernatural, manlike, forces with independent wills, and they seek to influence them with the means of their limited mental horizon, with prayers, sacrifices, or, perhaps, threats. The little general knowledge required for their economy is intimately connected with their religious conceptions. The priests owe their great influence precisely to the fact, that they are the bearers of the knowledge transmitted by tradition, so that they are the mental directors of production. Just as in their conception of the forces of nature elementary and crude empirical knowledge is mixed with fantastic superstition, so their religious ceremonies form a mixture of actions necessary in production and of actions wholly superstitious and useless.

Civilized people are no longer influenced so overwhelmingly by the forces of nature. Although it would not do to say, that they are scientifically understood in the beginning of civilization, yet men are more out of reach of their direct influence. Their methods of production and of labor have become so developed, that men feel more independent of natural events and are not so helpless against them as savages. When we come to a later stage of civilization, to the age of capitalism, then we meet with a rapidly developing natural science, which investigates the forces and effects of nature systematically and uncovers their secrets. By the application of this science in technique, the forces of nature are even made subject to the production of the necessities of life. For the modern civilized man, then, nature holds no more mysterious powers, which might induce him to believe in supernatural forces. These spirits of the past are tamed and pressed into his service as ordinary forces of nature, whose laws and processes are known to him.

Nevertheless we find that the class, in which this culture and this supremacy over nature are incarnated, has remained, or has again become, religious for the greater part, with the exception of a strong temporary current, of bourgeois materialism in the nineteenth century. Why is that so? What reason have they for assuming the existence of a supernatural ruler of the fates of mankind? In other words, what forces are there that still strongly affect the existence of the bourgeoisie, and that are still unknown in their origin and nature and therefore may still be regarded by them as mysterious and supernatural forces? These

forces are derived from the social order. The adage says, indeed, that every one is the captain of his own soul, but in practice most of the capitalists find out that this is not true.

As an independent producer, the capitalist may do his best, he may attend conscientiously and thriftily to his business, he may exploit his employes thoroughly without any sentimentality, he may keep his own expenditures within a decent limit, and nevertheless prices may fall, until he has to sell almost without any profit, or even at a loss, and in spite of his efforts the evil monster of failure creeps upon him. Or, his business may be going well, and he may be accumulating money at a fine rate, when all of a sudden a crisis overtakes him and swallows his whole business. How does this happen? He does not know. He lacks the knowledge of political economy, which might enlighten him about the fact, that capitalism necessarily must produce such great social forces, which may lift the individual to high prosperity, if he is lucky, but which may also destroy him. The origin of these forces is to be sought in the fact that production is indeed social, but only in the form and appearance of production depending on private enterprise and control. The individual fancies that he is working independently, but he must exchange his products with others, and the conditions of exchange, the prices, and the possibility of exchanging at all, are decided by the totality of social conditions. Production is not consciously regulated by society. Its social character stands above the will of mankind, the same as the forces of nature, and for this reason social laws face the individual with the inevitability and cruel inexorableness of natural forces. The laws of this artificial nature, of this process of production, are unknown to him, and for this reason he stands before them just as the savage stands before the laws of nature. They bring destruction and misery in many forms, occasionally also fortune. They rule his fate capriciously, but he does not know and understand them.

The socialist proletariat stands before these forces with a different attitude. It is precisely its oppressed condition which deprives it of all interest in the preservation of capitalism and in the concealment of the truth about this system. Thus the proletarian is enabled to study capitalism well, he is compelled to make himself thoroughly familiar with his enemy. This is the reason why the scientific analysis of capitalism given in "Capital," which is the life's work of Karl Marx, met reluctance and little understanding on the side of the bourgeois scientists, but was hailed with enthusiastic appreciation by the proletariat. The proletarians find in this work a revelation of the causes of their poverty. By its teaching they are enabled to understand the whole history of the capitalist mode of production. They become aware of the reasons, why it must inevitably be the fate of innumerable small

bourgeois to fail, why hunger, war, and the suffering incidental to crises must necessarily follow from this production. But they also see, in what manner capitalism must ruin itself by its own laws. The working class understand, why by their insight and knowledge, they will be enabled to displace capitalism by a consciously regulated social production, in which no mysterious forces can any longer bring destruction to mankind. The socialist portion of the working class, then, stands before the social forces just as intelligently and understandingly as the educated bourgeois stands before the forces of nature.

Here, then, lies the cause of the irreligion of the modern class-conscious socialist proletariat. It is not the product of any intentional anti-religious propaganda. Nor is it the demand of any program. It comes rather gradually as a consequence of the deeper social insight, which the working people acquire by instruction on the field of political economy. The proletarian is not divorced from his faith by any materialist doctrines, but by teaching which enables him to see clearly and rationally through the conditions of society, and to the extent that he grasps the fact that social forces are natural effects of known causes, the old faith in miracles dies out in him.

### III.

In order to understand the nature of religion thoroughly — and only a thorough understanding will enable us to grasp its effects in present society — we must come to a clear conception of the nature of spiritual things in general. It is in this respect that the philosophical writings of Josef Dietzgen are so valuable, because they give us clearness about the nature of the mind, of human thoughts, theories, doctrines, about ideas in general. Only in this way do we fully realize our role in social life and in the present struggle. Whatever is in the mind, is a reflection of the world outside of us. It has arisen out of this world. Our conception of things true and real is derived from our experience in the world, our conception of things good and holy from our needs. But these mental reflections are not mere mirrored pictures, which reproduce the object exactly as it is, while the mind plays a purely passive role. No, the mind transforms everything, which it assimilates. Out of the impressions and feelings, by which the material world exerts an influence upon it, it makes mental conceptions and assumptions. Dietzgen has explained, that the difference between world and mind, original and copy, is this, that the infinitely varied, concrete, ever changing flow of phenomena, of which reality consists, is turned by the mind into abstract, fixed, unchangeable, rigid conceptions. In these conceptions the general, lasting, important,

salient facts are detached from the multicolored picture of phenomena and designated as the nature of things. In the same way we spiritualize among the many things and institutions necessary for our welfare those by the terms good, moral, holy, which are essential for the satisfaction of our lasting, vital and general requirements.

It is inherent in this nature of mental concepts and assumptions, that although they are derived from reality, yet they cannot immediately follow reality in its ceaseless alterations. When a thing has once been gathered from experience as a mental copy, it becomes fixed in the mind and remains there enthroned as a recognized truth, while new experiences are crowding upon the mind, to which this truth can no longer be reconciled. At first this truth resists, but gradually it has to submit to modification, until finally, when the new facts have been accumulated in crushing masses, it is overthrown, or thoroughly understood and altered. This is the history of all scientific theories. The place of the old is taken by a new theory, which then gives to the entire store of material facts an abstract and systematic summarisation.

We are not so much interested here in the scientific theories, as in the general conceptions concerning the nature of the world and the position of man in it, which are incorporated in the philosophies and religions. These are not theories abstracted from the experiments and special observations of learned explorers. The facts on which they are built up are rather the experiences and the feelings of whole nations or popular classes. They form their general ideas and conceptions out of their primitive observations of the world outside of them, especially out of their experience concerning their own position in nature and in social environments, particularly concerning the requirements of their life. Wherever powerful unknown forces press upon them — as we have indicated before — their conception of the world is dominated by supernatural forces, and other conceptions are joined to this fundamental thought. This was the case, until now, in almost the whole of history, with only a few exceptions. In the religious doctrines, then, we find the general primitive conceptions concerning the nature of the world and of the relations of man to those unknown forces expressed in mystified forms. Everything required for the maintenance or the interests of this class of people then assumes the form of a divine law. When all hope of improvement by self-assertion is gone, as it was among the ruined Roman proletarians of the first centuries of Christianity, then meek suffering without resistance and inert waiting for supernatural salvation become the highest virtue. But when an energetic preparation for war is required to keep hold of a conquered country and is accomplished by success, as

it was among the Jews of the Old Testament, then Jehovah helps his chosen people and those obey his laws who fight bravely. During the great class struggle in Europe, called the Reformation, every one of the classes engaged in the fight regarded as God's will whatever agreed with its class interests, for each could conceive only of those things as being absolutely good and necessary which were vital for the existence of his class. For the followers of Luther, who loved to serve a prince, God's law, or God's truth, demanded obedience to authority; for the free bourgeoisie of the towns it demanded Calvinist equality of individuals and selection by grace; for the rebellious peasants and proletarians it demanded the communist equality of all mankind. The struggling religions of that period may be compared in a general way with the political parties of the present day. The members of the same class assembled in them, and in their congresses (councils) they formulated in the shape of confessions of faith (we would say programs nowadays) their general conceptions of what they thought to be true, good, and necessary, and what was consequently God's truth and God's will. In those days religion was something living, deeply and intimately connected with the whole life, and for this reason it happened continually that people changed their religion. When a change of religion is considered merely as a sort of violation of conventionality, as it is in our day, it is an indication, that religion remains untouched by the great social movement of modern times, by the struggles which stimulate men, and becomes a mere dead husk.

With the development of society new classes and new class antagonisms have arisen. Within the previously existing communities of the faithful different classes, and antagonisms resulting from them; have grown up. From the same stratum of small bourgeois, there have arisen great capitalists and proletarians. The confession of faith, which was formerly an expression of a living social conviction in a theological garb, becomes a rigid formula. The community of faithful, formerly a community of interests, becomes a fossilized thing. The mental conceptions persist by tradition as abstract theological forms, so long as they are not shaken by the strong gale of a new class struggle.

When this new class struggle comes, it finds the old traditional antagonisms in its way, and then the fight between the traditional faith and the new reality begins. The present actual class interests are identical for the working people of different religious confessions, while a deep class antagonism exists between laborers and capitalists of the same religious denomination. But the new reality requires time to overcome the old traditions. From a time, in which a religious community represented a living community of interests, the association of members of the same faith has been transmitted as a tradition, and a sacred tradition of

that. Because this association is the mental image of a former reality, it still persists as a spiritual fact and attempts to maintain itself against the onrush of the new facts, which influence the mind of the laborer by his own experience and by socialist propaganda. In the end the old group of conceptions and interests, which has become a dead husk, must yield to the new group based on present class interests.

Religion is, therefore, only temporarily an obstacle for the advance of socialism. By virtue of the sacredness attached to its doctrines and commands it can maintain itself longer and more tenaciously than other bourgeois conceptions, and this tenaciousness has sometimes created the impression that the faithfulness of the religious laborers would be a bar to practical and a refutation of theoretical socialism. But in the long run even this ideology succumbs to the power of reality, as the Catholic laborers in Germany have proved.

#### IV.

The socialist teachings have inoculated the laboring class with an entirely new conception of the world. The realization, that society is in a process of continual transformation, and that misery, poverty, exploitation, and all the suffering of the present are only temporary and will soon yield to an order of society, to be inaugurated by his class, in which peace, abundance, and fraternity shall reign, this realization must revolutionize the whole world conception of the laborer from the ground up. The theory of socialism furnishes the scientific foundation for this world conception. Political economy teaches us to understand the internal laws, which move the capitalist process, while historical materialism lays bare the effects of the economic revolution upon the conceptions and actions of people. And this stands irreconcilably opposed, as a materialistic doctrine, to religion. The socialist laborer who has recognized his class interests and has thereby been inspired with enthusiasm for the great aim of his class struggle, will then naturally desire to get a clear understanding of the scientific foundations of his practical actions. To this end he is acquainted with the materialistic doctrines of socialism. But it is not merely on account of the satisfaction derived from a thorough understanding, that it is necessary for the socialist parties to promote a thorough understanding of these teachings among their members. It is necessary rather because such an understanding is indispensable for a vigorous pushing of our fight.

The actual state of affairs, then, is just the opposite of what the theologians believe and proclaim. Our materialistic doctrines do not serve to deprive the laborers of their religion. They ap-

proach our doctrines only after their religion is already gone, and they come to us for a more profound and uniform substantiation of their views. Religion does not flee, because we propagate the doctrines of materialism, but because it is undermined by the simple new gleanings on the field of economics, gathered by a careful observation of the present world.

In declaring that religion is a private matter, we do not mean to say that it is immaterial to us, what general conceptions our members hold. We prefer a thorough scientific understanding to an unscientific religious faith. But we are convinced, that the new conditions will of themselves alter the religious conceptions, and that religious or anti-religious propaganda is unable to accomplish or prevent this.

Here lies the crux of the difference between our conception and all former ones, between the present proletarian movement and former class movements. Our materialistic theory has uncovered for us the actual foundations of former historical struggles. It has demonstrated, that it was always a question of class-struggles and class interests whose goal was the transformation of economic conditions. Men were not clearly aware of the material reasons for their struggles. Their conceptions and aims were disguised by a mystic cover of eternal truths and holy infinite aims. Their struggles were therefore carried on as struggles between ideas, as struggles for divine truth in fulfillment of God's will. The struggles assumed the shape of religious wars. Later, when religion no longer occupied first place, when the bourgeoisie, fancying that they could grasp the whole world by reason, fought against the representatives of the church and nobility, then this bourgeoisie imagined that they were waging a fight for the ultimate rational, for eternal justice based upon reason. At that period the bourgeoisie championed materialism. But as yet they understood but little of the real nature of the struggle, and carried it on in that juristic mystification, here and there as a struggle against religion. They did not see, that this fight was nothing but a class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the feudal classes, and had for its aim only the installation of the capitalist mode of production.

In this respect our class struggle is different from all previous ones, for by virtue of our materialist science we recognize it to be exactly what it is, namely a struggle for the economic transformation of society. Although we feel the high importance of this struggle, and often express it in our writings, that it shall bring freedom and brotherhood to mankind, realize the Christian ideals of human love, and emancipate human thought from the oppression of superstition, nevertheless we do not represent this struggle as an ethical one for a moral ideal, as a juristic one for absolute liberty and justice, or as a spiritual one



against superstition. For we know, that it is waged in reality for the revolution of the mode of production, for the requirements of production, and all other things are but results flowing from this basis.

This clear grasp of the real nature of our struggle is expressed in the declaration that religion is a private matter. There is no contradiction between our materialist doctrine and this practical demand. They do not represent two antagonistic points of view, which must be reconciled, in the way that "considerations of practicability" must be reconciled with "soundness of theoretical principle." No, just as our so-called considerations of practicability are everywhere results of a clearly understood theory, so it is here, as the above statements show. The declaration that religion is a private matter is therefore an expression of the clearly scientific nature and aim of our struggle, a necessary consequence of our materialist theory of history, and only our materialism is able to give a scientific vindication of this demand.

ANTON PANNEKOEK.

*Translated by Ernest Untermann.*

## William, the Faithful.

Mrs. Pitzer was a widow with seven children, who lived in Lucasville, Ohio. She had Heart Trouble, so it was up to her eldest sons, William and Wallace, to hump for the Family Flock.

William was steady and industrious. He kept the books and handled the cash for the Wind Mill Factory at ten dollars a week. Whenever the rent man or the grocer came around, William always was there with the goods.

He spent his evenings steering the little Pitzers through the shoals of Long Division and the intricacies of the Multiplication Table, and whenever he got a half day off he put on his overalls and cut the grass or split kindling for the kitchen stove.

No matter when the call came, he was never asleep at the switch.

Wallace was different. He liked to loaf around the stores and chew tobacco and crack coarse jokes. He stood to win with all the Rough Necks in the county, and Sat Down cheerfully on William like a Wet Sponge..

The neighbors said he was too lazy to take off his clothes when he went to bed and the members of the First Church felt so sorry for Mrs. Pitzer that they thought of Wallace during Protracted Meeting and gave him a special Interest in their Prayers.

One spring Wallace soured on Lucasville, so he pryed open William's bank of mortgage money and went West.

He squatted in Missouri and sent home such Cutting letters that his mother flew into hysterics every time she came across an old piece of Battle Ax.

She said if William had treated Wallace with a little more consideration, he never would have left home.

But Wallace's feet got colder every day. A nice little stream ran through his claim and there were plenty of rocks, but the breezes didn't stir up any gold dust nor did he strike oil. And he found that settlers out West hated a loafer almost as much as they did back in Ohio.

He wrote for money to go home on, but it takes a long time to save \$35.50 out of a busy salary of ten dollars a week, and he couldn't find anybody green enough to trade a return ticket for a piece of worthless farm land. So Wallace stuck.

But this is not the end of the story. In a few years a city grew up on the banks of the Kaw and Wallace's land increased in value. He sold part of his claim and put up a store and was known as a "Prominent Citizen." The next year he let go of

another square, erected a business block and became a Benefactor.

And when the Street Railway began operations and the Gas Company was organized, the people elected him mayor and he began to write magazine articles for young men on "How to Succeed."

Last year Wallace was made President of the Commercial Club and the papers still rave over his "Financial Acumen" and his "Wonderful Business Foresight."

Occasionally Lucasville is honored by a visit from its distinguished townsman, when Mrs. Pitzer is moved to chide William for his lack of enterprise. And Wallace hands out advice freely on every side.

All these years William has been doing the Faithful Fido act twelve hours a day at ten dollars a week, for the Wind Mill people. A younger man is Handling the Cash at a bigger salary. But every Christmas the manager comes around and slaps William on the back and says the House needs Faithful Men.

\* \* \*

All of which goes to show that Virtue is still its own reward.

MARY E. MARCY.

# EDITORIAL

## The German Elections.

The news agencies and press of the world seem to have engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to spread the idea that German socialism had suffered an overwhelming defeat. The fact is, as most of our readers probably know, that while the representation in the Reichstag has been decreased by about twenty or twenty-three members, nearly a quarter of a million votes have been gained. The result in the Reichstag is due to several things. In the first place districts are so arranged that it takes sometimes three times as many socialist voters to elect a member of the Reichstag as any other party. Had the socialists representatives in proportion to their membership, the same as the clericals, they would have one hundred and twenty-nine members at the present time.

Again, there has undoubtedly been considerable trading among the various parties heretofore and this has always benefitted the socialists more or less so far as members of the Reichstag were concerned. At the election just passed the war cry of all parties was "Down with the Socialists!" As a consequence, neither at the first nor at the second elections were any votes given to the socialists save by those who really accepted the principles of socialism. Again a tremendous effort was made to defeat the socialists. All the powers that capitalism could command were brought into play. These were not used in a haphazard way as in previous elections. A powerful organization, known as the "Anti-Socialist Union" selected in each district the man whom it was thought had the best chance of defeating the socialists and threw all its strength in favor of the one so selected.

Strenuous efforts were made to bring out what has always been designated as the strongest of all German parties, the party of non-voters, and it was, to a large degree, recruits from this hitherto lethargic mass which carried the candidates of the Emperor to victory.

The result has been hailed in this country to some extent as a

victory for radicalism as opposed to socialism. The same papers which published this statement are now publishing a cablegram stating that Herr Barth, German Representative of what in this country would be called "Hearstism," was so completely discouraged by the election that he is preparing to come to the United States.

The fact is that this election is the logical result of drawing class lines for the first time throughout Germany. It is quite possible that a second election might see a still further decrease of socialists in the Reichstag together with a much greater increase in the vote. A complete amalgamation of all parties opposed to socialism could produce this result. Whether that amalgamation could be brought about without sending such great numbers into the socialist camp as to materially increase not only the vote but the parliamentary representation, is impossible to tell.

The exact situation at the present election is shown by the following table:

#### Comparison With Elections of 1903.

Parties:	Vote in 1903	Members in 1903	Vote in 1907	Members in 1907
Socialists .....	3,010,756	81	3,251,005	43
Center .....	1,876,092	100	2,274,097	108
Conservatives .....	914,269	74	1,124,923	81
All the other 11 parties....	3,694,645	142	4,449,743	165

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Total in 1903.....9,495,762 Total, 1907...11,109,768

It will be seen that the increase in the vote is nearly equal to that which might have been expected by comparison with previous years as shown by the following table giving the vote from 1871 to the recent election:

Year	Socialist vote	Candidates elected
1871.....	113,048	2
1874.....	350,861	9
1877.....	493,258	12
1878.....	437,158	9
1881.....	311,961	12
1884.....	549,990	24
1887.....	763,128	11
1890.....	1,427,298	35
1893.....	1,780,989	44
1898.....	2,113,536	56
1903.....	3,010,756	81
1907.....	3,251,005	43

It will be noticed that there have been times of actual decrease in the vote in the succeeding years so that this was far from being the downfall of "German Socialism."

It is noteworthy that in the new Reichstag Bebel still remains the only figure that the government fears and the only one of which it is true that the announcement of his intention to speak will fill all the galleries. It is very doubtful whether Von Bulow will be able to maintain a working majority in the new Reichstag for any length of time. His first attempt will necessarily be to drive through the increased appropriation for the army and colonial expansion which were the issues of the election just passed. These appropriations will necessarily mean increased taxation and this will mean in turn, opposition.

The road of the government with its "victory" is by no means an easy one.

\* \* \*

The following note was sent by Comrade Robert Hunter, explanatory of the "Taff Vale" matter referred to in his article in this issue:

I am convinced that some details upon the Trades Disputes' Act of the last parliamentary session will be of general interest to the readers of the Review. The passing of this bill ends the interesting incident which began with the Taff Vale decision spoken of above. A bill was introduced into the House by the Labor Party for the purpose of definitely assuring certain rights to the trade unions. Immediately, however, after the introduction of the Labor Bill, the Liberal Party or the Government introduced a similar bill. The latter bill, however, failed to deal fairly with the question of the liability of the trade unions and of their funds. There was a complicated clause in the Government Bill which made the union responsible for any act it might take as a body, but left it free of responsibility for the acts of its officials and agents. The clause did not give satisfaction to the Labor Party and they pressed their own bill which was read a second time, the Government themselves supporting it. The Act finally passed reads in this manner:

"An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement or combination would be actionable.

**Peaceful Picketing.** It shall be lawful for any one or more persons acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working. An act done in contemplation or further-

ance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other persons to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with the trade, business or employment of some other persons, to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills.

**Prohibition of Actions of Tort against Trade Unions.** "An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union in respect to any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court."

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

About the time that this number of the Review reaches its readers the curtain will have raised on another act in the great Western labor drama, unless the prosecution is enabled to secure a further continuance upon some pretext. It is over a year now since Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested in Denver for alleged complicity in the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg and secretly spirited from the state and incarcerated in Idaho without being given an opportunity to defend themselves as plainly guaranteed by the United States Constitution. The prosecution pretended that the kidnapping was resorted to in order that an early trial might be had — that if the defendants had been permitted to remain in Colorado they would have thrown every obstacle in the way of an immediate hearing of the case. Yet despite all the evidence that the prosecutors or persecutors claim to have the trial has been delayed and the miners' officials have been kept in prison, although surety in unlimited amounts has been offered to secure their release pending the calling of the case. This dilly-dallying on the part of the authorities has naturally created a suspicion that all the proof of the guilt of the prisoners in the possession of the prosecution is contained in the "confession" of Harry Orchard, a disreputable character who has boasted of having killed 26 persons during his career. It is further believed that attempts will be made to resort to other foul means to secure the conviction of the three men, and that Governor Gooding's unguarded declaration that the prisoners "will not leave Idaho alive" was based upon knowledge that he had that some additional plots were being hatched by Pinkerton McParland and his army of thugs on the ground. When Steve Adams admitted that he had been forced to father one of the "confessions," and that the evidence that he was to submit in assisting to railroad the three union officials to the gallows was a tissue of lies from beginning to end, it was like the explosion of a bomb in the camp of the conspirators. They were quite unprepared for the shock, and the revengeful manner in which they hustled Adams off to another part of the state to answer to a charge of murder is pretty conclusive evidence that Gooding, McParland and their satellites were sorely disappointed at Adams' desertion. Then came the announcement the first part of last month that valuable documents, photographs, affidavits, etc., had been destroyed by a "mysterious fire" in an iron safe in the office of the Mine Operators' Association at Cripple Creek. A little thing like a fire in an iron safe, locked and double-locked, in the very stronghold of the prosecution, should not cause extraordinary surprise when one stops to consider the brazen audacity and desperation of the con-



scienceless scoundrels at the bottom of the whole dastardly conspiracy. But the cool and contemptuous manner in which the whole band of conspirators regard the great mass of people as a pack of blamed fools has resulted in arousing the workers as no other occurrence has in the country's history. From ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the gulf, a mighty protest has gone out against the outrageous manner in which the Western miners have been treated, and demands have been made in language that cannot be misunderstood that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone be given a square deal. Mass meetings have been held everywhere in which the facts in this case were fully explained and suitable resolutions were adopted by the hundreds and forwarded to those in authority. A number of issues have been raised that will afford splendid campaign ammunition in future political contests, while from an industrial viewpoint the Colorado-Idaho attack upon organized labor will do more than any other single occurrence in the recent years to destroy animosities in working class ranks and driving the workers closer together to protect themselves from the wolves of capitalism.

Second only in importance to the Western drama was the recent decision of Secretary Straus, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, that the immigration laws would not prohibit the importation of laborers under contract by the various states. The issue was raised when the state of South Carolina sent emissaries to Europe to advertise for and hire laboring people. About 500 were employed in this manner and shipped to Charleston. Their admission was protested and the case was taken up to Secretary Straus, who delivered himself of an exhaustive opinion of some twenty thousand words in which he raised the old states' rights cry and took sides with the Bourbons in their contention that the state governments were not amenable to the contract labor laws. The emigrants were permitted to disembark and accept the jobs for which they had been engaged. South Carolina is reported to have a number of commissioners in Europe whose duty it is to hire cheap labor as they may be instructed from time to time. Other states are considering the advisability of making appropriations to send missionaries to foreign lands to preach to the heathen about the beauties of American prosperity and send over as many shiploads as possible. Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri and North Carolina are named as states that will emulate the example of South Carolina. All that is required is for some capitalistic politician (elected by workingmen's votes) to introduce a bill into the Legislature to create a commission or a bunch of them to make junkets abroad to boom the "boundless opportunities of our grand and glorious state." Then along will come trains of Pullmans filled with business men whose nostrils breathe the spoils of profit from afar. They will make speeches about the flag, the opportunities for everybody to become rich and fat in a year or two in "our grand and glorious state," and champagne drinks will be the order of the day and liberal portions of graft will do the rest. Already the country is being flooded with textile operatives from the Manchester district and other parts of England as well as cheap laborers from Austria and Italy to work upon railways in the South. A dispatch announces that a number of textile workers arrived in New York from the South a few days ago and stated that they had been enticed to the United States by promises of having their wages doubled, but only to find that they were confronted by conditions that were little better than actual slavery. It is no secret that the Western capitalists want

coolie labor for their railways and mines, and the Southern capitalists are partial to cheap Europeans for their mills, mines and railways, while the trust magnates of the country in general are anxious for a larger army of unemployed in order that wages may be hammered down below the pauper level. The anti-contract labor law has been on the statute books for a score of years, and, while there have been violations in letter and spirit almost constantly, still the act has prevented the wholesale flooding of the country with laborers under bondage. If Secretary Straus' opinion is permitted to stand as a precedent, then the law is practically a dead letter and laborers by the thousands may be imported to intensify competition and become the prey of the profitmongers. Unquestionably there are academic theorists who can reason out to a nicety and their own satisfaction that it is perfectly proper to throw down the bars and have unrestricted immigration, just as the profitgrabbers are demanding. But for the most part those theorists who side with the hungry capitalists seldom come in direct competition with those who enter the mills and shops and meekly work as long hours as the bosses dictate and for twenty-five cents, fifty cents, and a dollar a day less than prevailing rates in order to curry favor with their masters and hold their jobs. If these imported workers were class-conscious and fought against the oppression of capitalism, instead of working like brutes and subsisting on black bread and soup and herding together in bare rooms like cattle, there would be weight in the fine-spun argument that immigration should be unrestricted. But where these foreign importations are neither Socialists or trade unionists, ready to take their places in organizations of labor and strive for the common good, they should remain at home and fight their own battles. We have troubles enough struggling against capitalism without being handicapped by the dead weight of ignorant new-comers who are only too ready quite frequently to scab on the job.

Right in line with this cheap labor proposition that has been raised by Secretary Straus, one of Roosevelt's henchmen, we find on the other side that the Democrats, the really only genuine, dyed-in-the-wool, blown-in-the-bottle "workingman's friends" are up to their old tricks again. It takes your average Democratic politician, who weeps crocodile tears for labor until elected to office, to display his inherent hypocrisy whenever put to the test. Recently they have been performing on the labor question in Washington, and the Democrats have given excellent illustrations of their traditional mulishness, led by the pitchfork statesman, Tillman. The latter gentleman can usually talk by the hour about this being a "white man's country" and how the "niggers" should be chased off the earth. Yet when the measure came up in Congress to exclude Asiatic coolies it was the Southern Bourbons who made a fight against the proposition, probably for the reason that the Japanese, Chinese and Corean importations are not quite as black as "niggers" — and work cheaper than the latter. On the question of regulating child slavery the Democrats were also in favor of allowing the "inexorable law of supply and demand" to take its natural course, for with them "competition is the life of trade," especially when it applies to purchasing labor power, and the manner in which some of the old fossils talked about the crime of preventing the American boy from learning a trade, or how they eulogized the mill owners who utter the daily prayer, "Suffer little children to come unto me," would wring tears from a brass monkey. Their whole talk sounded as though they had

made over the speeches in defense of chattel-slavery uttered by their fathers half a century or more ago. Another measure that brought out the shameless hypocrisy of the Democratic statesmen was the Esch bill to limit to nine hours in every twenty-four the continuous service of telegraph operators and train dispatchers in towers and offices that remain open throughout the day and night. The Bourbon "workingman's friends," who never learn or forget anything, probably felt that railway employes should be compelled to work any old hours that the corporations dictated notwithstanding the horrible accidents that have occurred during the past few years because men went to sleep at their posts and were completely worn out by long hours of toil. Just why the Democratic party should always be regarded as friendly to labor is one of those mysteries that cannot be explained. The Republican party is thoroughly plutocratic and does not pretend very great friendship for the working class, but it really has done more to throw out an occasional sop than the Democratic machine, and that is not saying much. Recent history ought to demonstrate the fact clearly enough for a blind man to see that the old parties are playing a pingpong game. Whenever one of the twins pretends to favor labor the other is found to be in opposition.

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There has been no important industrial disturbance during the past month. Aside from the national strikes of the bridge and structural iron workers against the bridge trust (a constituent company in the United States Steel Corporation) and the eight-hour battle of the printers, which is drawing to a close, there have been but few local struggles that attracted general attention. The second trial of President Shea, of the teamsters, upon the charge of conspiracy, resulted in acquittal and the Chicago Employers' Association is greatly disappointed. The seamen and other workers along the lakes are still sparring with various employers' associations and combines and there is considerable threatening of open shop on the one side and strike on the other when navigation opens. All of the building trades are making their annual preparations to make local demands for higher wages, shorter hours, etc., and in this branch of industry considerable fighting may be expected, if not always directed against the bosses then perhaps among some of the dual organizations. The general increase in membership among the unions has been good, and it is predicted that if business is stimulated this spring the gain will be still larger. In short, the trade unions as a whole are in much better shape than ever before, and their grasp of economic problems is surely broadening. The old cry of "keeping politics out of the union" is fast dying out, and issues, parties and candidates are being discussed with a freedom that was thought impossible a few years ago.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Newer Ideals of Peace**, by Jane Addams, MacMillan Co., Citizen's Library, Half Leather, 243 pages, \$1.25.

Miss Addams calls it the conflict between the old military ideal and the new industrial ideals and ethics. The socialists would say it was the conflict between the capitalist and proletarian ethics. The appeals for peace on the ground of an intuitive morality have failed and the only forces that seem to be making for peace are to be found in those connected with the industrial life of to-day and especially in what she calls its "Humanitarian Expressions."

"We care less each day for the heroism connected with warfare and destruction and constantly admire more that which pertains to labor and the nourishing of human life. The new heroism manifests itself at the present moment in the universal determination to abolish poverty and disease."

Following this idea through its various manifestations especially in city government, factory legislation, labor movements and the place of women, Miss Addams shows how at every point a new social morality is growing up, yet all social life is still confined within institutions determined in response to "military needs." Forces of social solidarity that grow out of industrial life are passed by unutilized in present institutions. This new solidarity, not yet crystallized in institutions, is expressing itself in the care for children, in the entrance of woman into civic life, which is yet on a very restricted scale. She points out how much is lost by the disregarding of woman as a political factor showing that woman's experience as the keeper of a home particularly fits her for many of the details of municipal life.

The old war virtues are passing away; the military idea of a hero is not the exclusive one, at least. The new heroism must grow out of industrialism and must make use of the forces in our society, especially the working class.

Here, as in all of Miss Addams' works, one is constantly struck with the keen insight at certain points and the apparent blindness to others closely related. She does not seem to be aware of the fact that nearly everything that she points out as to this conflict, has long ago been described under different names by socialists and that the socialist movement incorporates just this internationalism, this response to industrial life, this recognition of the necessity of woman's participation in civic life, the protection of children, the solidarity that comes from the association of producers, the uselessness and criminality of military life, and that moreover, socialists have shown the close relation of all these phases to a central systematic philosophy of society.

She refers to socialism but twice in the book; the first time to make the statement that while the socialists do constantly appeal for the extension of state action to the normal working man, they refuse, however, to deal with the present state and constantly take refuge in the formulae of a new scholasticism. "Their orators," she says, "are busily engaged in establishing two substitutes for human nature which they call 'Proletarian' and 'Capitalist.'" This bare assertion is given with no attempt at proof and apparently ignoring the broad analyses that have been made by socialists of nearly every phase of human nature which she discusses, as well as the extensive utilization of the existing state by socialists and especially she ignores the fact that the reason why a more extensive use is not made of the present state is just because of the very objection that she has so well set forth, i. e. that it is constructed in accordance with military ideals, or to speak more nearly correctly, with a class ruled state.

The other reference gives a frank recognition of the socialist internationalism. She says, "The socialists are making almost the sole attempt to preach a morality sufficiently all embracing and international to keep pace with material internationalism which has standardized the threads of screws and the size of bolts."

How closely her work is really built upon the socialist philosophy is seen by this summary of historical evolution, page 36.

"The king, attempting to control the growing power of the barons as they wrested one privilege after another from him, was obliged to use it (force) constantly; the barons later successfully established themselves in power only to be encroached upon by the growing strength and capital of the merchant class. These are now, in turn, calling upon the troops and militia for aid, as they are shorn of a pittance here and there by the rising power of the proletariat."

**Socialism and Philosophy**, by Antonio Labriola. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 260 pp., \$1.00.

Antonio Labriola is well known to socialists in Europe and America as the author of a profound contribution to Marxian theory: "Essays on the Materialist Conception of History," "Socialism and Philosophy," measures up to the high standard set by the earlier work. It is scientific, clear-cut and free from pedantry. It expresses the best contemporary thought on the subject.

Labriola answers affirmatively the question whether there is a philosophy (*Weltanschauung*) which is the logical and necessary outcome of Marxian theory but he derides the notion of some comrades that it must be "a sort of philosophy for the exclusive use of the socialists alone." For instance, the Marxian in common with his opponents in economic theory will incorporate much of Darwinism in his philosophy. To say that socialism implies a certain philosophy does not signify that socialists have a monopoly of it. Nor does it signify that these philosophical tenets are part of socialism. Socialism is an economic theory: you cannot bring the vibration of ether within its scope.

Now as to what particular philosophy Labriola considers the necessary outcome of Marxian theory. Here are his own words: The philosophy which historical materialism implies, is the tendency toward monism. And I lay special stress upon the word tendency. I say tendency, and let me add, a formal and critical tendency. With us it is not a question of relying on an intuitive theosophical or meta-

physical knowledge of the universe, on the assumption that we have arrived without further ceremony at a comprehensive view of the basic substance of all phenomena and processes by an act of transcendental cognition." (P. 84.) "A formal and critical tendency toward monism on the one side, an expert ability to keep a level head in special research, on the other, that is the outcome. If a man swerves but a little from this line, he either falls back into simple empiricism (without philosophy) or he rises to the transcendental field of hyper-philosophy with its pretense that a man can grasp the whole world-process by mere intellectual intuition." (P. 86.)

The above quotation also shows the author's detestation of systematic philosophy with its finished diagrams of the universe. Labriola conceives philosophy as itself a process of becoming. It is ever incomplete, fragmentary and cannot be otherwise since all we know we learn by "the prosaic process of observation and experience in the different fields of reality." Our author declines to follow the example of the Hegelians whose patch-work philosophy Heine laughed at: With their night-caps they would stop the holes in the universe."

There is much unclear thought among American socialists regarding the relation between socialism and philosophy, and Labriola's work should help clarify it. We hope the book will be widely read.  
Lily Steichen.

**Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.** By Karl Kautsky. Translated by John B. Askew. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, 206 pp., 50 cents.

Without a doubt the foremost Marxist of today is Karl Kautsky, the editor of the *Neue Zeit*, the German Socialist scientific weekly. This book is the result of a series of articles in the Berlin "*Vorwaerts*," at the time of the discussion over the editorial policy of that paper.

The plan of the book is one which is familiar to all students of the comparative historical method. The first chapter on "Ancient and Christian Ethics" deals mainly with the Grecian philosophers. From here the author leaps at once to the "Ethics of the Period of the Enlightenment," when ethics took a secondary place to natural science, in which the rising bourgeoisie saw the philosopher's stone that was to transform the existing "vale of tears into a paradise in which man could follow his own inclinations." When the capitalist class had begun to gain power it entered upon a period of something like reaction, in which the transcendentalism of Kant gained the ascendancy over the former materialism. Nevertheless it was to a large extent Kant that laid the foundation of a real scientific materialism. The next step in the evolution was the coming of Darwin and his revolutionary discovery of the principle of biologic evolution. Here we have the introduction of the ideas of the "struggle for existence," the "survival of the fittest," adaptation and adjustment, and all the laws discovered in the biologic world transferred to ethics. Here too was introduced that idea of the universality of law throughout the animal kingdom, which did much to do away with the old idea of a supernatural ethic confined exclusively to man.

The ground was now cleared for the Marxian ethics, which explained and utilized all that had gone before. Marx and Engels had at their disposal the discoveries of natural science, the "moralized" Political Economy, and the results of statistical inquiry, together with the principles of the newly discovered laws of evolu-

tion. Indeed Marx had already applied many of these laws to society before the appearance of Darwin's epoch-making work, and should be reckoned equally with the latter as one of the discoverers of the principle of evolution.

"With all these advances and discoveries," says Kautsky, "which certainly often enough were only piece-meal and by no means quite clear by the time of the forties in the nineteenth century, all the essential elements of the materialist conception of history had been supplied. They only waited for the master who should bring them under control and unify them. That was done by Marx and Engels.

"Only to deep thinkers such as they were was an achievement of that nature possible, in so far that was their personal work. But no Engels, no Marx, could have achieved it in the 18th century, before all the new sciences had produced a sufficient mass of new results. On the other hand a man of the genius of a Kant or a Helvetius could also have discovered the materialist conception of history if at their time the requisite scientific conditions had not been too hard. Finally, however, even Marx and Engels, despite their genius and despite the preparatory work, which the new sciences had achieved, would not have been able, even in the time of the forties in the 19th century, to discover it, if they had not stood on the standpoint of the proletariat, and were thus socialists."

Building then on the base of industrial society, the questions of ethics are questions to be decided according to the industrial epoch concerned. The various systems of ethics which have arisen at various stages of industrial progress are discussed, and their relation to present conditions considered.

Gradually we see the evolution of a new ethic, based upon proletarian interests. This ethic, although born from a class, is international in its scope and works towards the abolition of classes. It requires no external class rule, no supernatural sanction for its maintenance. Its moral ideal is not based on ruling class interests, of the necessity of maintaining a servile class, neither is it ascribed to some revelation external to man, but it is drawn from a study of facts and rests upon knowledge and an intelligent pursuance of human interests.

"Where is there a moral ideal which opens such splendid vistas?" the author asks in conclusion. "And yet they are won from sober economic considerations and not from intoxication through the moral ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity, justice, humanity!

"And these outlooks are no mere expectations of conditions which only ought to come, which we simply wish and will, but outlooks at conditions which must come, which are necessary. Certainly not necessary in the fatalist sense, that a higher power will present them to us of itself, but necessary, unavoidable in the sense that the inventors improve technic, and the capitalists in their desire for profit revolutionize the whole economic life, as it is also inevitable that the workers aim for shorter hours of labor and higher wages, that they organize themselves, that they fight the capitalist class and its state, as it is inevitable that they aim for the conquest of political power and the overthrow of capitalist rule. Socialism is inevitable because the class struggle and the victory of the proletariat is inevitable."

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### TEN DOLLARS WORTH OF BOOKS FREE WITH A SHARE OF STOCK.

Last month's Review gives full details regarding the publication of a large number of new and important socialist books which have just been published or will be published within the next few weeks. It also tells of our purchasing the plates and copyrights of nearly all the books formerly issued by the Standard Publishing Co., of Terre Haute, Ind.

These new publications and this purchase of plates involve an immediate outlay of between three and four thousand dollars in return for which we do not get books ready for sale but simply the plates from which books are to be printed in future. Nearly all our sales are made to stockholders at a discount of one half from advertised prices and therefore, although our daily sales are increasing at an encouraging rate, we cannot depend on these to provide the capital for this new investment.

We can, if necessary, borrow the money but we prefer not to burden the publishing house with heavy interest charges because we wish every purchaser of books or of stock to understand that his money will be used directly in the circulation of socialist literature and not for paying interest to capitalists.

We are constantly receiving new subscriptions for stock, but the money which came in from this source during February was only \$219.50, a small amount compared with our book sales of \$1537.61. During March and April it is essential that we sell at least 200 shares of stock at \$10 each, and we are going to make a far more favorable offer than ever before, in order to bring in the stock subscriptions without delay.

Here is the offer: Send ten dollars to reach us on or before the last day of April, and we will send by express (not prepaid unless a dollar extra is sent) a hundred and four socialist books in paper covers, amounting to ten dollars at retail prices. This offer includes the 101 books in our regular order list, amounting to \$9.60 at retail prices, and also Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Na-



poleon (25c), Deville's *Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism* (10c) and Herron's *From Revolution to Revolution* (5c.) We can not take space here to publish the entire list of 104 books, but it includes nearly all the important socialist pamphlets that are to be had in the English language.

We can not include any cloth bound books on this offer; our purchase from the Standard Publishing Company gives us an excessive stock of pamphlets, which we must close out, while our stock of cloth bound books is salable and must be replaced as soon as sold. What we need at this time is to raise additional capital without incurring new expenses.

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### BOOKS JUST PUBLISHED.

**Morgan's Ancient Society.** All advance orders for this great book will have been filled by the time the March Review is in the hands of its readers, and we are confident that every purchaser will be so well pleased as readily to forgive the unavoidable delay in publication. No other work except Marx's *Capital* is so revolutionary and far-reaching in its influence on modern thought in social science. It is not in the least a controversial book: it is on the other hand a clear statement of a profound discovery,—that a society based on property and privilege, in which a few live in luxury without working, while the many work in misery without a chance to live, is not eternal but a passing thing. The conclusions drawn by Morgan are already familiar to many of our readers, since they are admirably summarized in the little book by Frederick Engels entitled "*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*" But these conclusions are so startling to the average well-fed citizen that a good deal of proof is necessary before any impression can be made on his mind. **Morgan's Ancient Society** gives the proof. Let any reader of fair intelligence give this book a careful study, and it will be henceforth as impossible for him to believe that the poor have been always with us as to believe that the world was made out of nothing in six days.

Mechanically, the book is tasteful and attractive. It contains 586 pages, the same size as the volumes of the International Library

of Social Science, while the color of cloth and the stamping are uniform with our editions of "Capital" and of "The Ancient Lowly." The price has been fixed at \$1.50, subject to our usual discounts to stockholders. And for a few weeks we will mail "**Ancient Society**" to any address for 50 cents, provided a dollar is sent at the same time for a year's subscription to the **International Socialist Review**. This offer is not limited to stockholders. We have printed a circular explaining the importance of Morgan's work and the terms of this offer, and will mail extra copies for distribution to any who will undertake to see that they are distributed where they will be read. We have also in the same shape a reprint of the article by A. M. Simons in the January Review entitled **How to Read "Capital."** How many of each shall we send you?

**Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.** This latest work by Karl Kautsky, an editorial notice of which appears on another page of the Review, was published last month. It is one of the most important books of the year, and no socialist can afford to miss it. Cloth, 50 cents.

**The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.** By Karl Marx. Translated by Daniel DeLeon. This is one of the most important of Marx's historical works. The American edition was first issued in New York some ten years ago, by the International Library Publishing Company. The plates and copyright were transferred on May 31, 1901, to the Standard Publishing Co, of Indiana, and are included in our recent purchase. The book has never yet been adequately advertised among American socialists, and it should have a rapid sale. The retail price is 25 cents. It should be noted that our discounts to stockholders are now the same on books in paper covers as on books in cloth binding, that is to say forty per cent when we prepay postage or expressage, otherwise fifty per cent. Thus this book will cost a stockholder 15 cents if we prepay postage or expressage, otherwise 12½ cents.

**The Rise of the American Proletarian.** This book by Austin Lewis, just published, a chapter from which appeared in the Review for February, is the most readable book on American history from the socialist view-point that has yet appeared. It does not duplicate Mr. Simons' "Class Struggles in America," but rounds out the picture on one side, showing how the proletariat has evolved into the one really essential factor in the modern life of the American people. Cloth, \$1.00.

**From Revolution to Revolution.** By George D. Herron. This is an address delivered some years ago in memory of the workingmen slaughtered by the defenders of "law and order" as understood by the capitalists, in the closing days of the Paris Commune of 1871. It applies the lessons of that struggle to the problems of today.

Paper, 5 cents. (Among the books lately purchased by us from the Standard Publishing Co. is **The Civil War in France**, by Karl Marx, a review of the stirring events of the Commune written at white heat two days after the massacre. It is one of the great documents of history, and every revolutionist should read it. Paper, 25 cents.)

### BOOKS IN PRESS.

We still have to ask the indulgence of comrades who have sent advance orders for four important books previously announced. **The Landmarks of Scientific Socialism** (Anti-Duehring) by Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis, is nearly ready for the press, but a last revision has to be made, and the book will probably be ready early in April. (\$1.00.)

**The Theoretical System of Karl Marx**, by Louis B. Boudin, has been delayed by the author's illness, and two chapters have still to be electrotyped. Copies will probably be ready about the middle of April. (\$1.00.)

**Marxian Economics**, by Ernest Untermann, has been delayed for the reason that the author's time has been taken up with the final revision of the second volume of **Capital**. We now expect to publish **Marxian Economics** during the month of May. (\$1.00.)

**Capital, Volume II**, is all in type except the index as we go to press with this issue of the Review, and copies should be ready in April. We have made no great effort as yet to obtain advance orders, but we must now face the fact that an outlay of over a thousand dollars on this volume will be necessary shortly. If every comrade who has bought Volume I will send a cash order for Volume II the problem will be solved. Price \$2.00, to stockholders \$1.20 post-paid.

### NEW ANNOUNCEMENTS.

In the third number of the first volume of the International Socialist Review, September, 1900, we published an article by Robert Rives LaMonte entitled **Science and Socialism** which met with so instant a welcome that the issue in which it appeared was exhausted within a few days, and hundreds of readers tried in vain to obtain it. A few weeks ago Comrade LaMonte offered us the manuscript of a newly-completed work entitled **The Nihilism of Socialism**, a critical study of recent tendencies in the socialist movement, strong and thought-provoking, and worthy of the careful attention of every serious student of the socialist philosophy. It was too long for a Review article and too solid reading for a propaganda pamphlet, so after discussing the situation thoroughly with Comrade LaMonte, we have decided to publish, as Volume 19 of the Standard Socialist Series (50c), a book to be entitled **Socialism Positive and Negative**.

It will contain the two papers just mentioned together with two or three shorter studies supplying the connecting links and rounding out a logically-conceived volume which will be a surprise and a stimulus to every reader who knows a little of socialism and wants to know more of it. (Incidentally it is of interest to note that a chapter in Boudin's forthcoming volume turns on a controversy started in the socialist press by the very article by LaMonte which is now after nearly seven years to be reprinted.)

**The Right to be Lazy**, from the French of Paul Lafargue, translated by Dr. Harriet E. Lothrop, is one of the ten cent pamphlets included in our recent purchase from the Standard Publishing Co. This is on the whole the brightest and keenest of all Lafargue's writings. Dr. Lothrop has used considerable freedom of adaptation, apparently out of regard to conventional and theological prejudices, and while the result is an exceedingly useful propaganda pamphlet, some of the deliciousness of Lafargue's inimitable style is lost. That is why Charles H. Kerr, the translator of two other books by Lafargue, has thought it worth while to make another translation. It will appear probably in June, in a fifty cent volume in the Standard Socialist Series( entitled **The Right to be Lazy and Other Studies**. The other studies will include "Socialism and the Intellectuals," "The Socialist Ideal," "The Rights of the Horse and the Rights of Man," "The Woman Question" and "The Bankruptcy of Capitalism."

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Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist view-point is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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**MOTTO: To Hell with the Constitution.**

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

APRIL, 1907

NO. 10

## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

*No. 5 German Elections, 1907.*

**B**Y IMPERIAL order the dissolution of the Reichstag took place on December 13, 1906. The government had demanded from the Reichstag a supplementary grant of 29,220,000 marks, a comparatively small sum, for the maintenance of troops in South West Africa. In spite of a pathetic appeal from Prince von Buelow this demand was rejected by the Reichstag. The Conservatives, Antisemites and National Liberals were ready to give their 168 votes, but the Clerical and Social Democratic parties refused their 178 votes. On the contrary they demanded a reduction of the fighting strength in the colony from 8,000 to 2,500 men. Military advisers declared the refusal of the demand dangerous to the interest of the German colonial policy. Buelow insisted upon the Reichstag voting the required sum, and upon his defeat, he carried out his threat of dissolving the Reichstag.

This gave an ostensible reason for strong opposition on the part of the government to the "red and black" parties. The Socialists were dissatisfied with the entire policy of the government for as a great Socialist said, "Since the kaiser ascended the throne the national debt has increased from 721 million marks to 4,000 million marks. We are asked to spend unprecedented sums for the national defense, no less than 799 million marks being apportioned for military purposes and 291 million for naval purposes in the budget for 1907. Under the regime of the pres-

ent government taxes on beer, cigars, cigarettes and legal documents have been increased, fresh taxes including those on railways have been introduced, return tickets and free luggage on the railways have been abolished, our frontiers barred against import of foreign meat etc., (resulting in a net gain to the Conservative landowners of about 1,000 million marks) everything is done to make the lot of the poorer classes still worse. Can anyone expect us to support such a government?

The Clerical party pretended that "Economy and thrift in a colonial policy corresponding to the financial resources of the country" was the reason for their attitude; but there are those who do not hesitate to assert that they were influenced solely by a desire to show their strength in military as well as other questions. It is further said that the sop always thrown by the government to the party, when a majority on any important question is required, was omitted on this occasion."

On the other hand Buelow wanted to come to a conclusion with the Clericals and to cut himself loose from the control of that powerful party. In the last years Buelow has been obliged to hold with this powerful party. Without their aid he could do little or nothing. It was thanks to the Catholics that the chancellor had become successively count and prince. It was the Centre who aided him to carry through all his measures such as the "Treaty of Commerce" for which the title of Fuerst von Buelow was conferred upon him. But the chancellor felt that he was not only being aided by the catholic party but also dominated by them and, when one of the leaders of the party showed up corruption in the colonial office and abuses in the colonies, their power was felt to be a danger to the empire. In dissolving the Reichstag the kaiser and the chancellor hoped to strike a blow at the Centre and it was their object to crush its power, in which effort as we know they failed miserably. On the other hand they did not consider the time ripe for defeating socialism and they were not hopeful of gaining a victory in that direction. The dissolution had been planned for 1908 and when the action of the Centre hastened it, the government was in something of a dilemma.

The dissolution of the Reichstag created a tremendous excitement throughout the German empire. The general belief was that the actual position would not change. It was expected that the Centre would loose a few seats, but as its candidates had been returned by large majorities at the previous elections, and as clerical voters do not record votes according to the exigencies of the situation but entirely from a religious point of view it was possible that the party would not lose one single seat. On the other hand the Social Democrats with their splendidly organized

political and electioneering system, were, it was thought, sure to gain one or two seats at the expense of the other parties. It was also generally expected that the Poles would add a seat to the sixteen they possessed, but all in all politicians considered that the situation would remain the same, and that government would have to meet the same opposition when the next parliament assembled.

This was briefly the situation at the dissolution of the Reichstag. Before describing the campaign perhaps it would be well to give the American reader an idea of the German governing institutions and the principles of the various parties.

There is only one imperial minister—the imperial chancellor. The German Parliament consists of two chambers, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag, which form the legislative assemblies. The Bundesrath is a kind of a council of State. It prepares all regulations necessary for carrying out laws and it has also a voice in the appointment of high officials. It is like the British Cabinet in so far as it discusses and prepares the legislation upon which the Reichstag votes. It is like the British House of Lords in that the legislation, in the form in which it leaves the Reichstag, must obtain its approval before being submitted for the emperor's signature. The Reichstag itself cannot initiate any legislation. It can only accept, reject, or amend legislative measures which are sent down to it by the Bundesrath as the body which represents the federated governments of Germany. In theory, doubtless, and, indeed according to the letter of the constitution, the emperor, the Bundesrath and the Reichstag are constitutional factors of equal standing. In practice the Emperor and the Bundesrath—factors which never differ at least openly—are permanent institutions, while the Reichstag can be sent about its business if it does not agree with them.

The Bundesrath is not elected. Its members are appointed by the government of the various federated states. Prussia has 19 members, Bavaria 6, Saxony and Wuerttemberg 4 each, Baden and Hessen 3 each, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Duchy of Brunswick 2 each, and each of the other states has one each; all in all there are 58 members. Members representing the same state must vote for those who are away. Its proceedings are secret.

The Reichstag is elected by universal manhood suffrage by ballot (every elector of 25 has a vote) and there is supposed to be one deputy for every 100,000 inhabitants. But the electoral divisions were settled in 1869 and 1871; and have never since been altered. In 1871 there were 397 deputies, because the population was then 39,000,000; but now it has increased to nearly 50,000,000 and the number of deputies has remained the same:

The rural population in Germany has during this period decreased while that of the cities has greatly increased. For example, Berlin in 1869 had 600,000 inhabitants and therefore 6 members. It now has a population of nearly 2,000,000, but is still represented by only 6 members.

In the German Reichstag as in other continental parliaments there are many parties with different shades of political opinions. It is extremely difficult to give an American an idea of exactly what these various parties stand for, as they differ so much from the type known to us. They represent almost every conceivable point of view, sometimes they stand for the interests of certain classes, sometimes for the interests of certain nationalities in the empire, sometimes for economic and political principles. It may, however, be briefly said that there are sixteen different parties or fractions as they are called in Germany.

The five most important groups represent as nearly as possible the following definite interests: The Conservatives are a powerful group representing the old landed Aristocracy and they support everywhere Monarchical and Autocratic Institutions. The National Liberals here as everywhere represent the Industrial Interests and while politically more advanced than the Conservatives, from the economic point of view their interests are even more violently opposed to the workers than those of the Conservatives. During the last 10 years the Liberals have been forced to support the Monarchy. The Freisinnige represent the free Trade section, its philosophy is mainly that of the Manchester School, and their watchword is "Modern Progress and Freedom of Commerce." The two most powerful parties are the Clericals or the Centre and the Social Democrats, together they have more votes than all other parties combined, but the division between the two parties is complete. The Clericals represent the Catholic interests. Their strength is among the most conservative and ignorant classes of the population and their power is immense. The Social Democrats represent on the other hand the wage earning classes and the most intelligent and farseeing of the non-propertied classes. A careful consideration of the constitution of the various parties will give anyone a fairly clear idea of the main political elements working at present in Germany.

Perhaps the most interesting idea of the strength and influence of the various parties can be gained by an examination of the influence of the press. The Berlin "Post" publishes some interesting particulars with regard to the number of so-called "political" newspapers in Germany and their party color. Of the 4,997 German newspapers which may be described in this manner 2,924 are Radical and Democratic and 80 are Socialist. Of

the remaining 1,993 journals 415 professedly belong to no party, but as a matter of fact their tendency is Radical, while the political creed of 268 cannot be accurately determined. In addition to these there are also 420 so-called "official" journals which serve as the press organs of the local government officials such as *Regierungspräsidenten* and *Bezirkspresidenten* and *Landräthe*. They publish the statements and ordinances of the central and local authorities. In return for their support these journals receive the benefit of the government notices and advertisements. During the Bismarkian era these journals became the willing instruments of the government and won for themselves the designation of the "Reptile Press." The remaining journals include National Liberal 250, Conservative 230, Catholic, 229, Free Conservative 36, Anti-Semite 38, Polish 78, Danish 7, and Guelph 2. The total circulation of those journals which may be classed as Radical in their tendency is estimated at over 4,000,000 copies, and is far in excess of the circulation of the combined Press of the remaining parties."

Now let us return to the campaign. Having broken with the Centre, Buelow had now to look elsewhere for the governmental majority. Accordingly when the chancellor did give out the "Wahlparole" he did not publish it in an official paper but addressed an open letter to the head of the National Party (*Reichspartei*), a section of the Liberal party whose chief aim is to combat the socialist movement. The combatting of socialism was the bridge that should join the two parties. In this letter the chancellor refers to the smallness of the gap that separates the two parties and clearly shows that the electoral tactics of supporters of the government must be to awaken that apathetic part of the bourgeois, who seldom trouble to vote, to a sense of the danger of revolutionary socialism. This made it appear that the government was not chiefly combatting the Centre although, as was subsequently shown, the government used underhand methods in its vain attempt to crush the power of the Catholic party. After this statement the electoral campaign resolved itself into a struggle of Conservative and Liberal parties against Social-Democracy.

At the beginning of the electoral campaign "the honor of the nation" was preached from every reactionary platform, but rather unfortunately for the empire makers the government were themselves obliged to admit at the end of a week that the war against the *Hereros* was at an end. This, however, did not discourage the bourgeois candidates in using to their advantage the people's patriotism. The votes were obtained by two methods. The workers were beguiled into forgetting their own trouble by jingoism and Imperialism; the bourgeois were awakened to

the danger in which their privileges stood from socialism. The merchants were terrified into action at the impending danger of a socialist state and were assured that their hope only lay in joining to form a compact majority. The interested classes were called upon to support the institutions which supported them. The disinterested and exploited workers were fed with "Chauvinism" and fallacies of the advantages that would accrue to them from the colonial policy of the government. Glowing pictures of the might of Great Britain were played before them, due it was pointed out to her comprehensive colonial policy. These two chords were harped upon with considerable success.

Social-Democrats make no compromises with the bourgeois. They agree to nothing that will not radically change the present system and the bourgeois, knowing that they cannot compromise with them or placate them by passing small reforms, are now awake to the fact that if they are to continue their present power, they must crush socialism. The socialists had in some cases opposed small measures of reform in Parliament as being inadequate, and the opponents were not slow to misrepresent this action to the workers, telling them that the socialists did not want or intend to pass measures for their benefit. The Trade Unions look to the socialists members they elect to support reforms in their interest without regard to Social-Democratic principles and as has been mentioned in some cases the socialists in Parliament have not done so, preferring to oppose reform measures which only tend to staunch and not to heal injustices caused by the present system. Other parties have also been able to turn such action on the part of socialists to their benefit. Besides these "constitutional" methods the reactionary parties used others. It would seem almost unbelievable that in modern Germany methods were used to coerce working people to vote against their convictions and interests. But everywhere the governmental machinery was used to carry out a great scheme of intimidation against the workers. As we know there is no such thing as free speech in Germany. Every political meeting is under the supervision of a "gendarme" who may break up the meeting if he thinks that the speeches are dangerous ones to the powers that be. It is therefore a very simple matter for those in power to break up and prevent socialist meetings and as this power was used to its greatest extent in the last elections the socialists were tremendously handicapped. Many saloon-keepers were forced by brewers and rich proprietors to refuse to let their rooms to socialists and meetings were dispersed on the flimsiest pretexts. The socialists in many places took to holding meetings in the open air but the season was against them. As an instance of really tyrannical intimidation may be cited a case in the indus-

trial town of Saar where the employers engaged men, armed with stout cudgels, to prevent workmen returning from the factory from reading socialist leaflets.

On the other hand the socialists were by no means idle but carried on a vigorous campaign. Their 14 daily newspapers with the nine hundred thousand readers did good work. Daily the "Vorwärts" with ease and vigor refuted the lying assertions and libels of the opponents of socialism. It showed the workman the fallacy of believing that the government's colonial policy would benefit anyone but the shipowners and merchants. The good work done by the propagandists and canvassers for the socialists is clearly shown by the increased socialist vote of 250,000 and had it not been for the silent vote, and the combination of all the other parties against them the socialists would still, despite intimidation, unfair methods, and unfair distribution, have returned more members than ever instead of losing 39 seats.

So much for the battle carried on against the Socialists and of their effort to meet by their own strength the combined onslaught of the government and the other parties and classes. The figures of the parliamentary strength of the Socialists before and after the elections may be given as follows:

	Election 1903		Election* 1907	
	Votes	Deputies	Votes	Deputies
Centre (Catholics) .....	1,875,273	100	2,275,000	109
Social-Democrats .....	3,010,771	81	3,250,000	43
Conservatives .....	948,448	54	1,800,000	60
National-Liberals .....	1,317,401	51	1,570,000	56
Free Conservatives				
or Freisinnige .....	333,404	21	1,200,000	13
Antisemites, Poles, etc....	244,543	111	450,000	134

From these figures it will be seen that the government has gained a striking parliamentary victory, but it would be a mistake if anyone thought that the Socialists had suffered a defeat. The strength of Socialism can never be measured by the number of its Parliamentary representatives. For instance their parliamentary strength depends largely on the Electoral law. When the election law was changed in Belgium a few years ago the Socialists immediately increased their Parliamentary strength by double what it had been before. In Saxony there is a second chamber, which was formerly elected by all citizens over 25 years

\* These figures are taken from the Press Reports, the official figures have not yet reached me.



of age paying direct taxes of at least 3 marks a year. But this being found too favorable for the Socialists it was altered in 1896 and a system similar to that in Prussia was adopted. But it is even less liberal, for those citizens who pay less than 3 marks a year in direct taxation, have no vote at all in the first election. The method was found successful for now there is not a single Socialist deputy in the local Parliament for Saxony. This is somewhat similar to the condition in Prussia where one million 650,000 Socialist votes do not elect a single deputy while only one million Conservative votes elect 202.

If the Electoral Law were changed in Germany it might be impossible for the Socialists to capture a single seat, but these Electoral Changes have no importance whatever. The vote is the sole test, or to express it better the number of convinced class-conscious Socialists alone can demonstrate the power of the movement. In my opinion therefore the Socialists have really gained a great victory. The first reason for this belief is that in spite of the terrific campaign against them they increased their vote. The second reason is that they have finally forced the more advanced sections of the bourgeois parties into the Conservative ranks. In other words they have been fortunate in this campaign in compelling all other parties to form a block to fight unitedly the interests of the Working Class. The Liberals were only too glad to throw in their lot with the government party. It has therefore ceased to be a democratic opposition party and now that it has sided with the government in favor of reaction its power with the people will diminish. Similarly other parties, such as the Radicals, have joined the "Anti-Socialist Block" and have been returned to Parliament strengthened in numbers but weakened in their power of reform. Commenting on the results of the Elections the "London Daily Chronicle" well says, "It is difficult to understand the rejoicings of the Radicals. Their aggregate vote, it is true, has largely increased and the number of their deputies in the Reichstag will be also somewhat increased but they have no reason for jubilation. They come back as supporters of Prince von Buelow's national policy. Instead of a step to the left which would have been in keeping with their best traditions, they have taken a step to the right." This forcing of other parties into the ranks of the reactionaries is a great gain for the Socialists' cause, for in the next election hundreds of thousands of voters will see that there is no longer any hope of reform from these other parties.

The loss of Socialist seats then is not due to a diminution of the Socialist vote. It was the result of the Co-operation of all parties, excepting the Centre, against socialism and the bringing to the booths of the great mass of apathetic citizens who seldom

vote. Whatever could be done by the government to weaken the suffrage of socialists was done, but these methods have their limit as the "Vorwärts" said immediately after the first election." From 1877 to 1884 the socialist vote only increased from 493,288 to 549,990, but from 1884 to 1893 the party gained an increase in their votes of 2,500,000. In the seven years 1896-1903 they increased nearly one million. But these million new socialist voters were not all grounded socialists, while those in the present election, some three and a quarter million, who gave their vote for socialist candidates were no recruits but thorough socialists. All but the very surest were swept off in the tumult of jingoism created by the other parties. It will therefore be seen that although there has not this time been the same immense increase in votes as in 1903 such increase as there has been is worth more to socialism. The German party has undertaken to train the recruits of 1903 into reliable soldiers, and whereas some of the socialist voters of 1903 had given their vote on the spur of the moment the three and a quarter million of 1907 are surely steadfast socialists. Thus everything goes to show that the socialist defeat is more apparent than real; and reading the future in the light of the past, the day must soon come when the power of these three and a quarter million voters will be felt. It would therefore be a great mistake to assume that the power of the Social-Democrats is broken. They have lost some seats but they are not crushed and they still remain the most important political factor in the Empire.

It will be interesting to the American reader to examine carefully the following figures which show more clearly perhaps than could be done in any other way the steady and insistent growth of the Movement in Germany. It will be observed that this is not the first time that the Socialists have increased their votes and lost seats. In 1887 they lost over half of their Parliamentary representation and yet they gained an increased vote of nearly 200,000.

*Growth of Social Democracy since 1867.*

	Votes.	Members,
1867.....	30,000.....	8
1871.....	101,000.....	2
1874.....	351,952.....	9
1877.....	493,288.....	12
1878.....	437,158.....	9
1881.....	311,961.....	12
1884.....	549,990.....	24
1887.....	763,123.....	11
1890.....	1,427,298.....	35

1893.....	1,876,738.....	44
1896.....	2,107,076.....	57
1903.....	3,010,472.....	81
1907.....	3,250,000.....	43

It is needless to make any comments, the figures themselves show how steadily is the increase and power of the German Movement. Some writers have argued that the governing body of the party must change its tactics. Both Jaurès and Victor Berger have written editorials criticising the leadership of the German movement. Both seem inclined to believe that the tactics of the REVISIONISTS are wiser than those at present pursued by the directing body of the party. How it is possible to draw such a conclusion from the Election is difficult to imagine. As a matter of fact almost all of the leaders of this policy were defeated in this election. I need only mention Bernstein, Von Elm, Edmund Fischer, Dr. Leon Aron, Gradnauer and Dr. Heinrich Braun. Even Vollmar came for the first time in many years to the second ballot before he was elected. On the other hand those who have been the most uncompromising in their attitude towards the Government have been returned by increased majorities. I state this fact not because I think that it is possible to build upon it a theory of tactics. But I am convinced that the German Party will be destroyed if revisionists tactics should prevail. In coming to this conclusion I seem to find myself in agreement with His Excellency Prince von Buelow, for recently in the Reichstag he openly praised the attitude of men like Jaurès, Millerand and Turati. Men with similar views in Germany have been defeated and I suppose that this is the reason von Buelow is so enthusiastic about that type of Socialists. But it is not for me or for anyone else from a foreign country to criticize any group of the German Movement and even if I wished to do so I could not. As I have said in a previous article the greatness of the movement astounds me,—not the greatness of its leaders—although they are great, but the greatness, the intelligence and the independence of the working people who make the movement. Its growth will go on and its power will increase. The electoral arrangements can be shifted, the opposing parties can alter as they will their preferences at the second ballots, the Government can exhaust its power of intimidation and oppression. The Movement grows and must grow because its vitality lies in conditions and its root in the brains and convictions of men. It would be absurd for any one to feel discouraged and no-one could who knew the tremendous power of this superb Party.

ROBERT HUNTER.

## Industries and Wages: Census 1905, U. S.

I HAVE before me Bulletin 57 issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor entitled "Census of Manufactures: 1905, United States." This bulletin is a considerable improvement on similar publications that have come from the same source in former years. The scope of comparative statistics is somewhat wider and the significance of the rows of figures grows ever more illuminating—even the comments of the statistician contained in the bulletin are getting to be more suggestive. Still it cannot be said that the compiler dwells sufficiently on the most important features of the bulletin or is candid in his conclusions. So all the figures of the bulletin, in their monotonous rows, present an eloquent symposium on concentration of the industries of the United States. In the comments this feature is slighted over with a few words.

On page 19 of the bulletin we find that in the year 1905 there were in the United States 216,262 establishments that could be classified as factories. This excluded all repair shops and all factories the value of whose yearly output was less than \$500. The total capital employed in these establishments was \$12,686,000,000; the number of wage-earners employed was 5,470,321 and the total value of the product was \$14,800,000,000. We classify the 216,262 establishments into three groups:

1. The value of whose yearly output was less than \$20,000;
2. The value of whose yearly output was not less than \$20,000 and not more than \$100,000;
3. The value of whose yearly output was over \$100,000.

Out of about 216,000 factories there were about 144,000 or 67 per cent whose product was less than \$20,000 each. What was the value of the product of these 144,000 factories? One hundred and forty-four thousand establishments out of a total of 216,000 produced in 1905 \$927,000,000 worth of products out of a total of \$14,800,000,000, or 6 per cent of the total; 67 per cent of factories produced in 1905 6 per cent of the product. Imagine that out of every 100 factories 67 had in 1905 for their joint share \$6.30 worth of trade while the other 33 factories had \$93.70 worth and you will have before you a rough but striking and truthful representation of the economic condition of the middle and the large capitalist classes. But this is not all. If we will examine the composition of the 33 per cent of factories, which had for their share \$13,900,000,000 of trade out of \$14,-

800,000,000, — we shall presently see that the great capitalist class is so firmly entrenched in the industries of our country that the attempt at this time of dislodging it by anti-trust laws or anti-rebate laws is folly beside which a certain old lady's attempt to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom, may be viewed as an ingenious engineering achievement.

We have grouped these 33 per cent of establishments into two classes. To the second class belong all factories whose output for the year was between \$20,000 and \$100,000. There were 48,000 such factories or 22 per cent of the total. The value of their product was \$2,131,000,000 or 14 per cent of the total. The third group included 24,000 factories or 11 per cent of the total the value of whose product for the year was \$11,743,000,000, or 79 per cent of the total. Here is laid bare before our eyes the entire process of economic concentration. 67 out of 100 establishments have for their share \$6.30 out of \$100 of the trade of 1905. 89 out of 100 establishments have for their share \$20.70 of trade; while the remaining 11 establishments have for their share \$79.30 out of each \$100,000. Out of 216,262 establishments, 192,082 had as their joint share \$3,058,000,000 worth of trade while the remaining 24,080 had \$11,742,000,000.

Turning to page 14 of the bulletin, we find fresh battalions of figures in array against the existing order. We are told that out of 216,262 factories 162,000 or 75 per cent were owned by individuals or partnerships and 51,000 or 23 per cent were owned by corporations. The few remaining were owned by charities, co-operative societies, etc. The 162,000 factories had together a capital of \$2,150,000,000 or 17 per cent of the total capital of \$12,686,000,000 invested in the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1905: While the 51,000 establishments had a capital of \$10,510,000,000 or 83 per cent of the total capital invested in those industries. 75 out of each 100 factories had for their share \$17 out of each \$100 of capital, while 23 out of each 100 factories had the remaining \$83.00.

The 162,000 factories which were owned by individuals and partnerships employed together less than 1,600,000 wageworkers or 29 per cent of the total number; while the 51,000 factories owned by corporations employed 3,800,000 wage workers.

The 162,000 factories turned out a product of the value of \$3,834,000,000 while the 51,000 factories turned out a product of the value of \$10,912,000,000.

The question which is of immediate interest to the wage worker is, How is his condition as a wage worker affected by this movement for concentration? It is not a question of mere theoretic or academic import. The wage-workers are called upon to answer this question by various so-called reform and rad-

ical movements which invite him to crush the trusts; to help the 162,000 factories which have only 26 per cent of the trade and employ 1,500,000 wage-workers in their hopeless struggle against the 51,000 establishments which have 74 per cent of the trade and employ about four millions of wage-workers.

Let the wage-worker put aside all the campaign clap-trap designed for the voting gudgeon and answer to himself this question: Is it in the interest of the wage-workers to reduce the 51,000 factories owned by corporations to the conditions which we find in the 162,000 factories owned by individuals and partnerships? Is it in the interest of the working class to break up the large industries into small industries? Can we find out the condition of the wage-worker in the small factories and also his condition in the large factory? Is there a way of finding out how the wage worker is treated by the so-called middle class as compared with the treatment he receives at the hands of the trusts.

The bulletin shows, on page 14, that the capital invested in 51,000 factories averaged for every wage-worker \$2,720; while in the 162,000 small factories the capital invested averaged for every wage-worker less than half that sum or about \$1,300. What does this show? It shows that corporation factories have more improved machines; more valuable machines and more of them for every plant; that the corporation factories had a greater number of wage-workers for every plant. And, indeed; whereas the 162,000 small factories had an average of ten wage-workers for each factory, the corporation factories had an average of 78 wage-workers for each factory. Wage-workers, who work in large groups can come together easier and sooner than wage-workers who are scattered in small groups over wide areas. It follows logically that the wage-workers in the 51,000 large factories were better organized and got better terms than the wage-workers of the 162,000 small factories.

But aside from logical conclusion, cannot we find out from the census man on what terms the wage-worker is employed by the large and small factories.

The census man tells us nothing of the hours of labor and we are left entirely to logical inferences. Taking reason as our guide, what do we find? While the capital for every wage-worker in the middle class factories averaged \$1,300, the product for every wage-worker averaged \$2,305. In the corporation factories the capital averages \$2,720 and the product \$2,800. As is seen at a glance, notwithstanding the great disparity in improved means and methods of production, better machinery and larger plants and facilities which the corporation wage-worker had, the middle class wage-worker managed, with half as much capital,

to scramble along very near to the yearly output of the corporation wage-worker. How did he manage it? By longer hours; by greater intensity of labor.

The corporation factories forge ahead by way of improved methods of production. The middle class factories manage to keep up in their wake owing to sheer physical exertion of their wage-workers. The product of the corporation factories contains twice as much results of improved methods of production as the product of the middle class factories. The product of the middle class factories contains almost twice as much labor power, purely muscular and nervous exertion of the wage-worker, as the product of the corporation factories. For it stands to reason that since the wage-worker in the corporation factory has for himself twice as much capital as the wage-worker in the middle class factory, his productiveness must be enhanced to two, three and four times that of the middle class wage-worker. And if, in face of such great odds against it, the middle class managed to get out of its wage-worker an output of the value almost equal to the value of the output of the corporation wage-worker, the result must have been obtained by means of longer hours and greater intensity of labor.

Fortunately, on the question of wages we are not left to our logical inferences only.

In the year 1905, there were employed in the corporation factories 3,864,549 wage-workers. The total of wages which they received in that year was \$1,879,559,645 or the average of \$485 for every wage-worker. In the same year the middle class factories employed 1,597,252 wage-workers and paid them in wages \$727,182,432 or an average of \$455 for every wage worker. But this by no means represents the disparity in wages paid by the corporation and middle class factories. For among the unincorporated firms there were many large concerns, which ranked as to their class with the corporation factories. Let us therefore turn to page 19 of the bulletin where we find the establishments classified according to their size.

Out of 216,262 establishments, 71,162 had each a capital less than \$5,000. These 71,162 establishments employed 106,366 wage-workers and paid them \$40,941,804 in wages or an average of \$385 to every wage-worker. The next class of establishments, 72,806 in number, had each a capital not less than \$5,000 and not more than \$20,000. They employed 414,566 wage-workers and paid them \$188,290,652 in wages or an average of \$448 to every wage-worker. The third class of establishments had a capital between 20,000 and 100,000 each. It employed 1,027,721 wage-workers; paid them \$477,265,746 in wages, or an average of \$465 to every wage-worker. The fourth class with a

capital each between \$100,000 and \$1,000,000, employed 2,537,548 wage-workers, and paid them \$1,194,945,910 in wages or an average of \$471 to every wage-worker. The fifth class had a capital of \$1,000,000 and over, each. It employed 1,379,120 wage-workers; paid them \$710,096,420 in wages, or an average of \$515 to every wage-worker. The \$385 yearly average wages paid by the smallest factories increase gradually as the wage-worker gets away from the middle class conditions of employment and gets nearer to the large industries till they reach an average of \$515. The \$515 yearly average wages paid by the largest industrial establishments decrease gradually as the wage-workers descend to the middle class conditions of employment till they reach an average of \$385.

The lessons of the above figures are plain:

1. Though silent as to the ownership of the factories, the U. S. census shows that industrial concentration has gone in this country far beyond theoretical discussion. It is an accomplished fact.

2. The middle class of this country is no more. In economic magnitude and vigor, it is not in a position to compete. It must needs lead an existence parasitic on the great industries.

3. Having no opponents in the middle class, the great capitalist class is waxing bold and arrogant. It is compact and organized into a "system," that acts as a unit throughout the land. The workingmen must get together and adopt similar class-conscious tactics if they are to prevail in the great struggle that is coming. For the capitalist class is marshalling its forces for a gigantic trial of strength with the working class,—a great invasion of human rights and liberties.

H. L. SLOBODIN.



## Esperanto.

**T**HE universality of the world auxiliary language, Esperanto, makes a special appeal to socialism as the one means of intercommunication between all countries wherever socialism exists. It is a language alike for students and non-students, a language for diplomacy, commercialism, conventions and correspondence, a language for tourists and a language for those at home who desire through foreign journals to gain a knowledge of foreign affairs at first hand written on the spot and in the world language. Note "La Revuo," a literary magazine published at Paris wholly in Esperanto and see the articles written by literary people of all Countries. Observe that at the last International Convention, about twenty countries were represented, but the familiarity with one great language made the convention "seem like one brotherhood."

At least a dozen attempts have been made within the last century to establish a world language. Some never made any progress; others attained considerable prominence. That the time has come for the world to accept a universal auxiliary language is shown by the immense success that was given to Volapük, which notwithstanding its numerous faults, acquired a large following in all parts of the world.

Volapük was created by Herr Schleyer, a Roman Catholic priest, for scientific purposes, for travelers and merchants; — its name indicates its purpose, "the language of the universe." In Volapük each letter has only one sound and the word accent is placed upon the final syllable, it follows the Latin in the declension of its nouns and adjectives; it differs from Latin in having a definite and an indefinite article but does not recommend their use only in cases of necessity or of literal translation. The feminine of nouns is indicated by the prefix *ji*, as: son, son; *ji*-son daughter. Adjectives have the characteristic ending, *ik*, as: *gudik*, good. Verbs have a unique conjugation and are absolutely regular, the voice (active or passive) and the time are indicated by prefixes, while the personal pronouns are suffixed, and the mode of the verb by another suffix added after the pronoun.

Adverbs end in *ik* like adjectives when derived from adjectives and in *o* when derived from nouns. Scientific words, principally from the Latin, retain their general form, subject however to change by phonetic spelling, as, *telegraf*, *fotograf*. Proper names are phonetically spelled after national pronunciation, thus James Johnson would become *Consn Cems*, while a list of pre-

fixes and suffixes supply the abstract and the concrete idea. The difficulties of learning lie in the system that root-words borrowed from every source, and changed by phonetic spelling become so unrecognizable that the entire dictionary is required to be learned by heart. Comparative philology assists but a trifle, leaving the student to acquire the language by infinite patience as is required by the ant to build his ant-hill with one grain of sand at a time.

When Volapük reached a point where many nations took part, then it became necessary that a congress be called to adapt the new tongue to the different national needs. The congress of 1889 at Paris was the most important and the last one. Internal dissensions arose. Demands were made by the congress looking toward the simplification of the language, the excision of unnecessary parts, the adaptation of its uses to commercial purposes, etc. On the other hand Schleyer insisted upon infusing into the language more complexities and a German arrangement of the sentence, and he also insisted upon technical undesirabilities, like a literal translation without translating the idea. An Academy was formed charged "to develop the regularity of the language, the conservatism of its unity and the elaboration of its dictionary." At the Academy and at its work, Schleyer took great offense, claiming that his creation was his own property and that he should make such changes as he saw fit. With active antagonism amongst the leaders, propagandist work fell off, then the professors and instructors of Volapük, having knowledge of its faults and not being able to accept the propositions for reform either by the creator of the language or by the Academy turned their attention toward another language — Esperanto, and left Volapük to its fate. Today there are only 3 or 4 Volapük clubs in the world. The rise and fall of Volapük is instructive, — its success was due to the crying need of closer relationship between nations by a common language. Hence all partisans of an international language rallied to it in the hope that it would triumph as their ideal. The difficulty of learning it; the many defects of the idioms, the lack of method to remove difficulties; and the impracticabilities of it as a commercial language caused disaffection in the ranks of its admirers which was followed by discord and finally dissolution. From a historical viewpoint Volapük has had the merit of furnishing the first experimental proof of the possibility of an artificial language, written and spoken, but on the other hand, its final collapse has filled the public mind with a prejudice (wholly unjust) against any proposition relating to an international language.

The stumbling block upon which it went to pieces has proved a prize to its successors and showed where and how such diffi-

culties may be guarded against in the attainment of a much needed and much desired auxiliary language.

With some writers there seems to be a regret that the world language does not become a re-instituted Latin, in order that access may be had by all readers in the world language to the ancient classics in the original, in which case a proficiency may be obtained in the Latin classics, but what shall be done about the literary treasures of Greece? The world language cannot be of the past, with its set forms, it must be of today, of the living. The progress of time has caused a change in our habits, our customs, and our tongue. Most of the living languages are heavily weighted with localisms, idioms, and incongruities and these have become an increasing quantity with the increasing years. The Latin and the Greek languages form an excellent source for unalloyed pleasures to read and to enjoy, but for writing and speaking they have no place with the modern. If today Latin were introduced as a world language, think of the time necessary to acquire its essentials! Do students after several years of faithful work speak the language fluently? What of the children who study year after year, do they speak Latin, or even write it outside of a school exercise?

Even those who have left school find their Latin confined to phrases, scientific terms or the inscription on the family medicine bottle. Latin would be compelled to undergo many changes in declension and conjugation, in the marks of gender, in the reduction, simplification and uniformity of suffixes and in the application of phonetic spelling, in fact, it would be compelled to undergo such great changes as to become practically another language.

Dr. L. L. Zamenhof's creation, Esperanto, has become the logical successor of Volapük. Commencing his work while yet a student in gymnasium, Dr. Zamenhof interested his friends in its use; the next six years finds him devoting all of his spare time to perfecting its grammar. In 1887, as no publisher would undertake the publication of his pamphlet, he issued it at his own expense, signing himself — Dr. Esperanto.

The alphabet of Esperanto consists of 28 letters, five vowels and twenty-three consonants, omitting as unnecessary the English letters q, w, x and y. In order to make his system complete, of giving to one letter one sound, he has added other special letters as, c, g, h, j, s, each surmounted with a diacritical circumflex, representing the sound of the English h. The principal parts of speech are distinguished by the final letter, the noun, by the termination o; the adjective, by a; the adverb by e, and the verb (infinitive) by i; the plural of nouns, by j and some prepositions and adverbs by aŭ. The roots of all words are taken

mostly from the Latin which makes almost every word seem like an old friend to the English speaking people and those using the romance languages. In fact, all Esperanto root-words are existing today in many spoken languages, and those selected are the ones most used, common to all. In a sense, Dr. Zamenhof creates nothing but suffixes and prefixes and is a collector and adapter of existing words. This in no way detracts from the immense amount of work, skill and judgment necessary to collect and arrange a system which is to become equally useful in all parts of the world. Even more work and better judgment is necessary to create along simpler lines than along the complex, and if any one word describes the auxiliary language, Esperanto, it is simplicity.

The numerals have no specific termination, they are ;—1, unu, 2, du,—3, tri,—4, kvar,—5, kvin,—6, ses,—7, sep,—8, ok,—9, naŭ,—10, dek.

The verbs are invariable in person and number,—  
Indicative mood, present tense:

mi amas, I love.	ni amas, we love.
vi amas, thou lov'st.	vi amas, you love.
li amas, he loves.	ili amas, they love.

The past is expressed by *is*, and the future by *os*.

Nouns are usually in the nominative case whether they are the subject of a verb or the object of a preposition, the objective case is used after transitive verbs or to indicate motion. The arrangement of the words in the sentence usually follows the English construction and in many cases the literal translation from English into Esperanto will be found to be correct.

Dr. Zamenhof issued his *Universal Vortaro* or word collection of 2642 root-words upon which his entire system is constructed. Many of these root-words are in daily use or are readily understood by English speaking people, thus making the acquisition of the number no hardship upon a beginner. For years French has been considered the language of diplomacy, of society and of travel, but M. de'Beaufront assures us that there are 2265 forms to the French verbs alone! And General Faidherbe says—"The French verb is the great obstacle to our colonization." But think of the mass of people who have learned French! In short, while one is learning French verbs, he may acquire the whole of the international language, Esperanto. Still, French is always considered the easiest language to be learned, being classed as "effeminate" by some scholars.

The genius of Dr. Zamenhof is exhibited at its best in the collection of prefixes and suffixes, which added to the root-words form the greatness of the language, some of these terms may

stand alone and express a definite thought, or may by union give virility to the basal word. *Mal* does not necessarily mean anything in a bad sense, it is used to devote the direct opposite, as; saga, wise; malsaga, foolish. This prefix, by itself, saves learning another root-word, as in English, either adjective or adverb, verb or noun, an economy of nearly a half of a language. As all nouns end in *o* the termination *in* to express feminine gender is added as a suffix but before the substantive termination, as; viro, *et*, indicates the diminutive, as; monto, mountain; monteto, hill. man; virino, woman.

*ist*, indicates an occupation, as; dento, tooth; dentisto, a dentist. *re*, indicates a repetition as in English; vidi, to see; revidi, to see again.

*ne*, gives a negation but is not the opposite like *mal*, as; utila, useful; neutila, not useful; malutila, noxious.

There are 31 terminations, easily learned, which form the flexibility of the language, the addition of these terms is by a natural concretion, not violating any grammatical sense, but forming a basis of expansion, far exceeding English and possibly many other languages.

Mr. O'Connor in his dictionary mentions 35 forms and shades of meaning which may be given to the root-word *lern*' meaning to learn,

lerni—to learn,  
lerneti—to dabble in learning,  
ellerni—to learn thoroughly,  
lernanto—a pupil,  
lernejestro—a school-teacher,  
lernema—studious,  
etc., etc.

lernadi—to study,  
eklerni—to begin to learn,  
mallerni—to unlearn,  
lernejo—a school,  
lerninda—worth learning,  
lerne—learnedly,

Esperanto uses the definite article extensively as in English, and, like Volapük, it reduces all scientific words to phonetic spelling.

The following example in Esperanto of the Lords' prayer shows by the arrangement of the words, and all the strength and forcefulness of the English version:—

Patro nia, kiu estas, en la chielo, sankta estu Via nomo, venu regheco Via, estu volo Via, kiel en la chielo, tiel ankaŭ sur la tero. Panon nian chikutagan donu al ni hodiaŭ, kaj pardonu al ni shuldojn niajn, kiel ni ankaŭ pardonas al niaj shuldantoj; ne konduku nin en tenton; sed liberigu nin de la mal vera, char Via estas la regnado, la povo, kaj la gloro eterne. Amen.

Dr. Zamenhof took a different attitude toward a world language than that assumed by Schleyer. "He did not wish to be the creator, but only the initiator of the international language."

He recognized that one man could not alone create so vast an institution that it would be perfect in all parts of the world, so he offered his work to any academy which might be formed for its revision or supervision, that the members might direct its development as popular needs affected its growth.

Esperantists, however, felt a confidence in Dr. Zamenhof. Instead of organizing a committee of supervision, they preferred to make personal reports in open convention, subject to debate and final ratification by Dr. Zamenhof. Herein lies the power of Esperanto. As needs arise owing to the widespread range of Esperanto, diversities of demands from lingual peculiarities, the annual convention will meet and provide for them. Much was done at the Convention of Geneva in 1906; and more will be done during the Convention at Cambridge, England, in 1907.

To Signore Michaux of Boulogne is due the Esperantizing of international law terms; a medical dictionary in Esperanto is also completed. A scientific body at Paris is now engaged upon an embracement of scientific terms, rapidly all departments are furnishing their share toward the completion of a perfect international idiom.

In 1896, M. Louis de Beaufront threw his indefatigable labors into Esperanto and followed with a journal, "L'Esperantiste", published in 1898, devoted wholly to the interests and advancement of the international language and also to the establishment of the "Society for the Propagation of Esperanto." His grammar, dictionary, commentary are all well known.

Up to this time Esperanto had not invaded Paris, being frowned down upon by the officials, but in 1900 there was founded the first Esperanto group. This was the turning point in France. During the next two years the groups formed in various parts of France could be counted only in hundreds; and in 1902-1903 nineteen Esperanto classes were simultaneously being carried on in Paris, at the present time there are more than 2,000 students in the classes while nearly every town in France has its group. The language is used in the army and Navy of France, and a bill is now introduced to have it taught in the public schools.

England has nearly as many societies, groups and gatherings as France, but while not taking observance of it as a nation England has infused its value into commerce so that now Esperanto forms a part in the curriculum of commercial schools. In the struggle for the worlds' trade supremacy, England and France are making mighty efforts to gain the earliest advantage of the introduction of a world language and in all future international relationships, Esperanto will become an important factor.

"Simpla, fleksebla, belsona, vere internacia en siaj elementoj, la lingvo Esperanto prezentas al la mondo civilizita la solon veran sovon de lingvo internacia."

WALTER HOWARD FOX, MD., D.D.J.

*President of the Esperanto Club of Chicago.*

## New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

### VII.

**T**HERE now remains one more point to be considered—the point of the proletarianization of the Jews: Do the Jews proletarianize or not? and if yes, are they then positive or negative proletarians. And this is after all the point at issue. Until now we have endeavored to refute the theory of the Zionist Socialist, first by pointing out the illogical conclusions from their own premises, and then by showing the erroneous conception of the doctrine upon which their conclusions are based. But this would not end the controversy. The Zionist Socialists might now turn the tables by inviting me to explain from my orthodox Marxian standpoint the reasons why Jews in Russia are not permitted to take part in the large industries, why they are not admitted into the large factories, why in America they seek employment mostly in the garment trades, etc. And in corroboration of their own position they might pour down a shower of statistical data collected by the “J. C. A.” (Jewish Colonization Association) and issued in two large, bulky volumes in the Russian language under the title “Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia.” Whether they would do so or not, there is no doubt that this is the paramount question, and my treatise would be incomplete without at least an attempt to answer it. I shall, therefore, herewith deal with that subject.

But before proceeding to answer the question a few side remarks seem not out of place.

One point of the Marxian doctrine consists of the so-called *verelendung-theorie*—the theory of impoverishment, which means that with the growth of capitalism also grows the poverty and misery of the workingmen, as well as the dependence and insecurity of the middle classes. The opponents of Marx made this the target of their attacks. By disproving the theory of impoverishment they believe they can refute the whole of the Marxian system. It is not true, they maintain, that the number of the middle class is being reduced, or that the workingmen are getting poorer; on the contrary, the number of the middle men is constantly increasing; instead of middle class men being reduced to workingmen it very often happens that workingmen rise to the ranks of the middle class, and sometimes even to those of the



capitalist; while the workingmen generally live a good deal better nowadays than ever before. This assertion they support with a large number of statistical figures, their contention, in short, being that the middle classes do not proletarianize. In Russia a literary battle was raging for a quarter of a century on a similar point. The Marxists claimed that Russia is bound to pass all stages of Capitalism before it would be ready for Socialism, while the opponents vehemently denied it, claiming and "proving" that Russia's course would not at all be along the lines of capitalistic development, that its path rather lies via the "commune" or the "mir" towards Socialism, their contention having been, in substance: Russia develops neither capitalism nor a proletariat. This battle-cry has, of course, now subsided in view of the glaring facts. But now the Zionist Socialists have raised the same cry with regard to the Jews. The Jews, they say, can become neither capitalists nor proletarians, the curious thing about it all being that while the others have made the assertion, and some keep on making it, in refutation of Marxism, the Zionist Socialists, the new interpreters of Marx, make it in behalf and upon the authority of the doctrine of Marx. Extremes often meet.

I shall touch here upon this subject only in so far as to say that this assertion on the part of these people is due to a misunderstanding of the character of capitalism. "The shadow of the mountain they mistake for the mountain." They don't see that the small industries of to-day are not the petty industries of old, that the small and "independent" contractor of to-day is nothing more than the hired agent of a large capitalist, just as dependent on him as the workingman; that he is in a sense nothing else but a "workingman"—a workingman that has the chance to fleece other workmen.

The characteristic feature of capitalist production consists of the fact that the workman does not possess the tools wherewith to produce, that he stands in no relation with his employer except that he sells him as a free and "independent" man his labor-power for a stipulated sum for a certain time, or rather—an uncertain time; that the contract between him and his employer, being an agreement of two "equal" and free men, can be terminated at will by either of the parties. Whoever works under that system, if he be a driver of horses or a driver of men, works under the capitalistic system and is subject to all its consequences.

It is sufficient to consider this one point to be convinced that a so-called small undertaking of to-day is no more than a part of a large capitalistic concern, with two exploiters instead of one. In this country we can best observe it. We have here a great number of small establishments, especially in the clothing industries; but on a closer investigation we discover that such a "fac-

tory" is only a small part of a larger factory, that the "owner" thereof is nothing but an agent of a large capitalist, and though such an owner is very often better situated (and sometimes worse) than the man he employs, his economic position is in no wise better: He is just as dependent upon the large capitalist, and very often more so, as the workingman. To begin with, the "loft" where his "factory" is located belongs to the owner of the property, from whom it is hired at a monthly rental. The power used, steam or electricity, is supplied to him by another large capitalist, or the same, as the case may be. The machinery in most cases is either hired or at best taken on installment, the raw material he gets of the manufacturer he works for. Even the cash to pay wages is supplied by the same manufacturer, and it very often happens that such a "capitalist" disappears with the few dollars without bidding good-by to his employees. And no matter how base and low such action may be, it is surely not the result of too much prosperity. No man escapes with a couple of hundred dollars out of great pleasure.

It must furthermore be borne in mind that capitalism has called into life a number of new "auxiliary" industries which by their nature are small undertakings, such as the repair of machinery, the grinding of scissors and knives, the repair of bicycles, automobiles, etc. The same phenomenon is to be observed in fields other than manufacturing. The wholesale dealers in tobacco, sugar, oil, coal, flour, steel, coffee, patent medicines, and innumerable well advertised articles, are nothing more than agents, unpaid agents of the single concerns controlling the product of the respective articles. For the purpose of statistical showing and for the opponents of Marx, these "capitalists" are in possession of so many independent establishments; for the Zionist Socialists the workingmen employed in such factories belong to the "negative" proletariat; in truth, however, ten or twenty or a hundred of such "establishments" are but one large concern conducted and managed with the capital of one large, real and positive capitalist, and the workingmen therein are real and positive proletarians. Besides, the large cities of to-day, to a great extent the creation of capitalism, give opportunity for the employment of large numbers of workingmen, proletarians to all intents and purposes, who never in their lives came near a steam or electric machine, as the conductors and motormen on surface cars and railroads, dock laborers, etc. Capitalism has also created an intellectual proletariat, such as book-keepers, traveling salesmen, architects, drug clerks, newspaper reporters, etc. Whoever makes the assertion that all these millions of workingmen are not proletarians, that they can therefore take no part in the reconstruction of society, that those who happen to turn

the big wheels of the huge machines, are the only, the real, the true proletariat—whoever makes such an assertion has no understanding of the working of capitalism, has no conception of the Marxian doctrine and has no right to make any deductions from it whatsoever. Another point in this connection is the character of the very statistics the Zionist Socialists employ to prove their contention.

M. Oppenheimer, a critic of Marx, and also a critic of some of the critics of Marx, speaks of statistics as a very pliable mass which can be twisted and turned to either side one likes. With some dexterous dialectical jugglery, he says, one can prove with statistics anything he pleases. This is only half the truth, as my friend, L. B. Boudin in his excellent work on Marxism in the "Review" of last year very properly remarks. With such statistics one can prove nothing. Statistical figures, like facts, prove nothing by themselves. With them something can be proven, when they are brought in a certain relation in a logical sequence. It would, for instance, be easy to "prove" that 99 men who own no dollar to their name are, every one of them, the happy possessors of five million dollars. All we have to do in such case is to add to the 99 the multimillionaire Carnegie. We shall then have 100 people with, say five hundred millions, which divided per capita would make five millions per head. The figure is correct, but we have proven nothing. This in fact is the way we in America are repeatedly shown by our official statistics to be the happiest people on earth—to the many millions of poor devils several thousand millionaires are added and the capital "divided" per capita. The poor get the credit and the millionaires are left with the cash.

The Jews, more than any other people, are plagued with that sort of statistics; among the various sufferings and pain the Jews were compelled to undergo in their long history of martyrdom statistics are surely not the least. Friend and foe incessantly harrass them with it. From Pogroms they might be spared by the Duma, or by self-defence, or by the revolution, while from statistics the Almighty alone may help them. And what have they not proved against the Jews as well as in their behalf with statistics? "The Jewish people are becoming extinct;" the Jews are multiplying too fast;" "insanity is most prevalent amongst them;" "they yield a large number of great men;" "they are usurers;" "they don't like to work;" "they work too long hours;" "Jews predominate in all industries;" "Jews are not admitted to the factories;" "Jews control the capital of the world;" "Jews are beggars," and a thousand and one other things one contradicting the other, one negating the other.

We shall not here delve into the entangled and futile ques-

tion whether the Jews are a nation or not; whether they show symptoms of national existence or not. Such questions are usually decided on the battle field, as was the case in this country in the time of the Civil War. But whether a nation or not, one thing is quite certain: they are neither a social nor a political unit, and if social and political institutions have any influence upon nations or individuals, and no one ever doubted it, the French or the German Jews would then differ from the Polish or Lithuanian Jews in just as much as the social or political surroundings of France or Germany are different from those of Poland or Lithuania. To throw all the Jews of the different countries into one mass and make statistical deductions is obviously false and unscientific, and just as false and as unscientific it is to make a comparison between the Jews of highly cultivated Warsaw and the peasants of that province, or the Jews of cosmopolitan Odessa and the moujiks of the government of Kherson. But this is exactly what our statisticians do: They know of no other but religious distinction; the fact that the Jews mostly inhabit the large cities, which, with their culture and opportunities for education in spite of the government, with their industry and commerce, with their irregularity of employment, with their insecurity of a livelihood; with their opportunities to get rich, with their hustle and bustle, are productive of genius as well as insanity, of usury, idleness, over-work and unemployment, of riches and poverty, while, on the other hand, the majority of non-Jews in Russia consist of peasants who live in the villages, tilling the soil, which with its monotonous, dull, slumbering and drowsy life produce none of these things,—this fact they leave out of consideration, therefore they can “prove” anything they desire, or they prove nothing.

We are now prepared to approach the question of the proletarianization of the Jews. The Zionist Socialists proceed the same way as the above characterized statistics, with these differences. In the first place their very statistics are incomplete, as the “Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia,” the source of their wisdom, expressly admits. Secondly, the “Materials,” as far as they can prove anything, speak loudly against them, and thirdly, they take the figures by themselves without considering all other circumstances, and figures by themselves prove nothing.

According to the “Materials” there really are a number of large factories where Jews find no employment. But there are circumstances explaining it which the “Materials” explicitly point out, and which the Zionist Socialists refuse to take cognizance of. And these are (1) the stubborn refusal of the Jews to work on Sabbath-day; (2) because of the exclusion of Jews from higher

education, the number of trained Jews in mechanical works is very much limited, which circumstance makes it necessary even for Jewish manufacturers to employ non-Jews and are therefore compelled to run their factories on a Sabbath. Thirdly and mainly, the large factories are mostly located in villages and townlets wherefrom Jews are excluded by the "Temporary laws" of 1882. This, once more, bears out our contention that it is the autocracy that is at the bottom of all the trouble. With the autocracy overthrown the chains that fetter the Jews are at once removed; with the "Temporary Laws" repealed, the doors of the higher educational establishments are opened, the barriers of the village removed and with it the barriers to the large factory.

But this is after all not the main point. Of far greater importance is the following: The Zionist Socialists would make us believe that to be employed in a large factory is a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

This view is the result of their misunderstanding of the Marxian position. They take it for granted that according to the "code Marx" it is a great virtue to be a "positive" proletarian. But there is no such thing. Marxism only declares that capitalistic production irresistibly *drives* the middle men to become proletarians; that it *compels* the workman to sell his labor power to the owner of the machine, that it drives him to it *against his will*, and that his exertions and efforts to escape his fate are of no avail. And the means capitalism employs to drive the workingman to the factory can best be studied from the factory laws in England since the dawn of capitalism. And not only civilized England, "barbarous" Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, knew the trick. There had been times in Russia, just as in England, when people were sent to the factories for all kinds of misdemeanors and crimes invented for that purpose. The manufacturers were given the right to acquire serfs by purchase and compel them to work in their factories, the Russian peasant was thus driven to the factory with the knout of the Cossacks, and with what willingness they stayed there can be gathered from the many failures of manufacturing establishments for lack of hands that followed the manifesto of 1861, the peasants having deserted by the tens of thousands as soon as they were freed. The wages were raised four-fold, but to no purpose, the Russian peasant would not stay.\* Capitalism in Russia, of course, subsequently found ways and means to get the poor peasant to come begging for work, but this much is certain: out of his own volition he did not go there. And, indeed, it is sufficient to read any account

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\* See about this: "Die Russische Fabrik" — by Tugan-Baranowsky, translated from the Russian.

about the condition of the workingmen in Russia to be convinced that the poor devil is not at all to be blamed for it.

The Jews, on the other hand, were never subject to villeinage, they never were serfs, and consequently were never forced into the factory, and of their own good will, or to please the "Marxian" theory of the Zionist Socialists about the positive proletariat they did not flock thereto. The Jews are thus lacking the historical basis of a working class, still less of a factory proletariat. This also is the reason why the existing system is so much in vogue amongst the Jews. This may sound paradoxical, but it is nevertheless the truth.

It is to be remembered that capitalism in Russia is of recent date, its real development having begun only since 1861, after the liberation of the serfs, and until that time only very few Jews pursued industrial employments. In fact, until very lately it was considered a disparagement to have a workingman in the family. It was only dire necessity, and after all the other sources of income had been closed to him that made the Jew take off the "cap of shame" and resolve to become a workingman. But then he had no time to learn any trade thoroughly, it was the necessity for *immediate* earnings that drove him to seek the shop. The division of labor in the garment and kindred industries helped him toward this end, and those industries therefore became the most attractive and desired occupations. To the coal mine, where his father never was, he could not and would not go; to the railroads, mostly belonging to the government, he could not and would not go. To this was added, as a consequence of the "Temporary Laws" of 1882, the emigration. Whoever recollects the beginnings of the Jewish emigration from Russia knows that almost every Jew who contemplated emigrating learned to operate a Singer sewing machine. What else could they do? What could people who lived their lives as small traders, agents or brokers—what could they do in a foreign land without capital—in a land whose language, laws, customs and habits were perfectly strange to them? To learn a "trade" was the only way, and the easiest and quickest thing to learn was the ways of the Singer machine. Thus a "Jewish" clothing industry arose in England and America. It was not their predilection for the garment trade, nor their inability to become "positive" proletarians,—it was, first of all, the economic conditions, growing out of capitalistic production, which prevented a large number of Jews from procuring a livelihood at their old callings, coupled with the persecutions against them and the consequent emigration that drove them to the shop; it was again this very capitalistic mode of production, the division and sub-division of labor, that made

it possible for them to acquire the required skill in those trades in a short time.

This, it seems to me, is the true explanation of why the Jews are employed in certain trades.

Not much better does it stand with the capitalization of the Jews.

It is a most noteworthy fact, a fact which the Zionist Socialists would do well to remember, that the "National Industry" of Russia is to a great extent not owned by the Russian people. It is rather English, French, German and Belgian capitalists who own and control the greatest part of the industrial undertakings in Russia.\* This changes the situation altogether. The learned statisticians are only aware of Jewish and non-Jewish capital. The Socialist Territorialist, following their footsteps, have drawn the inference that not only are Jewish workmen prevented from proletarianizing, but even the Jewish capitalist cannot enjoy the full cup of blessed capitalism. Now that we know that the great capitalists of Russia are not the Russians, it becomes clear why the Jews are not counted among the great capitalists of the land, though there are some. It is no longer the Jewish capital alone that cannot grow, it is Jewish capital together with the Russian, Polish, etc., that are powerless against foreign capital. And then it may well be, and it undoubtedly is, that a good portion of the foreign capital is owned by Jews—foreign Jews. Capital nowadays works in the form of shareholding companies and no one can tell whether it is a Jew or Gentile who draws dividends from those shares. This may also be the reason why the provinces where the Jews are settled are less developed industrially. Foreign capital naturally seeks to exploit first of all the natural products of the country, like naphtha in the Caucasus (which by the way belongs to our "brethren" the Rothschilds); foreign capital threw itself upon the iron and steel industries, the building of railways, surface cars, coal mines, all industries from which Jews are excluded for the above mentioned reasons.

There hardly seems necessary any more reasons in refutation of the theory of the Socialist Territorialist. Still, a superficial glance at the statistics, from which the S. T. draw their wisdom will convince any one that, if anything, there is more reason to deplore the excessive growth of the Jewish proletariat.

Time and space will not allow me to consider here the large amount of statistical figures gathered in the "Materials about the Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia." I shall, herefore, only consider a few totals. In the six governments of Wilna,

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\*) See on this subject a most instructive essay of Karl Kautsky in the "Neue Zeit" No 21, 1906; also the above mentioned book by Tugan-Baranowsky.

Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk and Mohilev there were in 1897—1,651 factories, with a total of 41,589 workmen of whom 22,279 or 53.57 per cent were Jews.\*

In the governments of Wholin, Kieff, Podolia, Poltava and Chernigoff the correspondents have counted 1,189 factories with a total of 83,280 workingmen, of which number 9,596 or 11.5 per cent were Jews. In the governments of Bessarabia Ecaterinoslau and Tayrid 396 factories were found with a total number of 33,341 employees, and 2,058 of these, or 6.2 per cent were Jews.

In the first six Provinces enumerated, as can be seen, more than half of the factory hands are Jews, while in the others the percentage is a good deal smaller. This, the "Materials" explain, is because in those Provinces most of the factories are located in the villages, where Jews are not allowed to settle, and also because the cane sugar and metal factories, where Jews cannot work for the given reasons, as Sabbath, etc., are mostly in those Provinces. Nor is this all. The "Materialists" omitted one of the most important reasons—the reason that the percentage of Jewish inhabitants in those Provinces is a good deal smaller. In the first six Provinces the percentage being 14 per cent, while in the others it is only about 9 per cent. The percentage of Jewish workingmen is thus almost doubled.

The proletarian character of the Jewish workingmen is best seen when they are divided by sex. Out of the 20,232 Jewish workingmen in the Provinces of Wilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovno, Minsk and Mohilev, 5,492 were married women, 1,749 girls and 1,389 small boys, i. e., women were 27 per cent, girls 8.6, boys 6.8, altogether 41.14. "This proves," the "Materials" remark, "how the factory, little by little, wrecks up the patriarchal form of the Jewish family. There are places to-day where the factory whistle drives whole families out of their houses.\*\*

Jews, thank Heaven, do proletarianize, the Socialist Territorialist may rest easy on that account. They will help construct the new order of society. If we consider all the foregoing we will see what an absurdity the whole "theory" of the Zionist Socialists, and especially the Marxian part of it, is.

No! The Socialist Territorialists will not be the redeemers of the Jewish people. Their help must come from elsewhere!

JACOB MILCH.

\*) The "Materials" caution their readers not to rely too much upon their figures. There are two sets of statistics given: Those issued by the Government and the ones the J. C. A. gathered through its correspondents. These figures differ greatly. According to the Government's figures the six Provinces show a total of 2,949 factories with 51,659 workingmen. I use the figures of the correspondents because they also give the number of Jewish workingmen in those factories, which the Government statistics fail to do. The statistics go only as far as 1897.

\*\*) "Materials", 2nd volume, page 217, the Russian Edition.



## The Economic Interpretation of History and the Practical Socialist Movement.

IT IS not my purpose to enter into a discussion of the Economic Interpretation of History with the intention of endeavoring to establish its correctness, nor even to investigate the arguments *pro* and *con* which have been urged upon both sides of the question in recent years. I shall only call attention to the main thesis and to such discussion of it as has occurred in the United States so as to illustrate its effects on current political life and, in particular, on the constitution and objects of the socialist movement.

Let us first take the statement of the theory in its pure form as expressed in the Communist Manifesto for this still remains as the clearest and most unmistakable formulation of it.

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis on which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes."

This term "economic production and exchange" having been too narrowly interpreted so as to mean changes in the technique of economic production has been further defined as follows by Engels in one of his letters to the "Sozialistische Akademiker" in which he says:

"We understand by the economic relations which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society, the methods by which the members of a given society produce their means of support and exchange the products among each other, so far as the division of labor exists. The whole technique of production and transportation is thus included. Furthermore, the technique, according to our point of view determines the methods of exchange, the distribution of products, and hence after the dissolution of gentile society into classes the relation of personal control and subjection, and thus the existence of the state, of politics, of law, etc.... Although technique is mainly dependent on the condition of science, it is still more true that science depends on the condition and needs of technique. A technical want felt by society is more of an impetus to science than ten universities."

## ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

This statement fell flat, I mean the general statement with regard to the influence upon institutions and governments of economic conditions, and the reference of all social development and the antagonisms involved in such development to a material and economic basis. The most fruitful of all the ideas propounded by the great man whose real greatness is only just coming to be understood, was far in advance of his time, and it is doubtful if it could have been comprehended even by the more intelligent of his contemporaries, to whom such a point of view was so outre, so beyond their preconceived notions and training, as to be almost grotesque. History and philosophy were both wrapped in a cloudy idealism, a sort of mystical belief in the permanence of certain fundamental ideas of truth, goodness and beauty, which like the cherubin with flaming swords marked the confines of the political Garden of Eden so that such a plain and, one may say, common sense idea would have been scouted as heretic and irreverent. Of course we know that Marx himself arrived at the conclusion as a philosophic result of his attitude to the Hegelian philosophy and more especially in pursuit of certain notions which the reading of Feuerbach had produced in him, as can be readily seen by an examination of the short notes which he made and which Engels has appended to his own criticism of that writer. The genius of Marx therefore raised out of the dry bones of the preposterous Hegelianism that living theory which is to-day dominant in the academic world and at the same time finds a rough practical interpretation and objectivity in the proletarian movement.

One reason for the neglect with which the theory was received is to be found in the method of writing history, which at the very best but aimed to show the triumph of certain ideas at certain periods, and treated of humanity as climbing stage by stage from one abstraction to another. It is precisely this point of view which you will hear expounded in the average protestant pulpit, even at the present day, when the minister wishes to illustrate the working of the Divine Will through the centuries. But then the theologians always have *carte blanche* to be at least fifty years behind the times. It is the boast of protestant liberalism that it is not more than fifty, just as it is the boast of catholicism that it is not less than nineteen hundred years in the rear.

Ten years after Marx had stated this theory in its rough shape Buckle started his ambitious attempt to construct a history of peoples based upon a material, but not an economic, conception of social growth, and, though he was by no means successful, the followers of Marx were grateful for even small mercies, and those who were in the socialist movement in the late eighties will remember that students were always recom-

mended to read Buckle in connection with Marx and Engels. For my own part, I could never see that we derived much benefit from it except perhaps that it taught us to look at a people as a whole and helped to draw our attention from the play of governments and the schemes and counter schemes of politicians. It certainly made a very welcome oasis in the dreary desert of constitutional history and the study of comparative jurisprudence as part of general historical training.

Later on in the seventies, however, an American, Lewis Morgan, published a work called "Ancient Society," founded in the first place on personal investigations of certain Iroquois Indian organizations, which treated history in a new manner and incidentally furnished much material in support of the doctrine of Marx and Engels. The socialists were the first to see the value of Morgan's contribution, and have pushed it wherever possible, in fact they always keep it on sale. Engels made a sort of abstract of the work which he published under the title "The Origin of the Family." It may be mentioned by the way that his treatment of the work in this fashion has lately been the subject of considerable adverse criticism in the British socialist press.

But no real controversy on this question really took place until the Social Democratic party of Germany took up the matter in 1890 and, forthwith, a fierce dispute took place which treated the younger generation to an entirely new view of history and morals. On the one side were social democrats, with the accent on the democrat, the representatives of the petty bourgeois element which had always formed such a conspicuous part of the movement, the element which first carried the red flag in the Paris revolt of 1848 and had proved its incompetency in the failure of the Paris Commune. On the other side were the socialists proper, the proletariat, that new class which has arisen by virtue of modern social conditions. The conflict proceeded on its academic side with much scattering of pamphlets and all the extravagance of language, and distortion of fact which mark a contest of this description, but step by step the sentimentalists were driven back, the Marxists winning all along the line. Other countries naturally became involved in the fight, for it is a natural antagonism, produced by economic conditions and must of necessity occur wherever the modern system penetrates. The result has been the accumulation of vast masses of historical material in support of the theory. The overhauling of records and historical phenomena, particularly with respect to primitive institutions, has been from the point of view of the scholar simply invaluable. It is very doubtful if the universities really recognize how much they owe to the discussion of academic socialism in this respect. To this accumulation most of the nations have made contribu-

tions, of most of which it may be said, however, as the old Scotch lady said of the minister's commentary, "the old Bible made the commentary a great deal clearer." These controversies have made themselves felt everywhere in the practical movement. The conflicting ideas result in struggles for the possession of the organization of socialist parties. The socialist movement everywhere has been agitated by controversy wherever the doctrine here discussed has come to be recognized and a definite application of it has been sought.

The discussion has spread to the United States where the theory of the economic interpretation has been almost enthusiastically adopted by a large number of the progressive university men, while the trend of economic events has prepared the popular mind as far as the popular mind ever bothers with abstractions, for its reception. Indeed, the recent history of this country has produced a condition of mind which renders the average citizen glad to hear a formulated statement of that which has for a long time been knocking at his own consciousness. He has an uneasy feeling that the country is not the country as he was taught to consider it, that the virtue appears to have gone out of its republican institutions, and that this political change has been simultaneous with a complete economic change. As an instance of this I may mention that I happened quite casually to speak of two economic interpretations in the course of conversation with a certain judge, who had been educated in the old school and was well stocked with all those phrases which, mystical and seductive as they are, have made of our politics a sort of *opera bouffe* with all the fun left out. His trained mind at once saw what was involved in the statement and his intelligence and practical experience caused him to understand the idea forthwith. This is only an instance, and I have met many, of the readiness with which the average American will accept the theory, and the eagerness even, which he shows in its adoption.

That this is so has been evidenced by the ever increasing numbers of articles in the leading reviews showing this bias, but it cannot be said that these articles have so far had any practical value. As a rule they show no scholarly grasp of the subject but a desire on the part of the authors to run after a new notion and to make the most of a sensation rather than a serious and earnest purpose to investigate phenomena in the light of this new theory. Such articles have dealt with isolated phenomena like the Spanish American War and their authors have fancied that they have accomplished something when they have shown that that war was conducted in the interests of the greater capitalism.

The best account of the theory published in English is that by Professor Seligman which put the matter in fair light and has

given students an opportunity to grasp the full significance of the idea. But this work is disfigured by a too evident desire of the writer to keep his skirts clear of the taint of socialism, and his endeavors to make two Marxes, one, the genius who propounded the theory of economic determinism, the other, the silly charlatan whose advocacy of socialism is proof of his inborn incompetence, lead him into funny little bogs of unreason and force him to the making of some most illogical and even ridiculous assertions.

But Professor Veblen in his recent work entitled, "The Theory of Business Enterprise" practically takes the theory as true, and in fact his whole view of the social and political relations rests upon and is inseparable from a recognition of the importance of the economic factor. Thus he says:

"Popular welfare is bound up with the conduct of business because industry is managed for business ends, and also because there prevails throughout modern communities a settled habit of rating the means of livelihood and the amenities of life in pecuniary terms. But apart from their effect in controlling the terms of livelihood from day to day, these principles are also in a great measure decisive in the larger affairs of life both for the individual in his civil relations and for the community at large in its political concerns. Modern (civilized) institutions rest in great part on business principles. This is the meaning, as applied to the modern situation, of the current phrases about the Economic Interpretation of History and the Materialistic Theory of History." Again, "Modern politics is business politics. . . . This is true both of domestic and foreign policy. Legislation, police-surveillance, the administration of justice, the military and diplomatic service, all are chiefly concerned with business relations, pecuniary interests, and they have little more than incidental bearing on other human interest." And again, with respect to the comparative values of ethical and economic considerations, the same writer declares, "It is not a question of what ought to be done but of what is the course laid out by business principles; the discretion rests with the business men; not with the moralists, and the business man's discretion is burdened by the exigencies of business enterprise. Even the business men cannot allow themselves to play fast and loose with business principles in response to a call from humanitarian motives."

So that we may consider the point of view of the economic doctrine sufficiently widely received and firmly enough established at the present to accept it at least as provisionally true for the purposes which we have in hand, or at all events not so utterly incongruous with probabilities as to render an analysis of present conditions, with this theory as a guide, preposterously unreason-

able. It may be mentioned, however, in passing that the natural result of the reception of the theory at the hands of both bourgeois and socialists has been a tendency to overestimate its scope, and by making the economic factor the sole factor of social development, to set up a doctrine of economic determinism which could only be tenable by distortion of terms, and certainly was far from the thought of the first propounders of the theory. We do not need to claim that the economic factor is the sole factor, it is sufficient to point out that it is probably the sole constant factor, though even this is perhaps an unnecessary straining of the limits of the doctrine.

To say that it is the dominant factor will be found sufficient for all practical purposes and avoids a tremendous amount of unnecessary argument.

Now, if we grant the terms of the theory as set forth we are involved in a practical matter and one which is of the gravest importance when we come to consider economic conditions, one moreover which cannot be overlooked as it furnishes the key to politics and shows the path of progress. There is but one factor which, in the United States, at all events, can have the effect of ranging men into hostile classes and of precipitating that intellectual, and possibly material, conflict upon the result of which depend the further development of the people of this country and its social and moral welfare. No other factor than the economic factor could range the people into opposing classes. We have practically political equality, and no conflict can possibly arise owing to the possession by one set of men of political privileges which are not enjoyed by another. In respect of moral or intellectual equality, the wise do not form political organizations against the wise, nor the good against the bad or vice versa. There is just one inequality on which men fasten their attention, and which by virtue of its existence has the power to draw men into conflicting classes, gives them class watchwords and class aims, and aligns them for a struggle in order to determine which of the contending classes shall possess the control of the economic power. Thus we find that the country which has granted the greatest amount of individual liberty to its citizens and is at the same time the most clear from the traditional class distinctions, is itself divided into classes which gather themselves round this economic phenomenon.

And that the country is divided into economic classes nobody will venture to deny. It stares at you from the headlines of the newspapers, it confronts you at every turn. Even the President himself, who is generally able to close his eyes to the unpleasant fact, feels called upon to notice it and in a recent speech has said, "No republic can permanently exist when it becomes a re-

public of classes, where the man feels not the interest of the whole people, but the interest of the particular class to which he belongs as being of prime importance. In antiquity republics failed as they did because they tended to become either a republic of the few who exploited the many, or a republic of the many who plundered the few, and in either case the end of the republic was never in doubt, just so in one case as in the other and no more so in one than in the other. We can keep this Republic true to the principles of those who founded it and of those who afterwards preserved it, we can keep it up a republic only by remembering that we must live up to the theory of its founders, to the theory of treating each man on his worth as a man, neither holding it for or against him that he occupies any particular station in life, so long as he does his duty fairly and well by his fellows and by the Nation as a whole." Thus the President voices his alarm at the growing feeling of alienation between various sections of the community, interprets the conditions in terms which are now obsolete appeals to traditions which we are already setting aside in our universities and which have long been practically ignored on the street and in the forum, and as a panacea for the growing discontent offers us a moral gospel based upon the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, interpreted in terms of an individualism which has been exploded these many years. Place the statement of the President by the side of the plain dry words of Professor Veblen which I quoted and the contradiction is palpably obvious. But the President is perfectly right in one respect, the Republic cannot continue to exist in face of a class war, that is the Republic as he understands it, the Republic of a hundred years ago. As a matter of fact it is dead already for under the forms of the old republic there thrives a moneyed oligarchy under whose influence law is made and war or peace declared. An oligarchy is no less an oligarchy because it rests on universal suffrage any more than the Empire of Napoleon the Third was any the less an Empire because universal suffrage lay at its base, or than Kaiser Wilhelm is any less a War Lord because his subjects have at stated intervals the power of recording their vote. There are therefore economic classes in the United States, classes with conflicting interests. It is not possible to regard the people of the country as an entity, as an undivided whole which can progress simultaneously along moral paths, and of whom it may be truly said, the benefit of one is the benefit of all and the injury of one the calamity of the nation. As a matter of fact the benefits of one class in the community are obtained at the expense of another class or, perhaps, it would be better to say other classes in the community. The economic advantage of one element is

the economic deterioration of another element, and hence occurs an antagonism which has economic foundations, an antagonism which must find its expression.

It may be suggested that if this antagonism is recognized some means may be found which will reconcile the warring elements, and all sorts of expedients have been suggested. The Christians, for example, generally urge submission upon the element which feels the weight of the economic power, and resignation to worldly oppression for the sake of moral development. The Comtists on the other hand, have preached the humanizing of the rich and the recognition on the part of the economic strong of duties to Humanity. Neither of these moral schools have so far appeared to have accomplished much, for the simple reason that neither side to the controversy is its own master. They are both equally in the grip of economic force, just as thoroughly as were Mr. Shaw's characters in the grip of the "life force."

These antagonisms then existing, and having for their basis economic antagonisms, it should follow from our theory, if it is correct, that these divergences and antagonisms find a mirror in the political world. One of the advantages of the democratic system is that it affords a ready opportunity of roughly gauging the political tendencies at a given time by the votes which are cast in favor of certain principles. An examination of present day politics in the United States will show that these economic antagonisms are writing themselves into political history and that the alignment of political parties is according to their acquiescence in or opposition to the dominant economic power. Hence we find a party in power which is the direct exponent of the interests of the dominating economic power. This party undertakes the task of aggrandizing and securing the power of the economically superior, and by the enactment of strong tariff legislation and in other ways aids it in obtaining that greater share of the product which always falls to the lot of the already powerful and in fact signalizes their power.

On the other hand we find a class which feels that it is losing ground and which, with much the same sentimental notions with respect to the Republic as Mr. Roosevelt, still differs from him. For, whereas the President finds in the Republic of to-day, always provided that the *status quo* is not disturbed, the counterpart of the Republic of the founders, the opposition party cries loudly that a fundamental difference does exist, and that the only remedy is to be found in the restoration of the Republic of their forefathers. Hence they cry loudly for the democracy of Jefferson, which they fail to perceive is as obsolete as the mastedon. They have not learnt that society is constantly changing, a part of the universal process, and that no static government can



be instituted which will defy the ravages of time and the operation of economic evolution. Their views are as jejune as those of the President, but much more mischievous, for whereas the present economic dominant power is in the very nature of things destined to develop into something other, and hence forms but a step in the social, industrial and intellectual development of the country, the victory of the opposing political party would simply mean a backward step and the undoing of much that has hitherto been done. But, as we have already remarked, societies do not travel backward, and hence the party which puts its faith in the individualistic doctrines of the Jeffersonian school is doomed. But that this party has an economic foundation for its existence is sufficiently obvious to those who read its programs and editorials. The predatory trusts, the thieving corporations, the greedy railroads, the monopolistic tendency of modern commercialism are the objects against which its wrath is most energetically hurled. It feels that the man, the individual, the very crux of this philosophy, is being crushed out of existence and it would snatch him from under the wheels of the economic juggernaut. But it may save itself the trouble. The individual man had practically died when the tool developed into the machine and the individual had, by virtue of that fact, become lost in society, just as the work which he put into a piece of fabric was lost in the general product of all the other individuals co-operating in its production in the factory.

It is obvious, however, that though the economic interests of the two classes described are antagonistic, their antagonism is not theoretically irreconcilable, for both of them rest upon the same economic foundations, and consequently hold the same political philosophy. Each party seeks to advance its economic interests within the confines of the present society, neither holds views which are antagonistic to the recognized concepts of social organization. It is true that the one party succeeds, economically, and the other does not; that the economic power of the other is on the decline. But they each appeal to the same legal and philosophic sanctions, each supports the doctrine of liberty of the individual to make contracts and to own property, each regards society, not as the unit, but as an aggregation of units, these units being individuals, who have parted with some of their rights for the advantages of social organization, but who retain undisputably those rights which have been described in the somewhat hyperbolic language of the Declaration, as the "Right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But there is another economic class whose economic position renders it unable to accept this philosophy of law and government, and which, by virtue of its very existence is bound to chal-

lenge these concepts, that is to antagonize the concepts upon which all modern liberal states have framed their laws and administer their governments, and this class is itself a product of the very conditions against which it is compelled to protest. It has no interest in the theory which recognizes the power of the individual to make individual contracts. Its members are helpless when they come to make contracts as individuals. They are powerless, except as members of organized groups, into which they have been forced, not because of any wisdom or foresight on their part, but because their work has thrown them pell mell into factories and workshops where they have been compelled to associate. They have been obliged to develop a class consciousness and solidarity by reason of this association to which they are driven by the conditions under which they labor. Hence their attitude, latent, for the most part, it is true, but brought into consciousness when the matter is explained to them, is as regards the existing state, revolutionary. They seek to mirror that association which they have been compelled to form on the economic field in the government. They have no interests in the maintenance of property rights, which the law recognizes, because they have no property. They simply possess their labor force which they sell from day to day. The price which they obtain for that laborforce is not dependent on their strength or skill as individuals, generally speaking, but simply upon the power of their associations, upon the strength which they are able to bring to bear upon their employers by and through their organizations. The very nature of their work moreover is inimical to the individualistic idea. They labor not in their own strength, but by virtue of the strength of their associated fellows. Their product is not their own product but the product of associated effort. The rewards of their toil are not the rewards of individual effort, but the terms which their associated strength has managed to wring from the possessor of the machine without which they are not able to earn a living. The ownership of these by individuals, real or fictitious, in accordance with the laws of private property, upon which rests the present social structure, separates them from the ownership of themselves. They recognize in the legally established rights of private property, the force which deprives them of their own existence as individuals, for, when they sell their labor power they sell themselves.

Here we come to the antithesis in modern society, here is the essential antagonism which cannot be bridged. Either the dominant power must maintain its dominance and so doing perpetuate an industrial slavery, in which case society would tend to become stationary, and so perish, or it must be overthrown by the new power which has arisen in the objective phenomenon of

an associated proletariat. Of course between these two extreme possibilities lies the possibility of a host of compromises. Though it must be considered that no compromise is a settlement, for in such a case also we should arrive at a stationary condition of society which means death. The intellectual, social and political progress of the nation depends upon a continuance of the conflict. But every compromise implies a weakening of the fundamental doctrines upon which the present state rests, and constitutes for all the purposes of the student of history a step in a definitive revolution. Hence, as the philosophy underlying the present republic is a philosophy of individualism, so the philosophy underlying the revolutionary movement is one of association, a philosophy which has received the name socialism.

It must be noted here, however, that these two opposing philosophies regard the state from very different standpoints. The modern state was founded in the name of certain abstract ideals, and hence has come to be regarded as an ideal representative of society, a sort of impeccable, untouchable holy of holies. According to some writers indeed it carries almost a mystical character. This notion of the state is also explainable from an economic position, but there is here no opportunity of examining it from that standpoint. To the proletarians, however, the state merely represents an instrument, a developed social tool, which at present accomplishes the work of its proprietors, the economic masters, as it will accomplish the work of the revolutionists when they become economic masters in their turn. In their hands it loses all ideal qualities and becomes a simple register of force and a means for the employment of force by the party which has the control of it. This idea of the state rises from the position of economic inferiority which they occupy and in which they have realized to the full how the power of the State is employed against them, in defiance of all those abstract qualities of liberty and equity with which it has been endowed by its present possessors. In their associations these working people have had to institute governments on their own account, they have learned roughly the scope and limitations of such governments and measure all governments in terms of their experience, for when the force of economic evolution drove the proletariat to the formation of organizations it also drove him to make governments for those organizations.

So we have arrived at the economic reasons for the existence of the philosophy of socialism and the attitude which that philosophy adopts to the foundations of modern society and the state. But we have to push our inquiry still a step further. Behind the socialist philosophy stand the individual men of whose brains it is a product and who seek to realize the philosophic

concepts in actual facts, that is to impress them upon the law and politics of their time. These men form themselves into associations and the course taken by these associations in pursuance of their objects political, social, and ethical is termed the socialist movement.

Now it might be supposed that these people being so associated and having a common aim would be agreed at least upon the main lines of their advance. But, as a matter of fact this movement, wherever it has spread, has been divided into two sharply distinguished parties. And here again, we may employ our doctrine and arrive at an explanation of this phenomenon also by means of the economic formula.

Referring to the statement from the Communist Manifesto, again, we see that social progress has been the result of the conflict waged by an economically oppressed class against its oppressors. Hence socialism as the philosophy of the oppressed appeals to the idealistic and poetically minded people belonging to classes other than the proletarian. These classes enter the movement with their idealistic views and the bourgeois intellects. Now one way in which the antagonism existing to a given state of society is made evident is by picturing a condition of society which is the entire opposite of that which has provoked the antagonism. Thus to the feudal system we get contrasted pictures of a perfectly free state, in which the individual is unshackled by all the bonds of feudal superiority and caste, a state of anarchy, in short, using the term, not in its popular but in its philosophic sense. So the present conditions of society are denounced inferentially by the picturing of a state of society differing from the present in every essential particular, a state in which competition and individualism no longer exist, but are abolished, the details of which imaginary conditions of society vary according to the whim of the individual writer, from the poetic Arcadia which William Morris drew in his "News from Nowhere" to the shoddy picture of the vulgar bourgeois socialistic ideal of "Looking Backward." Forthwith our bourgeois friends proceed to realize their model State. They go into the wilderness, like Owen, there to found a new society or they merely form clubs and pass resolutions like the American Bellamyites. But with these vagaries the proletarian has nothing to do. And their propaganda like all purely idealistic propaganda proves abortive. Sometimes it proves to be even worse, especially when the advocates of utopias plan violent revolts against political systems, and under certain circumstances, get a proletarian following. Then the modern state puts forth the strong hand against such immature enterprises and death and destruction mark the path of the amiable dreamers who have taken the sword and proved their in-

capacity for anything but platform heroics. Such was the Commune of Paris, the leaders of which were well meaning idealistic bourgeois men of much feeling and some talent, but, for the most part hopelessly incapable and without the least appreciation of the real strength and meaning of the socialist philosophy. This class is, however, too small to have any effect upon the movement in its recent developments particularly as the proletarian element is becoming better educated and economic conditions are having an effect upon the mental structure of its members.

There is a still larger and more important class which is generally termed the petty bourgeoisie. This class is very nearly proletarian but not quite so. It consists to a great extent of small industries, clerks, unsuccessful members of the professions and incompetents of the middle classes, who, being unable to make their way, under existing conditions, in the society in which they have been reared have flocked into the ranks of the socialist army and constitute in a large number of instances the public exponents of the socialistic movement. The small traders and others whom we have mentioned in that category are to a large extent people who make their living by supplying the needs of the proletarians, keeping small stores, small saloons, and following other occupations which bring them into close touch with the proletarian class. In fact very many of them have been proletarians but for some reason or other have left the ranks of the wage earning classes and set up for themselves, very frequently making less money than the proletarians and being often in a much more precarious position, as their occupations are constantly threatened by the competition of the great firms which in their turn are part of the capitalist class against which the propaganda of the movement is directed. These two classes the idealists and the petty bourgeois formed the first adherents of the socialist movement, they and a number of workingmen by no means typical of their class, peculiar people, in fact, just as peculiar as those members of the middle classes who take up with unconventional religions. As a matter of fact, socialism was with these people a sort of religion of a materialistic kind, their meetings were and as a matter of fact are to-day a sort of dogmatic clubs, where the balm of human ills is found in the recital of certain formulas, and the Co-operative Commonwealth represents the *summum bonum*, a sort of Kingdom of Heaven.

These people are enamored of a certain concrete thing which they call socialism. But they are shrewd bargainers and are ready to take anything that comes, hence they constitute what is called the opportunist wing of the socialist movement which under the leadership of Jaures in France, Bernstein in Germany, and Turati in Italy are trying to make terms with the capitalistic

state and to obtain specific reforms, none of which it will be seen go to the amelioration of the conditions of the working class as the working class, but tend to relieve the small bourgeois of certain burdens which he desires to throw off at the expense of the greater capitalist. This attack upon the greater capitalism enables the opportunist to still retain the socialist name, and gains for him a certain electoral support among the proletarians who are not informed on matters economic but are willing to throw in their lot with anything which smacks of socialism.

The war between these people and the conscious proletarians is to-day agitating every division of the socialist movement in every country. Every organization which contains these two elements resolves itself into two parties. The reason for the division is not always obvious but there it is and it has come to be recognized. So closely, in fact, do the qualities of the combatants, correspond with their several economic environments, that one may classify the vote on a given question in advance by knowing the economic character of the voters. The elements which gather round the exponents of the two opposing tendencies are always the same. Every program bears the marks of the controversy, every political utterance of the party at large in this country varies as one or other element is in the ascendancy.

It is easy to discover the economic basis of the proletarian class. It is the product of the machine industry and its mental characteristics are influenced by the environment in which it labors. Its work at the machine has given it a materialistic rather than idealistic trend. It has a peculiarly logical disposition produced as Professor Veblen points out by always working from cause to effect and being continually engaged in a co-ordinated process every step of which tends to a desired logical result, and which affords no play for the emotions or the imagination. This class by virtue of the necessities of the modern industry and the political system which they have produced and which places individuals on a footing of practical equality, receives an education, and the first generation of these educated proletarians is coming into the socialist ranks, and finding the petty bourgeois in possession forthwith opens a conflict with him for the control of the movement. The proletarian brings his peculiar mentality and his lack of patience with ideals, he does not project his imagination into dreams of the Co-operative Commonwealth. He sees that the capitalistic system is the enemy and he is prepared to give battle to the system and to employ against the capitalistic class the tool of society, the government, precisely as in earlier stages of his fight he has employed the strike and the boycott against the individual capitalist. He refuses any compromises unless they be of such a nature as directly affect his own personal welfare.

or that of his children, but as such compromises would go to the very root of the system and could not be acquiesced in by the class in possession, since they would materially affect the sources of its power, he is revolutionary in his politics. And this attitude too it will be observed is the direct product of his peculiar economic environment.

Thus by empirical investigation of the facts of political life we arrive at the conclusion that the economic interpretation is at least a rough guide to the explanation of those political differences upon which the vitality of public life depends and is even explanatory of the essential and vital differences which agitate the organizations of the socialist movement.

AUSTIN LEWIS.

# EDITORIAL

## The Chicago Elections.

In spite of the existence of the Daily Socialist and the active campaign which has been carried on, in spite of the steady increase in Socialist membership, literature and general activity the Socialist vote in Chicago fell off nearly fifty per cent at the recent election.

One of the regular amusements after each such election is figuring out "how it all happened". In this case it seems to be a recurrence of an old story, a strong radical fight. Dunne had been mayor for two years. He had been elected on the platform of immediate municipal ownership. During his term of office the traction question had been kept constantly before the voters. As a consequence a large proportion of the working-class electorate had been swept away in the general excitement over this question until its importance was ridiculously exaggerated.

When, therefore, there came what was apparently a final struggle on the question of municipal ownership many of those whose Socialism was but indefinite and confused were swept off their feet. They rallied to the support of what they supposed was the great enemy of the traction trust. The result showed that the election had all been framed up before the nomination of Dunne. Roger Sullivan, the Gas boss, with "Hinky Dink", "Bath House" John, "Smooth", Ed Cullerton, and a number of similar characters, who really control the Democratic machine, had sold out before election to the Republicans, and when the votes were counted it was proven that they had delivered their men for Busse. So it was that the radicals who deserted the Socialist ticket in order to "save Dunne" found that they had simply been sold for suckers.

The men who had nominated Dunne had used him simply to prevent the rise of a Socialist vote, and to the everlasting disgrace of the working-class voters of Chicago, the scheme succeeded. When the votes were counted it was found that all that Dunne had received was the votes of the honest, foolish radicals. The regular Demo-



cratic machine had gone for Busse, leaving these saviours of the city to hold the bag.

Busse is frankly and openly the candidate of plutocracy. He is pledged to turn over to his backers,—the Morgan, Field, Ryan, Belmont interest a group of the most valuable franchises ever disposed of in America.

So far as the Socialist movement is concerned there are certainly more Socialists in Chicago to-day than ever before in its history. There is twice as much, or more literature being circulated. The membership of the party is constantly growing, and there is everywhere a greater interest in Socialism.

The present set-back is only a part of the educational process through which the average radical seems to be compelled to pass before he reaches the point of becoming a Socialist. He will return once or twice to his old folly, but this time he would seem to have received a lesson which should teach him the futility of further dependence upon the old political parties, whatever may be their pretensions.

There is now a period of over eighteen months until the next election in Chicago. That period will give opportunity for the sort of steady organization and education that forms the only firm foundation for a socialist movement. That the opportunity will be seized by the Socialists of Chicago and that the next election will tell a different tale may be accepted as a certainty.

In fact, it would seem as if this election marked the high tide of what might be called the Hearst radicalism in the United States. It is not probable that a man more radical than Dunne will be found outside the Socialist Party. His honesty was unquestioned. With the fatal exception of his use of the police during the teamsters' strike he had managed to dodge most places where the capitalist influences would have forced him to take a class position.

Yet his defeat and that of his policy was complete, and the Democratic party is turned out of the city government which has been controlled by that party, with but few breaks, for almost a generation. The radical wing of the Democratic party is completely discredited and disrupted. Hearst's influence has been largely lost and it is hard to say in what direction those voters will turn who have been following him, if not to the Socialist Party.

The Socialists went through the campaign without in the least degree compromising their position or relaxing their class-conscious attitude. In fact, the party membership never increased more rapidly than during the campaign, and it is certain that this increase will continue for some months to come.

Under these conditions the Socialists of Chicago have little cause to complain. It is probable that in the years to come this campaign will be looked back upon with as great satisfaction as any

through which the party has ever passed, because it will mark the gaining of a new strength and clearness, and mark the turning point towards the upward growth that leads to victory.

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## Socialist Politicians.

With increased strength comes increased responsibilities and increased dangers. The Socialist party has now reached a point where it offers certain rewards of an immediate personal nature to those who do its work.

A result of this is the appearance of the politician in the Socialist ranks. This is not always a bad thing. Politicians, like political machines are not in themselves either hurtful or helpful. All depends upon the purposes for which the man and the machine are used and methods employed in their utilization.

As the Socialist Party grows strong enough to offer the prospect of political success it is certain to receive recruits who come only because of the hunger and thirst for the emoluments of office. Such men usually come directly from the old party machines. They come with a wealth of advice on how to win elections. They care very little for principles and all for political results. They turn the party into a great vote-gathering machine, instead of an educational and propagandist institution.

Against this type of politician the Socialists are generally fairly well armed. Here and there a local organization will be duped by some designing individual, but on the whole the ear-marks are so plain and the actions of such persons so at variance with all socialist traditions and politics that their activity soon ends.

Some of the more insignificant specimens of this type continue to develop little internal machines, to look for cheap "graft" and to seek to impose themselves upon the membership in various ways. Yet there is such a constant reaction against this sort of thing that such schemers soon find themselves completely outside the Socialist Party.

There is another class of politician peculiar to the Socialist Party, in whom there is so much of good that it is with regret that the very real evil that accompanies him must be pointed out. Such are the men, who are often, in many ways the most active in the party, who do the official work of committees, and maintain the party machinery.

In so far as this work is done, as it is in the majority of cases as a duty to be performed and with a full recognition of being an agent of the organization, it is a work that cannot be praised too highly.

But with the growth of the party there has begun to rise a class of men and women who love the little brief authority which official position permits them to usurp. In return for this sense of authority they are willing to perform most valuable and arduous work.

Having secured an official position, which probably no one else wanted, and for the acceptance of which by him the others were truly grateful, there comes a tendency to exaggerate the importance of the office. Instead of looking upon himself as the servant of the party he begins to feel and act like a ruler.

This attitude becomes especially evident where two or three or more such persons are serving together upon a committee. At once the committee begins to set itself up as above the organization that appointed it. So far has this gone that several times in the history of the Socialist Party and the organizations that preceded it, criticism of certain committees has come to be considered as a sort of lese majeste.

In the smaller towns this sort of a tendency generally centers in one man, whose "pernicious activity" in more than one instance has destroyed the whole socialist movement in the locality. Every organizer can recall places where the man who was pointed out as the "most active worker in town" was really killing the movement by his well meant officiousness.

In the great cities this same tendency is apt to develop an "inner ring" or clique, which is always most vehement in denying its own existence. Indeed it is probable that in many cases those who have established a "benevolent feudalism" over a local organization, like benevolent despots of all ages, think they are sacrificing themselves for the movement. They really imagine that the delegate body or the committee to which they belong is the center of the whole party and is composed of persons who are quite above the common clay. Instead of doing the will of the membership they seek to govern the rank and file. They talk about "representing the party" in a voice of authority to the membership of the party itself. The ultimate result of such work is to disgust the less militant and enthusiastic and drive them away from the party and to rouse the righteous indignation of the more beligerent to the point where an internal revolution occurs that relegates the would-be political bosses to the back-ground for a time.

An incidental result of the activity of this type of pilitician is the formation of factions within the party, who follow personal leaders rather than principles. Such things are a matter of course in the capitalist parties, but they are deadly to the Socialist movement.

One of the first consequences of the formation of such personal followings is that the socialist politician, who may have taken his

official position with no other motives than the feeling of duty to perform a necessary task, begins to set about constructing and repairing his political fences. He is jealous of any encroachment upon his preserves by any other department of the party, and personally "knocks" everything not under his especial supervision.

As the party grows in size the number and virulence of this type of politician will increase. In some ways it is the special type of the Socialist Party. The great difficulty in dealing with the problem is the mixture of good and bad which must be dealt with. Some of these men are the most active and valuable men in the Party and are frequently unconscious of the evils they are doing.

It is not a situation which can be met with some sweeping panacea. It does not accomplish much to "fire" one set of such politicians, only to make way for another.

The only remedy seems to be the somewhat prosaic one of education of the membership to the necessity of doing their own thinking, and also of performing their own share of the official work of the party.

It is no uncommon thing to find the central committee of a great local composed almost entirely of young and inexperienced members who have been sent down by the older members in order to give the new recruit a knowledge of "how the party does things," and also because the older members had grown somewhat tired of the round of mechanical duties.

It is the easiest thing in the world for one politician of the type just described to get control of such a Central Committee and mold it to his purposes.

The rank and file should insist that they are the party and propose to rule and should sharply "call down" the petty politician whenever he tries to usurp authority. All delegated bodies should be kept constantly informed of the fact that they are expected to do work and not to formulate policies or run the party membership.

Once that the existence of the danger of the Socialist politician is recognized the danger has passed.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

A legal battle of national importance was the Steve Adams trial at Wallace, Idaho, and yet it received little attention in the daily newspapers, the accounts usually being garbled or condensed to a few lines and shoved into some obscure corner to make room for detailed reports of the Thaw-Nesbit-White nastiness. Thanks, however, to the Socialist and labor newspapers, which do not pander to the depraved tastes of humanity, the workers obtained some information of the progress and final result of the Adams trial, which was regarded as merely the prelude of the forthcoming struggle in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are defendants. The admission of an alleged confession wrung from Adams while in duress by the mine owners' chief thug, McParland, and the flippant attempt of the prosecution to pick out some other date upon which Taylor was supposed to have been murdered, after the defense had established an alibi, indicates to what lengths the persecutors of the miners will go in order to secure convictions and railroad innocent men to the gallows. In spite of the fact, too, that the prosecution's case had utterly collapsed and an acquittal was awaited on all sides the jury conveniently disagreed and now a second trial is announced for sometime in the fall, although there is a feeling that the state's attorneys will nolle the case and let themselves down easy. Nevertheless the fact stands out clear that class interests dominated the jury in the Adams case as thoroughly as in the first trial of President Shea, of the teamsters, in Chicago. The capitalist elements on both juries were as unpromisingly class-conscious as any workers ever thought of being.

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Contrary to expectations, the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was again postponed last month and will probably be in progress when the Review reaches its readers unless further delay is resorted to by the shifty prosecutors, who have been in a sorry state of mind ever since Adams deserted them as a chief witness. It is claimed that the mine owners' attorneys have no evidence to bolster up their case other than that which will be offered by Orchard, the degenerate who boasts of having killed twenty-six people, and his tutor, McParland. Both of these worthies are already discredited in the eyes of the people the country over, and it is difficult to understand how an honest jury could place the slightest credence in the stories of these two disreputable characters. It is not improbable that the mine owners, seeing the handwriting on the wall, will sneak a few of their benchmen into the jury box, and, if they are unable to obtain a conviction, secure a disagreement, as in the Adams trial.

Usually those who have a bad case fight for delay and the postponement of the evil day. Unquestionably the mine operators will have the loyal support of Gooding and the balance of the Idaho politicians in whatever scheme may be adopted, and if further delay is decided upon it will be regarded as good fortune. Up to the present time the politicians and Pinkertons have already held up the state of Idaho for \$103,000 in this celebrated case, and the longer the persecution can be continued the greater the graft upon which the barnacles can fatten. Just the same the action of Western mine owners and their Pinkertons and politicians is having its effects. Never before, at least not during the present generation, has there been such a tremendous outburst of indignation against the ruling class and such loyalty and solidarity manifested in the ranks of the workers to safeguard their rights. Of course, it is to be regretted that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are being martyred, are compelled to suffer as did other unfortunate men and women in the past, but, as "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church," there is not the slightest doubt that the Western miners have become historic figures whose names will inspire the working class of this and coming generations to struggle for grander ideals constantly. Certain it is that the monster Capitalism is digging its own grave, just as the slave power and every other form of tyranny sealed its own doom by brutal, merciless oppression. On the other hand it is gratifying to note that during the progress of this drama many of the bickerings and jealousies among individuals and groups of workers have been almost forgotten in the spontaneous movement of protest and defense that is on all over the country, and by common consent all rivalries are submerged by this greater question. Not only are the workers becoming more firmly united upon the industrial field as a result of this object lesson, but they are also beginning to understand the necessity of political unity to give battle successfully to the common enemy. It requires no extraordinary foresight or the gift of prophecy to become convinced of the fact that the workers are rapidly progressing toward socialism in the hope of finding relief from capitalism and all its train of evils.

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Another court case that has a national aspect will soon be called in Cleveland. The life of the present national eight-hour law is at stake. For years the government work contractors along the lakes have disdainfully ignored the eight-hour law. They coolly declared, that they did not believe that the law was enacted to be obeyed, but merely to be pointed to with pride during political campaigns and winked and smiled at the balance of the year. However, the grumbling of labor during the past few years and the recent threats to go into politics had the effect of throwing a scare into the office-holding patriots, and as a consequence orders were issued to the United States district attorneys to raid the plutocratic law-breakers—the sanctimonious gentlemen who are everlastingly sermonizing labor upon the necessity of being law-abiding. Eight contracting concerns were arrested and brought into court at Cleveland. It soon developed that they had combined to attack the constitutionality of the eight-hour law. Eight of the highest priced corporation law firms in the country have been employed and the eight-hour law is to be proceeded against from various angles in the campaign to wipe the measure from the statute books. The fact that Standard Oil attorneys, as well as those representing the various waterway combines, have been

called into the case indicates that the capitalist class of the whole nation will give the closest attention to this contest and that the effects will be most far-reaching and of vital importance to the working class. It will be a duel which will settle for all time the constitutionality of the eight-hour law or the work of years in securing the enactment of the measure will be wiped out by a stroke of the pen. Both sides admit that the case will finally go to the United States Supreme Court, and, judging from the actions of that body in the past, the outlook is not reassuring.

Joseph Leiter the American grand duke who operates mines at Zeigler, Ill., without regard to union conditions or state or local laws, has been found guilty by a jury on the charge, of violating the state mining laws in employing a mine examiner who had not been authorized by the state mining board to act in that capacity. It was because of his plutocratic-anarchistic defiance of all laws and regulations that a terrible explosion which blew out the lives of half a hundred miners occurred at Zeigler about two years ago. No sooner had the catastrophe taken place when Leiter announced in the capitalist press that union miners were responsible for the deed, despite the fact that a high fence surrounds his property and that it is guarded by an army of deputies, cannon, searchlights and other implements of war. Needless to add that Leiter never gave out detailed information or proof of any kind to substantiate. Being a multi-millionaire and a monarchist in belief and practice, he imagined that his mere word was sufficient and to doubt it was high treason. Leiter is an excellent type of the Parry-Post aggregation of capitalists, who, under hypocritical guise of the so-called open shop movement, are attempting to destroy the trade unions. They are imbued by the same spirit and hold much the same views regarding the working class as do the grand dukes in Russia. Leiter intends to carry his cases to the highest courts in the land, it is announced. It will be worth while watching to see whether he lands in the penitentiary or goes to the gallows. Chances are that he will go scot free and continue his lawlessness. A mine operator can destroy as many lives as he pleases, while a mine worker may be incarcerated for months and be in danger of stretching hemp for daring so much as to organize a union for self-protection. This is a great country, indeed. The flag waves and the eagle screams for all—on the Fourth of July.

The strike of the shipbuilders along the lakes reveals a condition of affairs somewhat extraordinary. The American Shipbuilding Co., a trust that controls the industry on the lakes, has barely tolerated laboring people to work in its yards. Although they built and repaired ships, exercising the highest skill and performing the hardest kind of labor, they were not officially recognized as being at all human. The trust officials boasted that they operated the open shop system and organization among employees would not be tolerated. What was their surprise to find all their boilermakers, riveters, fitters and other skilled men in nearly all the yards walk out. The bosses were so amazed that they refused to make a statement of any kind to the newspapers, although daily importuned to do so. They refused to talk for the reason that the strike revealed the peculiar fact that the strikers at some of the yards had walked out to enforce demands which, if acceded to, would actually have meant a slight reduction in their wages. They hoped to gain not

only recognition of their organization, but arrangement of hours, wages and other conditions with the highest officials, and for all the yards and on uniform lines. The trust operated under that ideallic skinning scheme that has become so popular with many combines of pitting one yard against another. The superintendents, anxious to win promotion or higher salaries, were the sole judges in all labor questions—that is, where the cost of production was always cheapened and never increased. Hence the “supes” were hostile to unions, whittled down wages here, lengthened hours there, played one gang of workers or a whole yard against supposed rivals, injected religious and racial prejudices, and resorted to every method imaginable to keep the workers divided so that they might be rushed and driven like dumb cattle. The shipbuilding trust must pay interest on its bonds and dividends on its watered stock and the money can be obtained in no other way than to take it out of the hides of the working class.

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In nearly all strikes nowadays the workers bump into trusts or associations of employers who are organized to extend mutual assistance. The days when it was possible to play one employer against his compeltor are about gone, never to return, no matter what fool promises are held out by so-called trust-busters. Not alone in shipbuilding, but in marine and railroad transportation, in mining, in iron and steel and other manufacturing lines we find combinations confronting the workers that issue ultimatums, and, where it comes to a rupture, are supported by all organizations of capital directly interested. To make anything like a successful fight it is necessary for the workers to keep pace with economic development and organize along industrial lines as rapidly as possible without causing unnecessary friction and thus defeating the ends sought. Industrial organization has its dangers, however, and it would be foolish to worship that form any more than to continually prate about the alleged advantages of trade autonomy. Today the trust that is not too greatly overcapitalized can lock its doors, throw the keys out of the window, watch prices for its products advance to the prohibitive point, and the magnates can wine and dine upon the best that the land affords while the workers are being starved into submission. The capitalist doesn't bother to ask, “Are you an industrialist or a trade autonomist,” and, paradoxical though it may seem, it frequently occurs that the more workers oppose the capitalist the quicker a strike is broken by its own weight or numbers. The feeding question in these big movements has become the dominating problem. Strikers and their families must eat, have clothes, pay rent, etc. But suppose that two million workers went on strike at the ballot-box against the whole capitalist brood! There is no starvation or suffering to face in such a proceeding. It will have to come to that and it will when we have had enough object lessons. And the capitalists are doing their level best to supply them.



# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## GERMANY.

The decrease in the Socialist representation in the Reichstag has produced some interesting results. The bourgeoisie are now called upon to do something with their great majority, besides use it to fight the workers. But they have no positive definite program, and constantly they seem to have lost themselves in an endless round of profitless discussion. So far has this gone that there is a general recognition of what has been designated as the "intellectual bankruptcy of the Reichstag."

However Bebel succeeded in rousing the Reichstag to something like its old form a short time ago with a speech on the misuse of the government during the last election. He gave instance after instance of intimidation and governmental interference and showed that the "Anti-Socialist League" had almost been made a branch of the government.

The circulation of the Berlin Vorwärts shows a remarkable increase within the last few years. The following table gives the circulation since January 1906.

January 1, 1906.....	99,800	December 1, 1906.....	121,000
April 1, 1906.....	108,000	January 1, 1907.....	123,000
July 1, 1906.....	112,000	February 1, 1907.....	130,000
October 1, 1906.....	116,000	March 5, 1907.....	138,000

## HUNGARY.

The national convention of the Hungarian Socialists met at Budapest on the 31st of March. The principal question before the convention was that of universal suffrage. The battle for this right has reached an acute point during the last year. The opposition has become solidified as the prospect of success for the proletariat grows closer. Hitherto the Socialists have supported such of the bourgeois parties as were pledged to universal suffrage. At the present time there is not one of these parties that is unreservedly pledged to give the right to vote to the workers. As a consequence the tactics of the socialists must be changed and this will be one of the principal subjects at the convention.

Another question that is of paramount importance in Hungary is the extreme misery of the farming proletariat. Over five million farm laborers exist upon an income of \$30 to \$40 a year, living upon

foul water and fouler bread. In spite of exceptional laws and the closest interpretation and brutal enforcement of the laws against organization a strike of these workers was brought about during the past year and some advantages gained.

The rapid extension of farming on a large scale is increasing this population and aggravating their condition. Emigration is impossible, owing to the great expense for transportation compared with their penniless condition.

Although the most ferocious legislation is in preparation to prevent further uprising of this class, yet it must be in vain since their revolt is a purely elementary one, caused by their desperate condition and would be unaffected by any repressive legislation.

Over 50,000 of these farm laborers are already organized, but the organization is many times more powerful than its numbers would indicate, as it is practically impossible for people in such a condition to support an organization, but they will all respond to the existing union's demands.

One of the principal tasks of the Socialist Party during the immediate future will be to extend and improve this organization so that it may be used for both political and economic purposes.

The Hungarian Socialist Party is an exclusively trade union organization. Only in its central body does it take on a political character.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Ancient Society**, by Lewis H. Morgan. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, 570 pp., \$1.50.

If almost any European scientist were asked to name the five greatest Americans, he would include Lewis H. Morgan in the list. Yet, the majority of Americans, even of the class which calls itself educated, have scarcely heard his name. Even those who follow the same line of study as that in which he was a master, are inclined to belittle his work and to speak of its being "supplanted by later research," or "having grave defects," or some similar ponderous, meaningless criticism.

Yet the fact is that Lewis H. Morgan laid the foundation of the comparative study of human institutions, particularly of the family, and that the principles which he uncovered have never been disproved. Nor have any of the multitude of works that have since appeared approached in any way the masterful treatment which he gave the subject, to say nothing of having supplanted him. This does not say that there has not been progress in this field, but that progress has been piecemeal, and most of the writers have been so consciously seeking to avoid that which gave Morgan his strength that they have vitiated their own work.

The reason for this attitude is apparent on a study of Morgan's work. As has been said by others, and especially by Engels, Morgan does for prehistoric society what Marx did for capitalism. He analyzes its basis and explains its dynamic forces in terms of the industrial base of society. To secure the material for this study he spent years among the Iroquois Indians, having been adopted by them into their tribal organization.

In his first chapter we find the division into historic periods that has now become classic, of savagery, barbarism and civilization, with their subdivisions, all based upon the methods of producing and distributing the necessities of life. The second chapter on "The Arts of Subsistence" traces the gradual evolution of the methods by which mankind has acquired control over the earth.

From this base he proceeds to a consideration of the "Growth of the Idea of Government," and once more lays down an epoch-making outline in showing the evolution from the first sex divisions on through gens, phratry, tribe and nation. Although this is based upon his researches among the Iroquois, yet he brings to the support of his position a wealth of facts from Grecian and Roman history.

Next comes "The Growth of the Idea of the Family," where this great human institution is traced through the various forms which property relations have given it in the progress of the race. Here

also he brings to the support of his position the fruits of wide research and investigation in widely separated fields.

The final division of the book treats of the "Growth of the Idea of Property," and especially its relation to forms of the family and methods of inheritance.

It is one of the things which must always redound to the credit of the socialists of America and the world that they have recognized the scientific value and significance of Morgan's great work. It will always remain one of the most striking illustrations of the triumph of class prejudices over love of truth that the so-called scientific world of America has constantly sought to belittle and suppress this work.

The present edition for the first time places the book within the reach of the average working class reader. It is well printed and bound and will prove a valuable addition to the library of any Socialist.

**A History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877.** Vols. VI and VII, by James Ford Rhodes. The Macmillan Co., Cloth, \$2.50 a volume.

With these two volumes another great history of the United States is completed. Owing to the limited period which is covered, this work occupies a niche of its own. The two last volumes cover the period from the close of the Civil War to the removal of the troops from the South by Hayes. This was the period of "Reconstruction" when modern capitalism came first into the saddle and rode rough shod over its own institutions and laws.

We hear John A. Bingham threatening in the halls of Congress that if the justices of the supreme court do not prove subservient to "sweep away at once their appellate jurisdiction in all cases." Under the remorseless leadership of Thad Stevens, the Pennsylvania iron-master, Congress passed laws which wiped out fundamental provisions of the American government, and of one of which the author says, "No law so unjust in its policy, so direful in its results had passed the American Congress since the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854."

The supreme court proved sufficiently subservient to avoid jurisdiction on the essential points. To quote, "The supreme court had acted with great prudence. Had the cases of Mississippi and Georgia been considered on their merits little doubt can exist, to argue from the decision of the Court in the Milligan case the preceding December, that a majority of the judges would have pronounced the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional. Current gossip had it that such was the belief of five of the nine judges, and, had such a decision been rendered, the Constitution already strained would have been put to a severer tension. One thing is sure: the Republican majority in Congress and among the Northern people was determined to have its way and would no more be stopped by legal principles and technicalities than it had been by the President's vetoes."

Here is the doctrine of revolution in its baldest form, and shows how the rising bourgeoisie regarded its own institutions.

The story of the plundering of the South is told, as it has been told many times before. On the whole the author seems to have made a more thorough examination of authorities and to occupy a more impartial attitude than any of the many historians who have covered the same ground.

Then comes the story of the triumphant plunder of society North and South by the victorious capitalist class. Grant became but the tool of clever unscrupulous men who used the national government as Tweed and his henchmen were using the municipal government of New York. In view of the otherwise cautious and fair position of the writer one is surprised to find him advocating a restriction of the right of suffrage by a property and educational qualification as a means of checking such wholesale stealing as that of Tweed. He surely is not blind to that fact that both of these provisions have been tried and found hopelessly wanting, and that the cause of municipal and national corruption lies in a wholly different quarter.

The story of the Hayes-Tilden election comes within the compass of these two volumes, and forms their conclusion, as with the election of Hayes and the withdrawal of troops from the South the long struggle over slavery was practically closed.

Perhaps it is because the scenes are so close as to render the historical perspective difficult, if not impossible, but there is a distinct sense that the author has not been quite so successful as in the volume immediately preceding these two.

Perhaps the explanation lies rather in the fact that he seems to have no grasp of the class interests which were warring and ruling at this time, that he fails to grasp the real social significance of the Reconstruction period, as the time when the great capitalist, as contrasted with the petit bourgeoisie was coming into power.

Nevertheless the history as a whole remains by far the most satisfactory treatment of the great struggle between wage and chattel slavery (although there is no hint of the recognition of the existence of the former) yet written.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Karl Marx died in 1883. In the same year appeared an English translation of the first volume of "Capital," which had been published in the German language in 1867. The second volume, edited from Marx's manuscripts by Frederick Engels, appeared in German in 1885, and the third volume in 1894. Neither of these volumes has yet been published in the English language. The work of translating and publishing involved a heavy expenditure, which no capitalist publisher cared to undertake.

This work has at last been made possible by the help of Comrade Eugene Dietzgen of Wiesbaden, Germany, who has made it possible for Ernest Untermann to give the necessary time to the labor of translation, and by the growth of our co-operative publishing house, which has at last become large enough to take the heavy risk involved in printing so expensive a book.

We have already printed and bound 2,000 copies of Volume I, in a style decidedly superior to the English edition and better beyond comparison than the only other American edition. The typesetting on the second volume is complete with the exception of the index, and an advance order of 500 copies has already been received from Swan Sonnenschein & Co., the London publishers who originally issued the first volume. We have said little as yet in the way of soliciting advance orders for the second volume, because we did not wish to keep our friends waiting too long after ordering the book before receiving it. Now however we feel safe in promising copies for delivery in May, and we want an order for the second volume from every one who has the first. We have ourselves sold not less than 1200 copies of the English edition and 1400 of our own. In addition to this number there are probably several thousand who have at some time or other bought either the London or the New York edition of Volume I. Ours will for many years be the **only** edition in the English language of volume II and III, since our translation is copyrighted, and will be published in England as well as in the United States.

We shall probably issue Volume III about the end of 1907, since the translation is already nearly completed, but for the present we are soliciting orders only for the first two volumes. These sell for \$2.00 each, including postage to any address. On another page we shall explain how one can get them at still lower prices by taking advantage of our system of co-operation.

The bills for printing Volume II will soon have to be paid. They will amount to about a thousand dollars. We believe enough books can be sold within the next six weeks to pay these bills. All that is needed is that every intelligent socialist who believes it worth while to study Marx's "Capital" should send a cash order at once.

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The main work of our co-operative publishing house is to circulate at the lowest possible prices the greatest possible number of books that truly represent the clearest thinking of the International socialist movement. On the cover of this month's **Review** appears a list of the socialist books published by us to retail at 50 cents a volume. The International Library of Social Science, the first volume of which appeared only last year, is composed of larger volumes, about eight by five and a half inches in size, and averaging nearly 300 pages to the volume. They are uniformly bound in extra cloth, tastefully stamped, uniform in appearance with each other and with the later editions of the Standard Socialist Series. The retail price, including postage to any address, is ONE DOLLAR a volume. Thirteen out of the sixteen are now ready; Volumes 15 and 16 will be published during April, and Volume 13, which has been unavoidably delayed, will appear in May.

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3. **The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. This book explains the theory of evolution in so graphic a style that those unaccustomed to reading will follow the meaning readily, while the book is so charming that it is warmly praised by writers like Mark Twain, Jack London and Eugene V. Debs. Mr. Moore does not merely state the theory, he also applies its logical results, in a way that makes a tremendously effective argument for the new social order for which the proletariat is striving.

4. **Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail. One of the most satisfactory and serviceable statements of socialist principles for new beginners that has ever appeared. For those who wish in some detail a connected statement in popular language of what socialists want and how they propose to get it, there is scarcely any other book so good.

5. **Some of the Philosophical Essays on Socialism and Science, Religion, Ethics, Critique of Reason and the World at Large.** By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by M. Beer and Th. Rothstein. With a biographical sketch and some introductory remarks by Eugene Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen. This volume includes lectures on the religion and the ethics of socialism, also studies on the nature and the limits of our powers of knowing and understanding.

6. **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.** By Antonio Labriola, translated by Charles H. Kerr. This book is the most adequate statement that has ever been published of one of the fundamental principles of modern socialism.

7. **Love's Coming-of-Age.** By Edward Carpenter. A series of brilliant and original essays on the relations of the sexes and the way in which these relations are being modified by economic changes.

The book is fundamental and revolutionary, yet the author has a poet's insight into the inmost feelings of both men and women.

**8. Looking Forward.** A treatise on the status of woman and the origin and growth of the family and the state. By Philip Rapaport. This work, although written by a lawyer and dealing to some extent with legal institutions, is popular in its style, and does not demand of the reader a previous knowledge of socialist literature.

**9. The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.** By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann, with an introduction by Dr. Anton Pannehoek. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen and Joseph Dietzgen, Jr. This volume includes Dietzgen's three principal works, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," "Letters on Logic" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Joseph Dietzgen, a contemporary and co-worker of Karl Marx, has long been recognized by European Socialists as one of the greatest writers on the Socialist philosophy.

**10. Socialism and Philosophy.** By Antonio Labriola, author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, translated from the Italian by Ernest Untermann. The style is simple, direct and forceful, while Labriola's thought is always keen and penetrating. The argument of the letters is a defense of the Marxian position against opportunism, sentimentalism and theories of "natural rights" and "eternal truths."

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**13. Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann. This new work, the author of which has just translated the second and third volumes of "Capital," is not a summary of Marx's book, but a simple, clear statement of the Marxian theory, arranged in such order as to make it most readily understood.

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**16. Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring).** By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. This is one of Engels' most important works, the one referred to in his introduction to "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and this is the first English version ever published.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

MAY, 1907

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## Socialism in France and Italy.\*

An Address delivered before the Society of Ethical Culture of Chicago,  
in Steinway Hall, Sunday morning, Jan. 20, 1907.

We are under the impression in this country that we are the most advanced and progressive country in the world. In comparison we think of the old world as backward and stagnant. But I was convinced a few years ago when in England, that that country had some things to teach us, that in certain respects she was politically and socially in advance of us. I admit that there is no place to make money in like America — and probably no place like it to get an education in; perhaps on these accounts we can explain the vast emigration to our shores from the old world — men have better chances of earning a living here, and their children have better chances to be educated. But at least as respect to education, parts of Europe are fast overtaking us, Germany and France particularly; everywhere the waters are stirring, even in Russia, and new currents of change are setting in, even if only to reach results already attained in this country; and in some respects we see Europe at a stage of evolution actually beyond us.

I have found it refreshing to consider and present to you two phases of European progress in recent addresses. The most Catholic country in Europe has become practically un-Catholic and is revising her political arrangements accordingly; treating

\* This article is written by a non-socialist, but largely because of that fact presents phases of socialism that would be overlooked by a Socialist. The critical reader will note some minor errors, the most important being the statement that the French Socialist are still acting with the Left Bloc. (Ed.)

the old church justly, even liberally and yet no longer forcing all citizens to support it. Another country, the most despotically governed in Europe, is rising or preparing to rise to throw off this despotism.\* The one is an episode in the breaking up of the old faith and the movement for religious freedom; the other is an episode in the struggle for political liberty. Though what they aim at we already have attained in this country, it is inspiring to witness the struggle — for the spirit of progress is the vital thing, rather than the special steps that are taken.

Today I wish to bring before you an episode of progress of another kind. It is in the social or economic realm. It has to do with a part of the population that has not been much considered in the past. I mean those who do the manual labor of the world. It is said, sometimes reproachfully, that Socialism is a class movement. Undoubtedly, that is just its significance — and after all, there is no reproach in its being so. In the higher movements of the worlds, in religion, in science, there may be no classes, but politics and economics are distinctly a lower sphere, and in them, at least till mankind are altogether regenerated, there are bound to be classes. We have manufacturers' associations and commercial clubs and count it only natural that industrial leaders and merchants should organize to protect and advance their interests. There is no reason why it should not be counted equally natural for working people to organize to protect and advance their interests.

Now Socialism is the view underlying the workingman's organization or party, *par excellence*. It is an extreme assertion of their rights and claims. From its point of view, the working-class are the only class worth considering in the State; they produce everything; they should control everything, they should have everything; the employing class, the capitalist class, the landlord class are parasitic, unnecessary and, in the future society, will pass away; the laboring class will be all in all; everyone will have to labor or else cease to have the means to live. It is an extreme proposition, and yet extravagant assertions are sometimes a sign of life. The vanity and overweening self-consciousness of the young often betoken real power, and the overstatements of socialist working people are a more hopeful sign than the understatements, the meek and lowly statements, which laborers have made, or been sedulously taught to make, in the past. If we want the workingman to rise in the world, to become

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\* See "The Conflict of the Catholic church with the French Republic," *Ethical Addresses* (Philadelphia) April, 1907; and "The Russian Revolution," *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1907.

a real sharer in the civilized life of society (as I urged in a lecture not long ago), we must not wonder at Socialism or be too much shocked by it, or do anything but expect it and even be encouraged by it—since at bottom it is but the exuberant expression of a new, vigorous life rising in the world, and discussion and reflection and experience will abate its excesses in time.

It is interesting to note that there is more socialism in the old world than here. This is partly because America has been the land of opportunity and a definitely marked working-class is only beginning to arise among us. Workingmen have often become small employers or even big employers in time; they have saved and become capitalists, sometimes landlords. When there is free passage from one class to another, classes hardly exist. Every boy may become President, so he may become a Rockefeller, a Marshall Field. In a fluid condition of society there is no chance for Socialism, no occasion for it. But plainly this is all because America is very young, and as fast as the resources of the country become appropriated and industry and trade organized, the chances for a workingman to pass from his class into the others become less. In old Europe there have never been the chances there are here, and we are gradually becoming more and more like Europe. There has always been a more or less definitely marked working-class there, and there is beginning to be one here. Hence it is only natural that there should be more Socialism in the old world than here, Socialism being preeminently the organization or party of the working-class.

But the point which I wish to bring out today, the episodes on which I wish to dwell, are to the effect that Socialism over there is getting into touch with actuality, is taking on some kind of workable shape, is learning moderation and wisdom, and promises to hammer itself out into an actually useful instrument for the reform of society. What I have particularly in mind is the attitude of a socialist leader like Jaurès, as shown in a great debate between him and Clemenceau in the French Chamber last June, and also the leadership of Ferri among the Italian socialists, as demonstrated in a stormy congress held in October in Rome. Still better proof would be furnished by the Independent Labor Party and the dominance of Kerr Hardie in it in the English Parliament and by the leadership of men of the type of Liebknecht and Bebel among the socialists of Germany; but as it happens, I was in southern Europe last year, and it is what happened there that particularly impressed me.

Socialism in France and Italy as elsewhere in Europe has been a thing of sentiment, of vague ideas, of criticism and protest,



and occasionally of violence down to recent years. It has been a kind of dream, that had little to do with the actual world—an aspiration that could not help being nebulous, because there was no attempt to put into practice. Even when it became a party and a program, it either elected no one or else so few that they had no influence and the program was simply generalities, formulas, in the air. It was only some fourteen years ago (1893) that the socialists began to count in the French Chamber; and it was only a year earlier (1892) that the Italian Socialist Party was born. But with numbers and influence, and even if ever so slight, a measure of responsibility, a change has been coming. There were 46 Socialist French Deputies as the result of the elections of 1902 and 76 were returned by the elections of last Spring. They with the "Socialist Radicals" and "Radicals" make now a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Socialist Party in Italy get between a fourth and a fifth of the votes polled throughout the kingdom and have in the neighborhood of thirty (30) representatives (sometimes more and sometimes less) in the Parliament at Rome. So large is the Socialist representation in the German Reichstag that Liebknecht contemplated the possibility that the Party might be called on "to govern, or at least share in the government," and he declared himself ready, if necessary, to become a Minister of the Kaiser;\* in England, John Burns is already in the Cabinet; in France, two socialists help make up the present ministry, Millerand and Briand; in Italy, a republican has already had a Cabinet position, and it is not at all impossible that a socialist might be offered one. The present king is one of the most cultivated minds and one of the most intelligent sovereigns in Europe and, it is said, would see with pleasure men like Turati and Bissolati (who represent the right wing of Italian Socialism) in power.\*\*

Circumstances like these change the situation for Socialism. The imminency of responsibility sobers men. Vague war cries and enthusiasm for the ideal no longer suffice. The question is no longer the theory merely, but what are we going to do? What have we definitely to propose as to the laws or the conduct or the government? I found myself taking a curious interest in following a verbatim report (in an Italian translation) of Jaurès' speeches in his parliamentary duel or tournament (as some have called it) with Clemenceau last summer. It was almost as if one were on the brink of a great social change—not a cataclysm, but an orderly transformation by law—and Jaurès were explaining to us as a practical man of affairs what it was and how

\* So T. H. B. Browne, "National Review", Nov. 1906.

\*\* So Raquin, "Nouvelle Revue", Nov. 15, 1906.

it was to be done. I say "almost," for it was not quite. And yet if Europe goes as it has been going for the last fifteen or twenty years, the Socialists will be actually in control of the government in Germany and France within the next quarter of a century; and perhaps in England and Italy, too; and there will be more discourses like that of Jaurès, and more than that, absolutely definite plans of what is to be done in the socialistic direction. I think you will be interested with me in noting some of the points which Jaurès made. First, a word about him personally. Jaurès, like Clemenceau, is a marked individual. He is not a workingman, but a lawyer, belonging to the middle class. He is a man of large culture, has written books on philosophy and on French history. He is singularly genial. He is spoken of as a "Bonny, bluff, red-faced M. Jaurès." By common consent he seems to be ranked the first orator in the French Assembly; he has massiveness, physical and mental, imagination, warmth of sentiment, humor — in short, power; and yet it is power in control. He is a thorough socialist and yet he does not rant; indeed, the reporter of a conservative and reliable Italian paper said that his criticisms of the ministry, pricking as they did on this occasion, were made in such good temper that they gave no offense and that the throng of elegant ladies present found that this terrible Jaures, who wished to send existing society head-over-heels into the air, was the most chastened and moderate orator in the French parliament.\*

The speeches of Jaurès, it should be explained, were after a declaration by the Government of its intentions or program and were a criticism of that declaration. They did not set out to state a program of his own, that Jaurès promises to do later; but in the course of his discussion the broad outlines of his program appear.

The main idea of Socialism comes out in its most sweeping form. It is the total transformation of society, in the interests of the laboring class. Only those who labor shall possess and direct. They will constitute collective society or the State, and only the collectivity will employ and produce and own the means of production, and private employers and capitalists will exist no more. This he frankly calls a revolutionary aim; but the method for attaining it, he as explicitly says, is reformatory and realistic. It is undoubtedly as to methods and plans of procedure that socialists most differ. "When we shout for ideas," said one of them in France, "it is as musical as heaven; when we discuss our practical program, it is as discordant as hell." Jaurès has his own ideas as to practical methods and is most pronounced in ut-

\* "Corriere della Sera" (Milan) 15 June, 1906.

tering them, and it is at least significant that he is one of the two great leaders of French Socialism today. He is against violence and for law and change by law. He recognizes that Socialism cannot be introduced by the violent act of a minority, but only by the clear will and consent of the immense majority of the citizens, and hence it is a preliminary necessity for Socialism to win the following of the majority. Some would array the working-class against the employing class and precipitate a general strike. Jaurès deprecates a general strike, regarding it as a preliminary to a violent revolution, which would probably fail. In this speech he said, "I deplore any and every attempt to turn the working-class from legal methods." Apropos of strikes which France had been having, he declared that the success of the great strikes depends on the tranquil force of the organizations, on the cohesion of the working people, on the way in which they proceed; that acts of violence against persons or property only compromise the victory and falsify the meaning of the struggle; that the Social Revolution does not propose to maltreat individuals, but rather to assure the life and dignity of all, even of those now privileged, under the common law of sovereign labor; that it no more proposes to destroy or injure property, workshops, mines or machinery, but to transfer proprietorship in these things to the laborers, liberated and organized; that attempts against property or persons are crimes against Socialism, even more than against present society.

It is true that Jaurès speaks of "expropriation;" for capital, the means of production, are in private hands now and they are to be in the hands of the collectivity in the future, according to the socialist plan. But let us not be offended at a word. "Expropriation" need not be an illegal thing, it need not be unjust. If it is done in a time of war, anything may happen. In our Civil War, the Southern planters were expropriated of their slaves as much as if a capitalist had his stocks and bonds taken away from him today, or a land-owner his land; and there was no compensation. But if the expropriation had taken place before the War, the slave-owners would probably have been compensated, as English slave-owners were in the West Indies earlier in the century. In times of peace expropriation goes on all the time for reasons of public utility—goes on according to law and with compensation. If a railroad is built, not everybody owning land along which the line must go, sells willingly, and the State allows the road to condemn land, paying for it at a reasonable price. Expropriation is now going on among some of our neighbors at Henry Booth House\* for a public park is to be made, and the land, if not willingly sold, has to be taken,

\* [A Chicago Social Settlement. Ed.]

but of course, with compensation. Public utility justifies and sometimes necessitates expropriation, but in a civilized community this is always done with the least possible disadvantage to the proprietor. It is important to notice — for it does not accord with popular ideas about Socialism—that the advocates of so revolutionary a change in the general property system as Socialism implies, do not always mean by expropriation confiscation. For reasons of public utility, as they hold, the factories, the mines, the railroads, the great landed estates, must be taken over by collective society and administered not for private profit, but for the general good, but it does not follow that the present owners are to be arbitrarily despoiled. Kautsky, one of the leaders in Germany, says, "Expropriation does not signify necessarily spoliation." Marx himself has said, "If we are able to proceed by means of indemnity, the revolution will cost less dear;" and Liebknecht urged it as a duty to give those who are injured by the legal changes to be made an indemnity as high as is compatible with the public interest. Jaurès in his speech quotes these authorities and is of the same mind with them. Of course, what will happen he does not know, as no one knows. He recalls the fact that the French Revolution of 1789 began by decreeing expropriation with indemnity and the purchase of the greater part of the old feudal rights, but that when Europe and her own nobles set themselves against France and brought on war, the expropriation was made without indemnity. But all his thought and hopes and plans are for a peaceful evolution of society and a legal revolution; the weight of his personality and all his persuasiveness, whether with working people or with the other classes in society, go that way; and in accordance with it, expropriation with compensation is his program. There is only one limitation: with the indemnity which slaveholders have sometimes received, when slavery was abolished, they were not at liberty to buy slaves again, and with the indemnity which capitalists may receive for the capital or means of production taken from them, they are not to be at liberty to buy the means of production again; they will only be able to use it for living purposes, not for reinvestment.

As an observer of the times, a student of social movements, I find this interesting, yet it must be admitted that it is still very general. When Jaurès becomes more specific and says what the new socialistic society will actually do, he speaks of its carrying on great public undertakings, of its providing healthy and spacious habitations for the people and breaking up landlord tyranny, of its bringing to the peasants the means of improving their cultivation of the land and of developing the fertility of

the soil, of its insuring all of every class against the risks of life, and of its raising salaries and wages, particularly those of the little and humble; for, taking on an almost evangelical strain and paraphrasing the words of Jesus, he declared it would not be necessary that a single worker should perish. It is all admirable in conception and spirit, yet it is not absolutely different from tendencies existing in society today, and particularly when Jaurès speaks of what is to be done now, before the new society is inaugurated, his proposals are much the same as those which his opponent in the duel, Clemenceau, himself makes. He is for an income tax, a progressive one; but Clemenceau is, too. He is for an eight-hour day; but Clemenceau will do all in his power to obtain it (all, that is, without provoking a catastrophe, which would be involved in a sudden, uniform, compulsory substitution of eight hours for the eleven hours now commonly prevailing). He is for the organization of labor and collective bargaining as to wages; but Clemenceau is for the same things, save that when there are those who do not wish to enter the organizations, he would respect and protect their liberty. Jaurès wants the railroads and mines nationalized; but Clemenceau is against private monopolies too, and differs only (if he differs at all) in that he would take them up one by one and be guided more or less by circumstances as to when and how; he was ready, he declared, to begin proceedings for the purchase of certain railways now. Indeed, Clemenceau said in so many words to Jaurès, "Your practical program is ours," and Jaurès afterwards agreed as to the truth of the statement.

After England, French politics are in this way the most interesting in Europe at the present time; for since the debate I am describing, Clemenceau has become the head of the ministry, and, in the broad outlines of his policy, is backed by a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies — a majority in which Radicals, Socialist Radicals and Socialists form one "bloc" (as it is called), against the Royalists, conservatives and reactionaries generally. The whole level of Parliamentary ideas and action is lifted, so that, after England at least, France leads Europe; though the movement is the same in kind as is rising in our country and has as its spokesmen Roosevelt and Bryan, who after all do not so widely differ. But the conclusion of this part of my discussion, which I particularly wished to draw is that Socialism, when it ceases to be a thing of the closet, mingles with men, enters politics and is bent on accomplishing something, tends to abate its extravagance and fanaticism and becomes simply another fresh force for leading the world onward and upward. The happiest thing for Socialism (and for the world)

would be to actually acquire governmental power somewhere, for then it would grow more practical yet, would slough off still more some of its unworkable ideas, would discover simply by facing the situation and actual experience that labor and the laboring man were not everything in the State, that society needed men capable of taking the lead and willing to run risks in industry and that it needed men ready to save and re-invest, that the real question was not of one class rising to supreme power, but of an adjustment of classes, all contributing in various ways and by various services to the good and harmony of the commonwealth. The only class that I can see is really superfluous in society is the landlord class; not those who build houses and improve land, but those who receive ground rent; they do not need to do anything for society, but they can take all the same.

But now let me turn to Italy. The Socialist Party is not nearly as far along in the path of development here as in France. It is not in power or anywhere near to such a consummation. But it is moving in the same direction, and has just passed through a crisis, in which a decided defeat was given to its anarchistic wing. In Italy, and I understand also in France, we have a singular phenomenon, i. e., to Americans and Anglo-Saxons. Here and in England the trade Unions have been conservative organizations; in Italy they are radical and revolutionary organizations. Here they have been opposed to Socialism and have sharply differentiated themselves from it; there they have been born of Socialism. The difference in temper and method is doubtless due to a difference in origin. Here they arose from economical necessities; there from socialistic propaganda. The result is that there are two kinds of Socialism in Italy: the trade-union type, which is full of class energy and class pride, which really wants nothing to do with the State and believes it can fight its own battles, which would like to meet the whole array of employers with a general strike and is sure it would come out on top, in short, is anarchistic and revolutionary (in the popular sense of those words); and then the type more like that which Jaurès represents in France and of which Professor Ferri is the conspicuous representative in Italy, which believes in working in and through the State and in harmony with civil order, which recognizes the legitimate place and field of trade organizations, but opposes their anarchism, and which while holding to the fundamental ideals (or, as I am compelled to say, illusions and exaggerations) of Socialism, works also for practical reforms. This latter type has itself two wings, one which accepts or at least does not oppose the present monarchy and believes it more important to work for social changes, than for a new form

of government; and the other, much the larger, which is frankly republican and democratic. These two wings, the right and the center, as they might be called of the Socialist Party as a whole, had an overwhelming victory over the left wing (the trade-unionists or syndicalists) at the congress in Rome last October. Let me briefly indicate the situation, for I believe the result is of immense significance for the development of Socialism in Italy and indeed for the order and progress of Italian society.

When the Socialist Party was formed some fifteen years ago there was a definite rupture with the anarchists, and it was supposed that Socialism would be henceforth free from their influence. The vigorous trade unions formed in the northern manufacturing cities under socialist influence claimed, however, to be socialist and were too numerous, influential and powerful to be disregarded. They had their propaganda, their journals and even professors on their side. They unquestionably represented life and vigor in the general workingmen's movement. There was a self-reliance about them that in itself is good. The thing to do for a wise political leader was somehow to win them, recognize them and yet educate them to broader views. Conservative socialists simply opposed them, but Professor Ferri has proved himself a man of political genius. Ferri is a professor of law in the University of Rome. His works on criminology are known to all experts on that subject; he is a scholar, a man of science; yet his practical gifts are equally remarkable. I heard him give a lecture in Florence on "Crime," which showed the practiced speaker, I might say the orator; and he is also a member of the Italian Parliament, held in eminent respect by his colleagues of every shade of opinion, and a practical political manager. Ferri would not, like the conservatives, outlaw the Syndicalists (or anarchistic trade-unionists), he held them in the party and tried to convert them; and he and men like him are converting them. The organizations are strong and growing, but their attitude to law and order is changing; those who represent the old extreme position are diminishing in number — from 7,473 votes which they had at the Bologna congress in 1904, they dropped to 5,278 at the recent congress in Rome. Ferri said he wanted the syndicalists, but not their Syndicalism; and that is just what he is getting. (It is odd, I may say by the way, that the only account of the recent congress in the *SOCIALIST REVIEW* of this country, along with an extended article on Italian Socialism, is written entirely from the point of view of this defeated Syndicalism.) On the other hand, the center or "Integralists" as Ferri's party is called, rose from 12,560 votes at Bologna to 18,000 at Rome, or if addition is made of the votes of the "right"

(or "Reformists," as they are called) there would be upwards of 8,000 more. That is, the Italian Socialist Party stands over five to one against catastrophic, anti-state views.

It is because of this and of tendencies like this that I venture to speak of recent episodes in French and Italian Socialism as examples of progress in the old world. There are, I know, many in this country, very many, for whom Socialism is only a word that irritates. They do not look around it or beneath it or behind. It means disturbance of business, strikes, discontent, insurrection, revolution—all a kind of horrid jumble in their minds. They do not care to hear it mentioned except for denunciation and abuse. It is in just such an atmosphere that Socialism thrives, it is a reaction against it; for extremes breed one another. But from a large, calm and reasonable standpoint—and what is an Ethical lecturer for but to try to take it?—the subject acquires a different aspect. The movements that arise in history are almost always mixed, and truth and error, good and bad, are generally mingled in them. It would be extraordinary if a great popular movement arose in the world, without any basis or reason. If one does not look at Socialism from the standpoint of his personal or class interests, but scientifically, he finds it, and the wonderful growth it is having in recent years, full of significance. It is the working-class rising to consciousness of itself. It is the strong hand and arm saying, "And I too am a man," "I am not for others simply, I am for myself." It is this sense of individuality that is the characteristic mark of the modern world. "We are all to serve," that is the old gospel; "We are all to be served," that is the new\*—not indeed so gracious as the old, and a trifle proud, but down at bottom, beneath all exaggerations and extravagances, covering an inestimable element, the sentiment of personal dignity. Woman feels this,—it is the bedrock of the women's movement. And labor feels it and asks that the world be arranged for it as well as for other people. Socialism is simply the exaggeration of this new consciousness of the workingman. It is not absolutely, but relatively a reason for encouragement, a phase of progress. The great matter of concern, the only cause for anxiety, is how the workingman takes the new idea, whether it leads him to isolate himself and antagonize society or whether he is ready to work it out in and with, if not through, society. If he remains in society, if however he may antagonize single elements or classes, he keeps within the limits of civil order, he will by contact and rubbing with others, by experience and disappointment and all the ways we human beings learn, get finally to the truth and right of things

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\* I do not say that the old gospel is superseded; both are true.



and be a useful member of society. But if he arrays himself against society, if civil order is nothing to him, if law, the conquest of the ages over barbarism, is nothing to him, if his idea that he is the only man who counts in the world he is not to prove by merit, but to put through by force, then are unhappy times in store both for him and society. It is because this is so capital an issue that I took satisfaction in reading about the episodes I have narrated to you, while I was abroad and now take satisfaction in reporting them. They mean substantially that whatever changes are to come in the world are not to violate the old, deep, time-honored principles of civilization. I have no doubt there will come changes, I look for them, I anticipate them in this very realm about which there is so much feeling and hot dispute today. More and more I believe the laboring man is to rise in material and intellectual and moral being; more and more I believe he is to become a full participating member in civilized society. I see in Socialism itself promise. I see in the recent developments of Socialism in Europe promise, for they assure us that the workingman is not to be an outlaw, but one of us, that he is to submit to the restraints that all of us recognize, that he is to learn like the rest of us, that he is to be a new brother in the human household, not a servant, but a man.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.

## A Dutch "Nowhere".

AS a rule I prefer to take my fiction separate from my economics and my sociology. That does not mean that I dislike or belittle fiction. On the contrary, I count that year lost during which I do not re-read at least once Dumas', "The Three Guardsmen," George Meredith's, "The Shaving of Shagpat," Dickens' "Pickwick Papers," and Thackeray's "The Newcomes." But I have little use for Utopian romances and socialistic novels. This is partly because Socialism is but the expression of Proletarian aspirations, and the utopian romance appeals mainly if not solely to the discontented bourgeoisie; and partly because the economic teaching of the socialistic novel is usually unsound and mischievous. This is why I have avoided reading a recent novel describing packing-house life—a novel, which so far as I can judge has greatly advanced the noble cause of vegetarianism. Jack London and others have referred to it as "The Uncle Tom's Cabin" of wage-slavery. This shows a total misconception both of the Civil War and of the coming Social Revolution. Humanitarian sentiment did not free the chattel slave; and it will never free the wage-slave. But I do not doubt that "The Jungle" has done much to spread the knowledge of socialism, and I rejoice in it.

In spite of the views I have just enunciated, I am not pig-headed enough to refuse to enjoy a noble work of human genius simply because it happens to glorify a more or less socialistic ideal. Such a work we have in Frederik van Eeden's *De Kleine Johannes*. It has recently been translated from the Dutch, and published by John W. Luce & Co., Boston, under the title of "The Quest".

It is a highly imaginative, poetical book—might almost be called a great epic poem. Like most works of true genius it rebels against the critic's attempt to classify it and give it a label. It is a sort of compound of Barrie's "Little White Bird" (Peter Pan), the New Testament, Pilgrim's Progress, Dante's *Inferno*, and William Morris's *News from Nowhere*. But all of these divers elements are fused and blended together by Van Eeden's creative genius. The author shares Ruskin's "strange liking for kings" and distrust of pure democracy. Traces of that Anarchism, which has affected the labor-movement more profoundly in Holland than in any other country, keep cropping out.

There is scarcely a belief known to us moderns that is not subjected to the penetrating but kindly satire of the author.

Early in the book Windekind, who "was born in the cup of a wind-flower", takes Little Johannes to the crickets' school, "but it was not in the least like that which the teacher of his school taught. First came geography. They knew nothing of the parts of the world. They were only obliged to learn twenty-six dunes and two ponds. No one could know anything about what lay beyond, said the teacher, and whatever might be told about it was nothing but idle fancy."

Windekind also took him to see the ants, and an old ant, who was herding plant-lice, gave him some very interesting information.

"The old ant said that they were living under great stress on account of the military campaign which was about to be executed. They were going, with a huge force, to attack another ant colony not far away; to destroy the nest, and to steal or kill the larvae. To accomplish this, they would need all the help possible, and thus they must first settle the most urgent affairs.

'What is the reason for this military expedition?' asked Johannes. 'It does not seem nice.'

'Indeed,' said the herder, 'it is a very fine and praise-worthy enterprise! You must know that it is the Fighting-Ants we are going to attack. We are going to extirpate their species, and that is a very good deed.'

'Are not you Fighting-Ants, then?'

'Certainly not! What makes you think so? We are Peace-Ants.'

'Then what does that mean?'

'Do you not know? I will explain. Once, all the ants were continually fighting—not a day passed without great slaughter. Then there came a good, wise ant who thought it would save a great deal of trouble if all the ants would agree to fight no more.

'When he said that, they all found it very strange; and what did they do but begin to bite him into pieces. Later, came still other ants who were of the very same opinion. These also were bitten into mince-meat. But so many of them kept coming that the biting-up became too much work for the others.

'Then they named themselves Peace-Ants, and all agreed that the first Peace-Ant was right. Whoever dissented was, in his turn, bitten up. Thus, nearly all the ants nowadays have become Peace-Ants, and the remnants of the first Peace-Ant have been preserved with great care and respect. We have the head—the authentic head. We have laid waste twelve other colonies, and have murdered the ants who pretended to have the genuine head. Now, there are only four such colonies left. They call themselves Peace-Ants, but they are really Fighting-Ants; because, you see, we have the true head, and the Peace-Ant had but one head. We

are going, one of these days, to stamp out the thirteenth colony. You see now, that this is a good work.'"

The real hero of the book is Markus, a scissors-grinding Christ, who makes his debut in true biblical fashion promenading on the briny deep. Markus, I think, must be understood as uttering Van Eeden's own views; so that Socialists will want to know what Markus had to say. Markus was present at a big Socialist meeting; the first speech was made by Dr. Felbeck and was nearly good enough to have been made by Hillquit or Simons. He was followed by an Impossibilist named Hakkema who talked for all the world like R. A. Morris or Knoche. After that Markus arose and said:

"There are fathers and mothers here who know what spoiled children are. The spoiled child that is always coaxed and indulged, like the one that is always constrained, becomes at last capricious, malicious, and sickly.

"Shall we then treat one another as we may not our children? People are flattered by undue praise of their power and influence—are carried away by the sweetness of fine words concerning the injustice they have too long endured and concerning their right to property and to happiness. You all listen to that eagerly, do you not?

"But that to which one listens most eagerly, it is not always best to say. There are hard things to hear, which must, however, be said and be listened to.

"I know that you are not going to applaud me, as you did those two others; but yet I am a better friend to you than they are.

"Among you there are those who suffer injustice. Yet you must not exalt yourselves. You should be ashamed of it. For whoever continues to suffer injustice is too weak, too stupid, or too indifferent to overcome it.

"You must not ask, 'Why is it done to me?' but, 'Why cannot I overcome it?'

"The answer to that question is, weakness, stupidity, and indifference.

"I do not blame you; but I say, blame not others, only yourselves. That is the sole way to betterment.

"Is there one here—a single one—who dares assure me, solemnly, that if an honorable place were offered him by his master, on account of his good work and his good judgment, with higher pay than that of his comrades—that he would, in such case, reply, 'No, my master, I will not accept; for that would be treachery to my comrades, and desertion to your party.' Is there one such? If so, let him stand up."

But no one stirred, and the silence remained unbroken.

"Well, then," continued Markus, "neither is there here a single one who has the right to rail at the rich whom he would hate and supplant. For each of you in their place would do what the rich do. The affairs of the world would be no better conducted were you, not they, at the helm.

"How you delude and flatter and fawn upon one another! You continually hear that you are the innocent, downtrodden ones who have so much to suffer; who are worthy of so much better things; who are so good and so powerful; who would rule the world so well; whose turn it now is to have ease and luxury.

"Men, even if this were so, would it be well that you should always be told it? Would it not make of you conceited fools? Would not the reality revenge itself frightfully upon yourselves, and upon those fawners and flatterers?

"It is, instead, falsehood and conceit.

"You would not rule the world better—you have neither the wisdom nor the charity to do so. You are no more worthy of pity than are your oppressors, for when they injure your bodies they injure also their own souls. The rich are in paths more perilous than are the poor, and it is always better to suffer wrong than to commit it.

"The good things of the earth do not yet belong to you, for you would make the same misuse of them as do those against whom you are being incited.

"Wage war, and desist not until death; but the war of the righteous against the unrighteous, of the wise and charitable against the stupid and sensual. And question not whence come your companions in arms, for you are not the only unhappy ones, you are not alone merciful among men, and goodwill and uprightness are not the exclusive possessions of the poor."

If, after that speech, you can classify Markus (Van Eeden), you can do more than I can; though I think Dr. Felbeck did not come, very wide of the mark, when he said:—

"Comrades, we do not need to ask whence the wind blows. This is one more of that obsolete little band of old-fashioned, citizen (bourgeois) idealists who wish to reform the world with tracts and sermons, and to keep the toilers content in subjection and resignation. Laborers, have you not, I ask, practised patience long enough? Have you, then, no right to the pleasures of life? Must you fill the hungry stomachs of your little ones with palaver about wisdom and charity?"

"No, no!" roared the crowd, freed instantly from the spell of respect under which for a moment they had been held.

"Do not," continued Dr. Felbeck, "let yourselves be befogged by those tedious maunderings that would reason away the strife of the classes. Oh, true! To such the gentlemen of the safety-box (the police) listen eagerly enough, for they are, oh,

so afraid of the War of the Classes! But if they were to hear this gentleman talk, they would shout their approval. Take notice, this gentleman will do much to further it. Of course, they have his medal all ready for him."

"And a pension," added Hakkema (the Impossibleist), while the audience laughed.

Toward the end of the book, Windekind takes Little Johannes a thousand years into the future, and shows him the world of the future. It is a solemnly happy sort of world; there are no end of beautiful air-ships and *no cities*. There is much singing in pure, mellifluous Dutch." Robert Blatchford, in the "explanatory remarks" (*Clarion*, March 22, 1907), that he appends to his new story, "The Sorcery Shop," points out the difficulty of describing the architecture of the future, and observes: "And I notice that in 'News from Nowhere' even William Morris takes refuge in generalization." Not so Van Eeden; he describes in minutest detail the marvelous buildings in which the handsome, flower-carrying men and women of the future listen to the music of Bach and Beethoven and sing their "pure mellifluous Dutch."

I have two objections to his Utopia: First, it is too far off; I am not going to wait any thousand years; Second, there are five kings, four men and a woman. My democracy might get over the fact of there being kings, as they seem to have no power save such as their fellows yield them on account of their beauty, wisdom and goodness; but I cannot see any use in those four *men* kings. If I have to be bossed by any body, I prefer a woman boss. And if the women of the future are anything like the women I know, one of them can do bossing enough by herself without having four mere men to help her.

If I were reviewing this book for pay for one of our critical (non-socialist) periodicals, I would have to pretend to understand Van Eeden through and through, and proceed to affix just the correct label, and place his charming book on its exact rightful spot on the precise shelf where it belongs. But as I am not writing for pay, but am merely trying to tell my comrades about a book I have found very interesting, I will frankly confess I do not understand Van Eeden and I have not yet been able to make up my mind about his book. That is precisely the reason I ask the rest of you to read it. It stimulates thought on more subjects than any book I have read for a long time. And, after all, the chief value of a book is not so much in the truths it teaches, as in the stimulus it gives us to think out truths for ourselves.

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

April 15, 1907.

## Our Bourgeois President.

UNTIL the advent of Pres. Roosevelt, the Republican party was in fact, and almost in avowal, the representative of the large corporations, of what we call the plutocratic or predatory element of the community. It was the avowed friend of the high protective tariff, undeniably a predatory device, to which can be directly traced many of our most colossal fortunes. It was the avowed friend of imperialism and territorial aggrandizement resulting in the annexation of the Philippines, an experiment which involves an immense annual expense or tax on the general community in order that a few favored individuals may enormously enrich themselves by the exploitation of the people and the natural resources of these island possessions. It was the tolerant friend of the trust in the form we know it; that is to say, of the privately owned trust or industrial combination for the purpose of keeping down expenses and wages and keeping up prices and dividends.

In its slogan of "four more years of the full dinner pail" it was the ostensible friend of the laboring man, a slogan which was proved to be hypocritical by the counter slogan of "stand pat" on the evils to which the intelligent working man objected. But even when it was ostensibly for the working man, the promised benefit was an indirect one dependent on the direct benefit through special privilege to the capitalists. A dinner pail, full or empty, was still contemplated for the laboring man. In other words, the implication was that the prosperity of the working man depends on the prosperity of predatory interests which fundamental economic laws do not bear out.

In 1896 was the great Bryan campaign. This campaign is often loosely thought of as a struggle between the plutocrats and the working classes. But this is not so. It was a struggle between the plutocratic element on the Republican side and the middle class element on the Democratic side, with the working class or proletariat divided. The plutocratic element consisted of the money lords and industrial barons with their interminable horde of personal lackeys, business retainers and subsidized moulders of public opinion. They secured a large proletarian vote on the well advertised threat that, if Bryan were elected, mills and factories would close. This threat, sophisticated though it was, appealed strongly to the immediate economic interests of the laboring classes.

Bryan also received a large proletarian support but it was as truly emotional, that is, non-rational and unintelligent, as the proletarian vote for the Republicans. The laboring classes did not understand the silver question any more than Bryan did himself. They liked the sound of that fallacious slogan "free silver," but they could not really see how they were to get any more of it in the event of Bryan's election. They did not understand the trust question any more than Bryan did himself, but they were against the trust because it was a concrete and a convenient object of execration.

But the middle classes, the small merchant, the small manufacturer, the farmer, and many of the jobbers, to say nothing of the silver interests themselves, were somewhat more intelligent. Bryan appealed to them more clearly and directly. These are invariably the people who owe money, who owe definite fixed sums measured symbolically in dollars and cents; who almost invariably owe more than is coming to them; who have purchased on credit; who have borrowed from the bank against their stock, their integrity and their local reputation for being able to do business at a profit, and who depend upon future profits for the liquidation of these debts. It matters not to them whether prices change or not. They can readily adjust themselves to such changes. But if they have definitely promised to pay dollars and are authorized by the law of the land to return something less in value than the dollar borrowed, they can see a direct economic advantage to themselves and are willing to work for it.

The middle class also viewed the trust question with greater discernment. They know better than anyone else whom the trust is injuring, for it is the middle class which the trust is destroying. The trust, per se, has little if any effect on the rate of wages. But the small merchant whom the trust gradually forces to the wall by cut-throat competition, meets his tormentor face to face. The farmer or stock raiser who finds it ever more difficult to market his product owing to the practice of the railroads of charging what the traffic will bear, and who, having reached the market with their goods, are forced to deal on the terms fixed by the trust, meet their tormentors face to face. The travelling salesman who, by his industry and pleasing personality, has built up a territory, knows that he must lose his job and seek new fields because the trust has no longer any need of salesmen. These men are against the trust. They may not have the shadow of an intelligent idea of how to proceed, but they are against the trust. It menaces their very existence. Of course the whole middle class did not at that time nor does it now fully



realize what was going on and many were influenced by other considerations, but we can only deal here with the type. Bryan said he was going to do something to the trusts and so they were for him.

The Bryan wave was a new departure for the Democratic party. It is true that Cleveland had promised to do something on the tariff question, but he did not do it, and he was thenceforth classed as a plutocrat or plutocratic Democrat. With the advent of Bryan, the out-and-out plutocratic Democrats revolted and formed the ephemeral Gold Democratic party.

With slight modifications, the relative standing of the parties remained in statu quo until the death of McKinley and the accession of Roosevelt. We now view Republican partyism cast in a new role. To be an ideal Republican, one must be safe, sane and conservative; a stickler for form; an adept at glittering generalities; a respecter of senatorial and other diplomatic courtesies, and a shouter for the Grand Old Party, right or wrong, first, last and all the time. Theodore Roosevelt was not an ideal Republican. He possessed very few of these attributes. He was an iconoclast, a rough-rider, a bold hunter, impulsive, strenuous and uncertain.

A highly interesting spectacle was this new president and especially after the election of 1904 when he had received an overwhelming popular endorsement; democratic in his instincts, plutocratic in his environment and bourgeois in his viewpoint. The Democrats recognized this change in Republican candidates and sought to take advantage of it by the nomination of Parker who was almost insulting in his plutocracy. The hoped for plutocratic support did not go to Parker partly because they saw it was no use to try to elect him and partly because they feared his election would involve the defeat of many at a time-tried Republican office-holder.

The situation had become completely reversed. Roosevelt, the bourgeois, was the candidate of the plutocratic party; Parker the plutocrat, was the candidate of the bourgeois party.

Aside from the silver question which even Bryan now admits to be dead and which he practically had abandoned as early as 1900, there is scarcely a hair's breadth difference between Bryan the Democrat, in 1896, and Roosevelt the Republican in 1906. If Roosevelt denies this, certainly the Bryan followers will not. I recently heard one of the most prominent Bryan shouters remark to an old line Republican, "if we couldn't get the man we wanted (meaning Bryan), the next best thing was to elect the man you didn't want." Many Bryan followers delight in calling themselves "Roosevelt Democrats" and it is a matter

of frequent comment in the press that the radicalism of 1896 is the conservatism of to-day.

It is undoubtedly true that Roosevelt has proceeded much the same as Bryan would have proceeded. This is especially true of the trust question. Before Roosevelt, the attitude of the Republicans was in no wise inimical to the trusts. For instance, Senator Hanna, the leading plutocratic politician of the last decade, never admitted that the trust, per se, was bad. He used to say there were good trusts and bad trusts. Bryan does not admit there are any good trusts, while Roosevelt, without making any general statements, proceeds indiscriminately and impotently against one or two of the more conspicuous trusts.

But admitting that many of our evils are directly traceable to the trustification of our industries, there are proposed two methods or dealing with it; first, by regulating, to the point of destruction if necessary, the trust, and, second, by letting the government, the people, acquire the ownership of them. It is on the unanimity of their methods in dealing with the trust that the similarity of Bryan and Roosevelt is most clearly seen. Bryan, while not specially stating just how he proposed to deal with the trust, has made the significant, if actually meaningless, statement that the people should not engage in industry that can be safely left to private individuals. Roosevelt has said the same. In action, Roosevelt has brought a few suits, resulting, in some cases, in fines and, in most cases, resulting in fizzles.

This manner of dealing with the trust is distinctly bourgeois. It is the attitude of the small business man and the small jobber who are being crushed, as such. Some few indeed there are of these who gain affluence by securing high positions in the trust that absorbs them, but most of them are pushed down into the ranks of the mere salaried proletariat. But whatever else may be claimed for this method of dealing with the trusts, it certainly cannot be claimed that it improves in any way the condition of the proletariat. Even if it should keep down the cost of living, it does not keep up the nominal wage, the actual wage being the ratio of these two factors.

Not only in this one instance, however, do President Roosevelt's bourgeois characteristics depend for substantiation. In the settlement of the coal strike, he took the side neither of the coal barons nor of the strikers. He stepped in when the "consumer," a popular approximate synonym for the middle class, was threatened. It was the interest of the "consumer" alone that he insisted should be conserved. He enforced a compromise not because the coal barons were making too much and not because the workmen were making too little, but because the middle class ob-

jected and demanded coal. That both parties to the dispute were forced to make concessions was merely incidental.

So in the railroad rebate question. This question does not even get so far as the consumer. On its very face, it is simply a quarrel between the privileged, plutocratic, big shippers, the trusts, and the small shippers, the bourgeoisie. An eradication of the rebate system will not affect prices of commodities for, whatever concessions the small shippers may secure they will put in their own pockets. Nor has the giving or withholding of rebates any permanent effect on the rate of wage and therefore it can in no sense be called a proletarian measure. The railroad rate squabble is in fact merely a three-cornered fight for profits between the small shipper, the big shipper and the railroad or when, as often happens, the big shipper and the railroad are practically identical, it becomes a duel.

Likewise, in the recent agitation over the frightful conditions at the Chicago stock-yards, President Roosevelt again arrayed himself on the side of the middle class, the so-called consumer. President Roosevelt read "The Jungle" which depicted powerfully the awful crushing of the submerged human beings in the meat industries, but this phase of the work received practically no notice from him. If it is dangerous and nauseating to eat meat prepared in such an environment, how much more dangerous and nauseating it must be to work there. A bill was passed, not to enable the workers to get better meat at the same price or the same meat at a lower price or to get higher wages, but to enable the packers to regain the lost foreign markets for American meat products.

The bourgeois attitude of the president is again shown in his periodical farcical efforts, through Secretary Shaw, to keep down the interest rate by "coming to the relief of Wall street." It is not the plutocrat who borrows money. He owns the banks and gets it for nothing without borrowing. It is not the day-laborer who borrows money (except in insignificant sums from the usurious small fry of money harpies), for he has no credit. It is the small business man, the small capitalist, the bourgeoisie, who borrow money against their stock and their capital in order that they may work up to their full efficiency. That the so-called "reliefs" of Secretary Shaw are really of benefit only to the market manipulators by furnishing them opportunities to shear fresh crops of fleece is beside the present question. But at least it may be said that Secretary Shaw has never pretended these monetary aids to have any effect on the wage rate.

President Roosevelt has been praised for his advanced stand on the tariff question, although he has apparently relaxed his

efforts in this direction. But this, as before, concerns only the middle class. The rate of wages is not involved. The best proof of this is the fact that in free trade Great Britain, as well as in other free trade countries, the condition of the proletariat is fully as miserable as in this country, if not more so.

This is not written in a hostile or partisan or fault-finding spirit. I do not mean to decide whether these things ought to be or ought not to be. I only say they are. I am not deciding whether in the absolute, President Roosevelt is right or wrong in his attitude. Absolute right or absolute wrong is most elusive. On the contrary, it may be admitted that President Roosevelt is right from his viewpoint. The contention here is that his viewpoint is that of the bourgeoisie.

In an economic sense, the United States has, until recently, been considered distinctly a bourgeois country, the country of glorious opportunities for the man with small capital, or even for the man with no capital. We had no class lines, no caste, no royalty, no titles, no landed or other aristocracy. This was our pride and our boast. But that condition, if it ever even approximately existed, has past. In addition to a large middle class, we now have a definite industrial and commercial aristocracy together with its necessary concomitant, a large proletarian class. Class lines have developed here and are as readily recognized by anyone who will take the trouble to observe what is going on, as in the older countries where they have always been universally recognized.

When the phenomenon of class lines exists or arises, the desideratum is not to perpetuate, but to eradicate them. The proper function of government, unquestionably of democratic government, is to administer for all classes so equally as to completely prevent or abolish classes. Our task as suffragists is not to choose officials who will represent and protect the interests of one class to the exclusion and at the expense of other classes, but to choose officials who will represent all classes without favor, that is to say, the whole community, irrespective of classes. If President Roosevelt is wrong therefore, it is because he represents the middle class to the exclusion not only of the proletariat, but oftentimes of the plutocrat as well. A house divided against itself cannot stand and there is no more certain an indication of a house divided against itself than the phenomenon of class lines.

Where there are two or more classes, there is a constant shifting in respect of those composing them and the attributes by which the different classes are distinguished and identified. The nearest exception to this rule may be found in the castes

of India and other Oriental countries, but even in these places, there is always a slight movement and, furthermore, the character of this movement is typical of the general character of all similar movements. An individual passes almost invariably from an upper to a lower class or caste. This is obviously true, for position in an upper, better or stronger class depends on the possession of certain mental or physical powers or superiorities. To acquire this power or superiority is as a rule, manifestly more difficult than to lose it. If one possesses the requisite power there is always the chance that someone may deprive him of it or that he may otherwise lose it. If he does not possess it, or has lost it, it is most likely lost irrevocably. This at least is the law of our present competitive society. Whether or not it will ever be different is another matter.

The erection of this house divided against itself is due to the prevalence of certain superstitions, customs, laws, regulations and the like, which may have been deliberately adopted and eminently fitted to conditions at the time of their adoption or which were insidiously propagated by the predatory few. If the former, the time comes when they have outlived their usefulness. If the latter, their usefulness was never greater than that of any other barnacle or parasite.

The falling of the house divided against itself occurs in two sections or stages. In the first stage, the lower exploited class, now by far the largest class in the community, becomes conscious that it is a separate and distinct class and that it is an exploited class. This discovery naturally produces a desire to find the exact superstition, custom, device, law or regulation which is responsible for their being thus set apart and exploited. The second stage in the falling of our house divided against itself, the crash, occurs when a sufficient number have decided the real cause and united in a determination to remove it.

To apply these generalities to the United States, it may be said that we started at the American Revolution as a community of no classes (exclusive of course of chattel slaves). So long as the country was relatively undeveloped and so long as methods of development were slow and crude, class lines were relatively slow in forming. But the multiplicity of inventions and scientific discoveries has sent development forward in geometrical progression and class lines have recently formed very rapidly. Starting therefore with a no-class community, the first change we notice is a preponderating middle class flanked on either side with a small upper class and a small lower class respectively. As time goes on, we see the upper class increasing

slowly in numbers but tremendously in power and influence. We see the lower class increasing tremendously in numbers and destitution alike, while the middle class we see growing steadily smaller until it is completely absorbed.

At present, the upper class is readily recognizable; the middle class while still holding the balance of power, is already approaching its exit; and the proletarian class although already very large, is just beginning to be conscious of its own existence.

Returning now to President Roosevelt, we may say that he is not only wrong ethically, in representing one class to the exclusion of the others, but, more important yet, he is attempting the impossible. He is attempting, whether consciously or unconsciously, to preserve the middle class, a feat which cannot be performed.

His failure is already manifest. When he was elected, it was expected that he would do great things and undoubtedly he himself fully expected to do great things. He talked much and promised much, but he talked and promised without an economic understanding. He saw far more clearly than most men that things were wrong but he knew no more than most men what to do about it. Have he and his methods been given a fair trial? The answer must be emphatically in the affirmative. As men go, Mr. Roosevelt is a strong active, powerful man, a forceful and aggressive character. If anyone could have made the bourgeois measures effective, he could.

But he has failed. After trying more than five years, he has failed utterly. During all that time only a few ineffective measures were put forward as an offset to the enormous daily concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. The watering of stock continues unchecked. Trustification flourishes as never before, even the one or two of the biggest and more conspicuous trusts that have been threatened with the mythical big stick. The cost of living has increased steadily and the increase in the nominal wage has not begun to keep pace with it. It is questionable whether there has been an increase even in the per capita nominal wage.

And worse for President Roosevelt, the people have commenced to realize that he has failed. Although they still show him a passive respect and admiration and believe him well-intentioned, his name no longer arouses a fighting enthusiasm in the breast of the average man. They know that words will not buy food and clothes and that unfulfilled promises are only fit for hell pavements. The most significant incident in proof of this growing popular dissatisfaction, was the recent futile attempt to resuscitate Bryan. This was a movement on the part

of the middle class, not to get a man who would make promises different from those of Roosevelt, but to get a man whom they thought and hoped could and would fulfill the same promises. When he undertook to promise more, namely, the collective ownership of a few railroad lines, they dropped him as they would a viper.

I have excused President Roosevelt on the ground that he is ignorant of the real problems that confront him. Others no less able to judge than I, excuse him on the ground that he is the unfortunate victim of an environment totally hostile to his ideas, namely; a Republican Congress. Either of these explanations may be true without changing the facts, but the placing of the blame on his environment, brings us to the consideration of another very important point. How does he come to be in such an environment? Be it remembered, Roosevelt is not the Republican party, nor does he represent the Republican party. Mr. Roosevelt as the candidate of that party is an accident pure and simple; and accident which the party managers and political manipulators were unable to foresee and were powerless to avert. He is the leader of a mutinous host and the Republican party will never again be led by a man of his characteristics. The Republican party is plutocratic. Roosevelt is bourgeois. He would be an ideal candidate for the Democratic party which is also bourgeois.

A further proof that Roosevelt is essentially bourgeois and, in this case, almost a proof that he is consciously bourgeois, lies in the fact that he positively recognized the proletariat class and the proletariat political movement by issuing in his last message, a note of warning against Socialism, the only political movement that is avowedly proletarian. This is the first time that the word Socialism has ever been used in a presidential message, a most significant fact, especially in view of the late Senator Hanna's pronunciamento on the same subject.

Senator Hanna was the shrewdest and most far-seeing politician of the last decade. Shortly before his death he recognized the early extinction of the middle class and the middle class political movement, when he said that the next great political struggle in this country would be between the Republican party and the Socialist party. When that time comes class lines will obviously have been deeply and vividly drawn. The middle class will be but a memory. The plutocrat and the proletariat will for the first time be thoroughly class-conscious and, the proletariat, being greatly in the majority, will be triumphant.

ELLIS O. JONES.

## From Parliaments to Labor Unions.

Certain socialists of late have made noteworthy efforts to give a conservative character to the materialist conception of history. For that matter, it may be said that it is the fate of all theories touching on the so-called moral sciences to be utilized equally by the most diverse partisans. The Hegelian doctrine of the reasonableness of all which exists, and the reality of all which is reasonable has, for example, long served the reactionaries to show the absurdity of the reformers and revolutionists, just as it has served the latter to show the reactionaries their inconsistency. If, indeed, that which is real is thereby rational, the political and moral constitution of present society is fully vindicated and the revolutionists by rebelling against it rebel against reason and human nature. But, on the other hand, if all that is rational is at the same time real, then every abstract doctrine which is true before the tribunal of reason is entitled to count among practical realities, and, therefore, to overthrow the existing order of things.\*

In historical materialism as in the Hegelian dialectic itself there is a conservative side and a revolutionary side. The conservative side is the justification of the present social order by the existence of the forces which assure its power and its development. Thence may develop that insipid positivism of common sense which condemns most indignantly every attempt to change the social order, which is justified by the pure and simple fact of its existence. Moreover, in affirming the vanity of every revolutionary attempt when the conditions for the transition from one social form to another are lacking, aid is given to the interested verdict of a disguised conservatism against the historical anticipations of all those who are oppressed and outraged by the established order. Naturally this conservative materialism which loves to attach itself to socialism, (indeed, that is its favorite disguise), carefully refrains from indicating any possible method for ascertaining when the "conditions" of the revolutionary process exist or do not exist; otherwise the conservative character of the system would not be evident.\*\*

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\* This little by-play in dialectics is cleverly set forth by Engels. See "Feuerbach," Lewis's translation, p. 40.

\*\* In the system of historical materialism the existence of the conditions or conditions which make likely and probable the transition from one political or social form to another can only be established by the very fact of the success or failure of the revolution. Hence the necessity of resorting to revolutionary action and awaiting its results. Hen-



The greatest danger for humanity's future in this tendency is, that it leads to the belief that the social process will accomplish itself automatically and inevitably, prevailing through its own strength over all obstacles opposed to it by interest, greed, or ignorance. In practice it results in counseling the abandonment of all conscious and voluntary influence upon the social organization, and every attempt at resistance to the movements of the conservative classes and parties. In a German socialist review Mr. Kolb wrote as follows: "We trust ourselves to the organic development of things. We seek in every way to influence and accelerate this organic development. The strength of our conception of socialist tactics is, that it is a theoretical transposition of evolution. We must fearlessly proceed to its conclusions, in order to dispel the contrast which exists to-day between our tactics and the catastrophic theory. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta*. "Around this point the whole discussion turns." Confidence "in the organic development of things" means to renounce all revolutionary action. Take away the misty German formulas and the meaning is: socialism makes itself by itself. In fact, another German socialist writer has not failed to draw from these premises all the conclusions which they imply. He is led to advise the renunciation of any action at all in the event of the rulers and the conservative parties taking away from the laborers what little liberty they still have. Listen to David on this point: "But if, unhappily, on the peaceful way which leads the proletariat to power they were to try to stop us by repressive measures and corner us for a decisive struggle what should we do? We should answer illegality by legality, violence by calm. That is the only means of crushing violence, the only resource against bayonets. All the weight of moral condemnation would thus fall upon those who attempted by violence to set themselves in the path of the civilizing march of the social democracy."\*

Now this strange and repugnant tactic of cowardice which certain persons would recommend to the proletariat comes precisely from the macaronic interpretation of the law of social evolution which they assume to derive from historical materialism. Vliegen\*\* affirms pompously that "the victory of socialism will result from the actual process of economic evolution," and he adds with sententious and pedantic brevity that if the resort to violence

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riette Roland-Holst well says: "The superior organization of a class aspiring to victory like the disorganization of a declining class, is proved only by the result, that is to say, by the combat." (*Generalstreik und Sozialdemokratie*, Dresden, p. 13).

\* *The Conquest of Political Power*. Edward David in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte," 1904, 1. vol., p. 206.

\*\* "Neue Zeit," 22d year, vol. 1, No. 2.

on the part of the ruling classes can do but little harm, such a resort on the part of the proletarians may do much.

The practical consequence naturally is to fold our arms over our breasts and trust ourselves to divine providence. Only, in view of the fact that since Adam's sin man is condemned to eternal labor, these brave socialists advise and propose to the working man to kill time by voting. As for those socialists who take voting more seriously, they are equally careful to attach their little conceptions to historical materialism, which latterly has become a convenient pass-key to doctrines of extreme absurdity and actions of extreme opportunism. Since historical materialism implies a theory of transition from the condition to the condition they conclude that socialism presupposes a series of institutions already formed, by means of which the laborers provide for their existence, and that their own role is to favor, thanks to their parliamentary activity, the development of everything which may prepare for the triumph of the working classes. Pacific tendencies, personal vanities, and interests of the proletariat, all these seem marvelously well met on the electoral and parliamentary field, and they have developed an overweening confidence in the use of electoral methods such as never classes or parties had before. Thus have arisen all imaginable species of socialism, practical, positive, and well-meaning. This piously electoral socialism, doubtless in order to give scope to the humorists of the bourgeois and anarchist parties, and perhaps to set off its slightly faded beauty, has exhibited itself under the title of "Scientific Socialism." Everything is science now, even to the trade of pulling teeth, and here in Italy we rejoice in a "Scientific Police Review."\*

It is very difficult to imagine how a system so essentially bourgeois in its nature, its history and its origin, as the parliamentary system, could become an instrument of emancipation for the proletariat.

The parliamentary system is the reflex and the natural condition of existence of a political society lacking in all economic homogeneity, whose members, I mean, have divergent or opposite economic interests.

Capitalist society is constituted in such fashion that all the component members of the capitalist class find themselves in the state of natural competition. The only interests common to all the members of that class are relative to the preservation and the safeguarding of their respective original social possessions, that

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\* Except for the convulsive plunges which are beyond all foresight and all rule, and which are sometimes the final resource of history at bay, there is to-day for socialism but one sovereign method,—to gain over the majority legally. J. Jaures, quoted by H. Lagardelle, "La grève générale et le socialisme," p. 113.

is to say, they are relative to public order and private property. This class has thus been obliged since its first appearance in history to solve the problem of the organization of the public powers in a way to render impossible any favoritism, and any abuse of power on the part of the state. The parliamentary system, permitting a strict and severe control of public expenditures as well as of all administrative acts, is certainly the most adequate solution of the historic problem which the capitalist class had to solve. By this means it has succeeded in realizing a relative neutrality on the part of the state in the conflicts which arise either between the members of the ruling class or between it and the oppressed class; and the law upon which capitalist society rests, that is to say, competition, has thus been able to acquire all its efficacy. This system of the neutralization of the state, realized by means of the equilibrium of parties, which in a certain measure, (but often indirectly, or ambiguously, or not at all) represent classes or fractions of classes, this system, where it has reached its highest perfection, has given birth to democracy, that is to say, a political organization which considers all citizens as equals, whatever may be the original economic positions occupied by them, and which, consequently, on the basis of political equality, maintains rigorously all social inequalities. A society whose members have no common interests must naturally take the parliamentary political form. Moreover, all history, as we may say, is an experimental proof of this affirmation, that for the capitalist class the parliamentary system is the adequate form for its political rule. All the documents of the Third Estate, on the eve of the French Revolution, proclaim, almost without exception, that law ought to be the expression of the nation, and that the nation ought to make its wish known by means of elective assemblies meeting regularly and deliberating freely, sheltered from any molestation by royal decree and military force.\* Now, if the parliamentary system arises spontaneously upon the entrance of dominant social groups, there is no homogeneity of interests as came about in England between the nobility and the crown, and if such is the normal and natural condition of the capitalist classes it may be concluded that the parliamentary system is, so to speak, the essential and inevitable form of their rule.

Now, we are told that the proletariat is also, on its own account, interested in eliminating all private influence from the state, and that to this end it employs the parliamentary system,

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\* In his history of the French Revolution Jaures amuses himself by taking a few shots at Taine, but the latter has shown an understanding of the revolution certainly superior to that of Jaures, who undertook to find the whole revolution in the purely factitious framework of the elective assemblies to which the revolution itself gave birth. Jaures seems not to have understood that the Revolution "is neither the Assembly nor the Convention."

participates in its life, and contributes toward its proper functioning. But this conception takes us far away from the idea that this same proletariat is going on to demand of the parliament more than it can give and proposes to impose upon it tasks that are contradictory to its nature and its history.

Parliaments are not and cannot become the organs of a social revolution. At the very best they can only act in a formal manner. The mechanism through which they work seems, moreover, to exclude the possibility for one class or one party to obtain a decisive majority to the exclusion of all others. It is said that the proletariat forms the great majority of the population. The fact is possible, yet there are mistakes in the figuring. Experience will prove that the socialist party, sooner or later, will have to give up enrolling employes in the public service, and no one has ever discounted the possibility of organizing in the socialist party the countless mass of domestic servants and slum proletarians of the great cities. A considerable portion of the non-proprietary rural population has no interest in promoting a social revolution or taking active part in it. Many agrarian contracts, farming on shares for example, establish a real partnership between the proprietor and the laborer. Naturally all these groups will also experience the benefits of the socialist revolution, and it would be a childish fear to believe that tomorrow they might form a re-actionary mass interested in destroying the order of things founded upon the principles of socialism. But for the moment it is foolhardy to suppose that they have a collective interest in promoting a social revolution. Moreover, the relations which are formed between them and the capitalist class develop in them sentiments of personal attachment for their masters. Again to-day it happens that even in districts and electoral colleges, composed in great part of workingmen reached by an extensive socialist propaganda, a manufacturer of the district, nevertheless, succeeds in being elected. Corruption, personal attachment, the qualities of the candidates, the religious sentiments and training of the voters very often balance the pure, attractive virtue of political theories. For my part I do not hesitate in considering as the most ridiculous and most absurd of Utopias the idea that the socialist party can ever, in any country of the world, obtain a majority of the parliament. The least that could happen to it on such an occasion would be to see all sorts of divisions arise immediately within its own body.

And then, that would assume this impossible condition, of a capitalist class peaceably letting itself be dispossessed of its political preponderance. I do not think that the bourgeoisie ever wishes to suppress the right of suffrage. The parliamentary system being a condition of life under capitalist rule, it will last as long as the government of the bourgeoisie itself. In coun-

tries politically backward where the sentiment of political labor is little developed, as in Germany, there may, I think, be produced some momentary reactions, the initiative of which will be taken up not by the capitalist class, which in Germany does not govern effectively, but the caste of the Junkers or the court. But from this eclipse it may be foreseen the parliamentary system will emerge strengthened, and Germany itself will be modeled politically upon the more western countries. And who can tell what marvelous historical changes may follow the political transformation of Russia, where everything points to the opinion that the revolution can triumph only under the form of a real democracy of radical type? But what is passing in all parts of the world, in the most autocratic countries as in the most democratic, from Russia to the United States, is a proof of this truth, that hereafter the repression of the movements which compromise either the existence of bourgeois society, or even some privilege, simply, of the bourgeoisie, can easily be accomplished without striking at the general liberties of the citizens. This is an indirect but a very pertinent proof that the relation of means to end does not exist between democracy and socialism. The most democratic and the freest countries of the world provide for the maintenance of the capitalist order with an efficacy quite equal to that of the most autocratic systems.

Democracy has, as yet, no grasp upon the actual process of social life. It is characterized by incompetence. When Spencer observes that members of parliament are generally ignorant men, he exposes not a defect but a condition of the existence of democratic regimes. It is the duty of these, so to speak, to provide their citizens with the fundamental conditions of existence. To maintain all rights and social relations,—this is the sole function of democratic regimes. Everything that transcends the sphere of abstract civic relations depends on the creative spontaneity of the social spirit. Every time that a parliament or a democracy has a desire to bring into being some economic institution, it has been obliged to resign its powers into the hands of technical commissions, and to create special administrative organisms. If so many public enterprises turn out so badly, the reason is the fundamental incompetency of their organizers. The social revolution which must realize the *autonomous control of production by the associated working class*,—which is the very aim of socialism,—is, first and foremost, a technical and economic fact, consequently it cannot be decreed by an assembly of incompetent people, but must result from the autonomous development and the spontaneous initiative of the producers themselves. A technical and economic transformation of production with all its later social transformations decreed by a parliament of lawyers, doctors, chiropodists, novelists, poets and . . . . econ-



omists, is the most extravagant idea which ever took root in a human brain.\*

There is a better way. Every social revolution, if it is not to caricature itself, takes on certain appropriate organs. When once the bourgeoisie had really assured its political dominance, it gave birth to parliamentary democracy. And where parliamentary democracy does not exist it may be said that the bourgeoisie has been obliged to resort to a compromise with the ancient society. Now, in general, the established powers of a given society never lend themselves to any transformation without considerable reluctance. They resort to half-way measures which remedy nothing. And experience proves that if the existing legal powers consent to introduce reforms it is almost always in the interest of the very classes or institutions which need reforming. We shall even see that reforming is synonymous with conserving, since it implies a respect for the existing legal organization.\*\* The revolutionary instinct leads all classes which enter on a conflict with those in power to adopt a wholly autonomous organization or social mechanism within the existing political society. The doctors in socialism were not yet born when the proletariat had fashioned for itself in the trade union its instrument of revolution.

But the working-class movement at a certain moment suffered a strange eclipse. The union appeared as a secondary organ in its relation to parliamentary activity. The penetration into the bourgeois state and the conquest of the legal majority were considered as the equivalents of socialism. The bourgeois state was erected into a redeemer of the working class. We disowned that long historical tradition, never till then contradicted, that the reformatory efforts of the established powers always show themselves illusory and dangerous, usually resulting in the consolidation of the classes whom it was sought to disposses. Socialist reformism forgot all its ancestors of bourgeois reformism. And taking no account of the lessons of their experience, it preached to the proletariat as a new truth what was but the reproduction of a very old error.

The capitalist class, for its part, has fully grasped the value of the reformist movement. So long as the working classes,

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\* "To reform in capitalist society is to affirm private property." G. Sorel. *Introduction à l'économie moderne*. Paris, 1904, p. 11.

\*\* "In Germany and Russia the bourgeoisie attempted to come into power and abolish feudalism by the classic reformist methods. In Germany the abolition of serfdom led to a shameless expropriation of the peasants and the nobility remained in power. (V. Kampfmeyer. *History of Social Classes in Germany*, Berlin, 1896, p. 110 et seq.) In Russia it had no better success at shaking off the yoke of the ancient feudal aristocratic organization. (V. Piekhanoff. *Tachernichewsky*, Stuttgart, 1894. *Introduction*.) History is filled to overflowing with such examples.

forgetful of the natural necessities of every revolutionary movement, instead of considering the union as the specific organ of the revolution, instrument at once of attack and defense, base their hopes on the results of universal suffrage, the bourgeoisie slumbers soundly. It is in no danger. Even admitting what is unlikely, that a socialist majority might reach the parliament, parliamentary life is such that this majority would soon be dismembered into rival parties jealous of each other and incapable of an agreement on the end and means of the programme that they might propose to realize. A dim sense of this truth seems to penetrate into the soul of the most resolutely reformist of the socialists. On the morrow of their famous electoral victory where they had gathered three million votes, the German socialists, for whom the parliamentary illusion is at least justified by the absence in their country of a real parliamentary system, seemed overwhelmed by their own triumph. "What will happen tomorrow," they asked themselves, "shall we see the coup d'Etat, the suppression of universal suffrage, the return to pure absolutism?" There is a certain humor in the situation when a party, which proposes to arrive at the complete emancipation of the proletariat by the use of legal institutions, is reduced to concerning itself about the eventual loss of these legal institutions, and about the means for reaping all the gain of its first victory.

To trust, as so many do, to the natural course of economic evolution for the necessary realization of socialism is to play pittifully with one's own powerlessness. If the doctrine of historical materialism really suggested such an attitude, its falsity would be definitely established, but it is, on the contrary, a revolutionary doctrine, since it implies this teaching, that history is a product of the conscious will of men, a will which works, no doubt, upon definite historical data and which, consequently, is limited and circumscribed both by the natural and the social environment but, nevertheless, a creative will. The fundamental principle of historical materialism is, in fact, that men are the creators of their own history. (Vico.) It is men who, with their passions, their instincts, their ideas, the education which they have received, *make* their history. No doctrine gives so much importance to the idealist forces as does the doctrine of historical materialism, precisely because it considers history as an eternal flowing and becoming, that is to say, as the unpredictable result of the conscious though contradictory effort of men constantly to emerge from the social conditions in which they find themselves. It looks upon men as being subject to an incessant revolutionary education which engenders in them the perpetual need of outgrowing their present situation, and of realizing an ideal of a new life. And it admits by implication that men subjected to a permanent anti-revolutionary education



are, more or less unconsciously, led to accept passively the existing state of things, but what education is more anti-revolutionary than that which advises men to renounce any conscious or voluntary attempt, any anticipation beyond present reality, any individual effort against this established social order?

History is a constant process which finds its immediate motive power in the will and the feelings of men. The conditions of the social environment represent the inert matter which limits, by its resistance, the power of progress of the individual and collective genius. How and by what way this progressive power forms itself, this is determined by the social relations in which men find themselves involved in the course of their social life. Our feelings, our passions, and our instincts are produced, positively or negatively, by the social organism in which we have to pass our existence. This explains the great importance of the institutions by means of which men must develop. The life of the laborer gravitates around two poles, the workshop and the union. And to understand the laborer's psychology and his ideology it is sufficient to observe these two institutions. The factory is, in a certain sense, present reality, the union, the reality to come. The factory represents productive association, the union, the organism in which is formed the working-class justice of the future. The laborer's ideal is an economic society organized purely and simply with a view to material production, and from which has disappeared every hierarchy not demanded by the technical division of labor, that is to say, a society without a state, without prisons, without an army, without laws, organized on the single basis of the economic necessity, the compact and the technical discipline of the factory.

The laborers must struggle to impose upon the world the rule of equal legal privilege, which flows necessarily from the life of the union, and an organization of society of an essentially trade-union type, that is to say, purely a matter of contract, and resting upon the single basis of the technical participation of men in economic production. To this trade-union organization capitalist society opposes the political organization of men, in other words, their subordination to the state, an organ foreign to civil society and transcending it. We need only reflect on this opposition to understand the truth of Sorel's statement, according to which the struggle for the emancipation of the working class can very well be represented, and in fact is developing, as a struggle between the political power of capitalist society, which is the state, and the technico-economic organization of the producers, which is the union. The realization of the specific ideal of working-class socialism presupposes the decline and the dissolution of every political power and of every non-economic form



of organization; namely, the progressive and gradual elimination of the state.\*

*From Parliaments to Labor Unions.* Such is the watchword of the labor movement, entering upon a new phase; that is to say, from the utopia of reforms, obtained thanks to parliamentary compromises, to the reality of the revolution, pursued by the methodical extension of the acts of unions and the gradual elimination of every political influence. The laborers see in elective assemblies only a means for controlling the acts of the administration and observing the maneuvers of the capitalist parties, a means of control and a vantage ground with which they could not dispense without great damage to themselves. The truly revolutionary work they accomplish in their unions, which must lose the character of simple trade organs looking only to the amelioration of the labor bargain, to become organs of the collective interests, contingent or general, immediate or future, of the whole working class.

But to reach this result, the working class must make a great effort. It must learn to free itself from all the bourgeois protectors who offer their services. It must arrive at understanding the true nature of the reformist movement, and separate itself resolutely from it. The reformist movement is the last political disguise that bourgeois conservatism has succeeded in wearing, with some success. Either the working class will succeed in banishing it to the bourgeois storehouse of cast-off clothes, or it will be our destruction. Such is the dilemma.

ARTURO LABRIOLA.

*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*

#### NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

In publishing this article it should hardly be necessary to remind the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW that we do not necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by contributors. The present article appeared in *Le Mouvement Socialiste* of Paris for December, 1906. The writer is not the author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History," but the leader of the Syndicalist wing of the socialist party of

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\* That parliamentary action also has certain advantages is undeniable, if we reflect on the harm that the Catholics, for example, have done themselves in Italy by their abstention from voting, and on the difficulties in the midst of which the anarchists have always struggled, incapable of commanding the respect of public opinion and of protecting their common rights as citizens. On the other hand no revolutionary party can renounce the use of existing institutions, for the simple reason that this use is a necessary condition for the existence of a party. Parliamentarism is a fact which it would be senseless to pretend not to know.



Italy, who is referred to on page 338 of the REVIEW for December, and on page 388 of the REVIEW for January.

We are reprinting it, not because it seems to us a wholly adequate discussion of socialist tactics in Europe, and still less in America, but because it is an admirably clear statement of a view which is finding supporters on both sides of the Atlantic.

As the views expressed in this article have been appropriated though not assimilated by our American "impossibilists," it may be worth while to call attention to two or three considerations which have been usually overlooked.

In the first place, the European syndicalists, as represented by Labriola, do not regard political action as useless but, on the contrary, point out that it would be insanity to throw away so important a weapon as the ballot.

Again, the balancing of divergent economic interests which in Europe prevents any one party from obtaining a parliamentary majority does not exist in the United States. The great capitalists here exercise an almost undisputed sway, and the immediate prospect for the future is the disappearance of the small producers as a political factor. The contest will then be in the open, between the trusts on one side and the laborers on the other.

Finally, the trade unions of continental Europe are distinctively socialist bodies, organized and controlled by members of the socialist party. In this country, on the other hand, the existing trade unions are largely controlled by "leaders" who are still coquetting with the capitalist parties, while the attempts thus far made at organizing a distinctively socialist trade union have been ill-advised and unfortunate. American trade unions are, as yet, decidedly conservative, and to regard them as the main instruments by which the social revolution is to be accomplished simply shows a failure to understand the real conditions of the problem that American socialists are trying to solve.

C. H. K.

## The Origin and Classification of the Stock Faker.

THE daily press of the United States has, of late, been carrying an unusual amount of matter concerning mining stock speculation and mining stock frauds. Several magazines have also undertaken to discuss the matter as a particularly live topic. Some of the writers know what they are talking about and some of them do not; some of them are sincere and others are clearly actuated by the remarkable fact that the New York stock exchange has really confessed to the interference of the present mining boom with the designs of its own members, many of whom have felt compelled to handle mining shares in order to make a living.

Possibly it remains for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to take a glimpse of this subject from the point of view of the socialist philosophy. In this I can perhaps render it some aid from my own intimate observation.

Before doing so, let me dip into a few generalities for the purpose of connecting up the trend of my remarks with the broader aspects of social conditions, for it will be apparent that this subject is not new, after I am done. While not wholly essential to the purpose of this discussion, let me say that, in general, the divisions of "business" activity are as follows:

First. The industries that are productive of the fundamental needs of society and the raw materials with which men work.

Second. Manufacturing.

Third. Commerce.

Fourth. Finance.

Fifth. Intellectual pursuits.

All of these overlap and interchange their functions to a greater or less extent. It is my aim to deal predominantly with the classification, finance, and by so doing, to arrive at the classification "faker."

The realm of finance is essentially that of investment and credit, the congealing of money (popularly called "capital") in fixed works or schemes and the loaning of the same to others at interest for the ultimate purpose of congealing it as aforesaid. As I use the terms, the difference between a "capitalist" and a financier is that the former invests his own money, while the latter invests the money of others.



Credit is commonly controlled by the banks, or large interests intimately associated with the banks, such as insurance companies. Investment, through financiers, is now usually marshalled by the aid of the corporation—that bastard image of co-operation. Banks use the savings of the people to accumulate profits, both from loans and from investments in which they participate. It must be borne in mind that a bond is a credit instrument, while a certificate of stock is an instrument of investment.

Promotion—a quite modern word—is the process of creating or organizing an investment opportunity, usually by means of corporations. The difference between a promoter and a financier is that the former erects or assembles the enterprise represented by the investment, while the latter handles funds only. It very often happens that both functions are joined in a single individual, as, for example, J. P. Morgan, or some other person who carries the high-sounding title, “banker and broker.” The position of the stock broker, pure and simple, is a subordinate one.

Let us now look back and witness the inevitable crowding out of the many from the commercial class, either backward into the ranks of the proletariat or into the possible wilderness of new beginnings, in those parts of America where the individual may still retain, to some extent, his productive individuality. What I am dealing with here is the crowding forward process, by which I mean the last grand struggle of some self-devoted individual to postpone his fall into the class of wage-earners. This individual wishes to remain “respectable,” and perhaps he is too old, too little educated or too intelligent to become a doctor, a lawyer a minister of the “gospel,” so that he cannot overleap the realm of finance and drop into an intellectual pursuit and he lands right in the middle of the temptation to become a promoter.

In connection with this “forward” movement may be mentioned the “backward” tendency of many professional men, who are forced by the crowding of these pursuits to drop into the realm of finance. I know a large number of such cases.

Let us recur now to that division of finance which comprehends investment, and right here I wish to mention the business of real estate speculation and brokerage, just to show that I am not neglecting it through ignorance, but rather through design. This business falls partly in the realm of finance, by way of speculation, and partly in the realm of commerce, broadly speaking, by way of the purchase of city lots and country lands for a relatively useful purpose. Besides, there are many instances of realty corporations, whose stocks are



widely outstanding. I am also neglecting grain speculation, etc.

There are three important means by which social capital is assembled in the shape of money for investment purposes. First, through the banks; second, through the insurance companies; and, third, through promotion financiering. As already indicated, banking is supposedly a credit function, and so also to some extent, is the handling of insurance company funds; but in both cases stocks are often important assets, the relative amount of such depending upon the policy of the particular bank or insurance company. Moreover, there are many banks and insurance companies that, indirectly, at least, support promotion operations. The syndicate operations of New York bankers and insurance officials are familiar phenomena. Lastly, promotion schemes are regularly carried on, independently of banks or other large financial institutions.

If we may divide promoters into two classes, the "big" and the "little," we may follow this by saying that "big" promoters are very apt to be underwriters, operating by the aid of syndicates, in which the general public is not permitted to participate; whereas the "little" promoters are compelled to go more directly to the public. The one class underwrites its promotions and lists its stocks, perhaps, on the stock exchange, the companies being "financed" to start with; while the other goes before the country in order to procure funds to make a beginning. In the first case, the initial funds are already available, because the "big fellows" are wealthy and they control the funds which the public has deposited in banks or paid into insurance companies. In the second case, the desire of the chief functionary is to draw out of the banks the savings of the country and assemble it for the purposes of his enterprise, assuming that he is at all sincere. If he is a mine promoter and there happens to be a mining boom in progress, he may list his shares on a mining exchange and thus borrow an important cue from his "big" brother. The large amounts of money recently taken out of banks for this purpose have caused a good deal of "indignation."

Now it happens that the small promoter has one advantage over the large one. In assembling his initial funds from widely distributed sources, he can command the terms more easily and it is easier for him to deceive at this stage of operations than can the man who trusts for his initial funds to a lot of shrewd banking or insurance officials, who usually dwell close to the source of all financial wisdom. Consequently, the usual method of ham-stringing the public on the "big" deals is through the stock exchange. Such operations have been made generally familiar by Thomas W. Lawson; and that gentleman did tell the truth as it is understood among the esoteric.



On the other hand, there is only a limited opportunity for the small promoter to make use of stock exchange devices, so that, if he is disposed to do any ham-stringing, he must seek elsewhere for his methods. The end of all promotion is attained through the trusteeship of funds, and while the "big" promoter may defile his trust in one way, the "little" promoter may defile his in another. The administration of the public's funds, represented by hundreds or perhaps thousands of insignificant contributions, furnishes, when once in his hands, a comparatively easy opportunity to abuse his trust. The corporation laws of the United States are notorious for their laxity, on the investment side, and a hydra-headed government adds only to the confusion.

"Little" promotion, good or bad, thus furnishes a very convenient outlet for the "respectable" person who refuses to become a proletarian and has found himself unable to be anything else. This individual has read the Success Magazine and grown to admire the types of self-made financiers that that journal sometimes describes. Consequently he falls readily into this class, and other similarly-minded persons follow him. They take with them many satellites, for the business requires much clerical assistance and the pay, is usually good. The writer of this article was once such a satellite, and he knows.

I do not wholly condemn the stock faker. In some respects, I admire him, for while he may be too ignorant to become a socialist, he is at least ambitious enough to want to be as well off as his pew-neighbor at Sunday morning services.

The suggestion of the pew-holder recalls to my mind a certain good Methodist of Ohio, who by chance found himself buying mining stocks, about which he knew nothing. Later he assumed a local agency for a western promoter, and later still, he drifted west and set out to "promote something" on his own account. He organized what he called a securities company and sold stock rather widely, its avowed purpose being to earn dividends by procuring meritorious shares in producing mining companies or by speculating in the rise of active issues. Some time ago, I had occasion to examine a list of "securities" which this company counted among its assets, and discovered that the good Methodist had unloaded upon it a trunkful of absolutely worthless shares, probably left over from the days when his own stock ventures were as green as the June hills of Ohio. This citation illustrates how easy it is to "administer" the funds of one's clients into one's own pockets.

But promotion must have an excuse, and where is it to be found? The "big" interests have so concentrated manufacturing and commerce that there are now very few normal opportunities in these fields. The little fellow must turn to the uncertain-

ties, for these also supply an element of mystery and romance. Perhaps he will take up a new though untried invention, which, by reason of the great fortunes that have been made from such discoveries and devices, supplies the mesmeric motive force to attain the much-desired trusteeship of funds. Co-ordinate with invention, we find that mining has been an important source of great fortunes, and this fact—combined with the romantic uncertainty of mining, especially gold mining,—supplies a very taking excuse for promotion. It will thus be seen that this very considerable contingent of “respectable” persons, who refuse to become proletarians and are unable to become anything else, turns naturally to the fundamental realm of industry, namely, that which deals with initial productivity. Agriculture is not often chosen, for reasons that Mr. Simons can explain, though it happens that a great many plantation companies have been floated, usually based upon tropical lands, both because they are remote and because they retain a degree of mystery.

Gold-mining is probably the least useful of all mining activity, and, in this connection, it may be noted that the trust promoters manifest very little disposition to concentrate the control of gold and silver production, except indirectly through the smelter combine. The concentration of control over initial production is confined mainly to copper, lead, zinc and iron, all useful metals. The enormous production of gold is already frightening the world, and when I say the world, I mean everybody except the promoter, his clients and their bourgeois sympathizers. Nevertheless, it happens that productive gold mines usually fall under the control of limited interests, often the very men who have been made wealthy by them, but more often those who are already well-to-do or are in close touch with wealthy persons. It frequently occurs that such mines are “promoted” or “underwritten,” as in England, for the purpose of placing them on the stock exchange, in which cases the general public runs a grave risk of being ham-strung or it does not enjoy a very considerable return upon its “capital.”

The great maturity of “little” promotions in the mining field are based upon unproven enterprises, ranging from bare prospects to properties that are pretty well developed but are in need of equipment. Gold enterprises predominate, but there are many that are admittedly based on silver-lead and copper prospects.

The hazards of prospecting are naturally very great, from a financial point of view, although the possible rewards are likewise very tempting. It thus happens that the stock faker is very apt to be actuated by a consciousness of the hazards, while he expects the general public to be actuated by the possibility of great rewards. The stock faker looks for his returns through



the administration of the funds, just as the bankers and the trust promoters do. The man who longs to "promote something" is not apt to care much about the outcome, for promotion, like virtue, is its own reward.

One other distinction is necessary. There are many honest efforts made to promote mining prospects, and successful ones, too, but they diminish in frequency as they increase in distance from the base of practical operations. The result, or perhaps, the cause, is that the stock faker is commonly a resident of the city. In fact, all finance is an excrescence of concentrated population. It is only "respectable" to live in a city, and the larger the city, the more "respectable." The cost of living in New York City, for example, where financial fakes are perpetrated in large numbers, makes necessary the extravagant costs of "little" promotion, whether it believes itself to be sincere or not. The result is, that enormous "rake-offs" are the rule.

By reason of certain facts, already pointed out, it will be apparent that "little" promotion works no tendency toward industrial concentration, except as an incident to the development of prospects and the casual making of mines, which centralized interests are gradually controlling in the case of the useful metals and to some extent in the case of the so-called precious metals. Neither can it be said to promote financial concentration to a very great degree. Such promoters seldom grow very rich, as they are usually lavish with their money, and I have known some who have finally landed in the ranks of wage-earners, usually as clerks, bookkeepers or assistants for other promoters.

It would be interesting to estimate the relative amount of faking activity in the United States, but it would be as difficult as it would be interesting to compile such statistics. We are all aware of the fakes of the manufacturing and commercial realms, prominently illustrated by adulterated food-stuffs, and in this respect some figures have been put forth by the government. But in the realm of finance, I know of no comprehensive or accurate data. I once had occasion to examine the corporation records of Arizona, a territorial commonwealth which, by reason of its easy laws, is a favorite place for incorporators to secure charters. I then found that it was turning out about seventy new mining companies a month, but I believe that the number is much greater today. The average capitalization may be roughly placed at \$1,250,000, but mining stocks are usually sold at from one cent to twenty-five cents per share. I have no doubt that the aggregate capitalization of mining companies put forth during 1906 greatly exceeded one billion dollars basing the capitalization on the average selling price of shares, instead of the



par value. The total mineral production of the United States largely coal and iron is more than one and a half billion dollars per annum, but a large part of this is not capitalized and that which is capitalized is already controlled by centralized interests, leaving the bulk of the new stock capital to be represented by fakes and failures.

To me, however, the chief interest is not in the amount of faking but in the number of fakers, for it is here that we find the sociological bearing of the subject. I have already pointed out the usual origin of the stock faker, who by accident of birth or education is loath to forgo economic independence. He will be found in the cities and is ultimately to be classed with the large number of useless or semi-useless persons that inhabit these centers of population. I cannot venture an estimate of the number of persons who are, as principals, subordinates or semi-assistants, maintained through stock faking or insincere promotion, but I can guess that the number corresponds approximately with that of the habitues of the tenderloin districts in the cities. The one gives rise to about as much "moral" indignation as the other.

I have taken occasion to look up the figures of the United States census, bearing upon the subject of the personal occupations of American citizens. Taking the percentages of increase in the various divisions of personal activity, I find that the largest increase from 1880 to 1900 was in the case of street railway employes, that is, 520 per cent. Second to this comes 386 per cent, representing officers of banks and corporations, and third, bankers and brokers, who showed an increase of 283 per cent. Next in order come manufacturers and manufacturing officials, 252 per cent, and commercial travelers, 228 per cent.

When it is remembered that the street railway business has grown enormously since 1880, it is easy to understand how street railway occupations stand at the head in the given percentages of increase. But after that comes the realm of finance, comprehending banking and corporation officials and "bankers and brokers." While a great many of the occupations so included are useless, from the point of view of the socialist, a much smaller part can probably be considered insincere or fraudulent, in the light of bourgeois standards and bourgeois ignorance. Nevertheless, if it were possible for the census to gather statistics bearing upon unscrupulousness in business I am certain that the figures would show a very pronounced increase in the percentage of downright fakers in the stock business, especially within the last ten years, within which the stock buying has gained greatly.

It may seem that I have ascribed unwarranted importance to the hand-to-hand shiftings of petty capital, but the subject suggests both a claim upon one's sympathies and a possible



ground for congratulation. Not only do the facts set forth indicate the desperate unscrupulousness of the faker class, but they are also symptomatic of the ignorant longing of the wage-earning victims, in many cases, to attain by quasi-cooperative methods what they may yet welcome through genuine co-operation. Such men as Judge Peter S. Grosscup harp continually upon the idea of "peopleizing" the industries through the medium of financial associations, and this idea may have some advocates who believe it to be part and parcel of the development toward socialism, but, glad as I might be to behold the complete fruition of the Grosscup ideal, I confess that I can see no hope for socialism by that route. The corporation laws of the United States are the chief stumbling block, and their very weakness is rather an aid to the progress of concentrated control, along the lines recognized by the socialist program.

L. C. M.

# EDITORIAL

## The Battle at Boise

By far the most significant event of the month from the point of view of the working class has been the clearing of class lines in the battle over Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Until recently it has been impossible to force the defenders of the Mine Owners' Association into the open but the fight has grown so hot that they have been compelled to take a definite position. The most striking exemplification of this is of course President Roosevelt's reply to the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone Conference of Chicago in which he designated the accused men, together with Comrade Debs, as "undesirable citizens."

Had this event taken place six months ago it is probable that the President would have carried an overwhelming proportion of sentiment along with him even among the workers. But the work of education that has been carried on by the socialist and labor journals has so changed the situation that in every corner of the country there were found persons who responded instantly to this attack and took the side of Moyer and Haywood.

One of the most gratifying features of this phase is to be found in the fact that on the whole the trade union movement stood firm. It was more than would have ordinarily been expected. There is no denying the fact that there are men occupying positions of power in trade unions who are both corrupt and ignorant and who for either of these reasons would be glad to take the side of capitalism in such a fight, but so strongly had the current of working class sentiment been set in favor of the accused miners in Idaho that these ignorant or corrupt leaders realized that treason to them at this time would be treated very much as scabbing is during a strike.

By the time this reaches our readers the legal battle in Idaho will probably be on although there is already talk of another continuance. Around that court room is now centering the greatest



fight of the last decade. This fact in itself changes the whole character of the struggle. In the beginning there is no doubt but what the mine owners thought that they could spirit these men away from their homes and lynch them judicially with no more of an uproar than had been caused by equally nefarious and murderous acts in other places. This time, however, they calculated without taking into consideration the fact that it is always some single final act no larger perhaps than thousands that have gone before that releases the pent up forces that have been accumulating for years. So it was here. Steadily the wave of resentment and protest has grown among the working class until it now embraces millions to whom the very names of Moyer, Haywood or Pettibone were unknown even one year ago. This fact puts an entirely new face on the matter.

In the beginning the only hope of capitalism lay in secrecy. That hope is gone. The telegraph companies centering at Boise are putting in facilities to handle such an amount of news matter as has seldom been sent out from any city of the United States, and when the case of the people of the state of Idaho versus William D. Haywood is called there will probably be as great facilities for publicity as have been found at any event that has taken place in the United States for years. The fact of this publicity coupled with the definite stand taken by Roosevelt and the capitalists now takes the struggle out of the legal realm and makes it a test of strength between the two great forces that are contending for power in every great capitalist country.

There is no question to-day but that capitalism is in the saddle and the fate of the three men in Idaho depends entirely upon whether those in control of the capitalist machinery of government decide that they will be less dangerous if dead than alive. There will be no secrecy. Whatever is done must be done now in the full glare of publicity and this fact at once spells danger and hope. The ruling powers will fear either to release or to execute these men. Yet to judicially lynch them in the blazing light that will beat upon any scaffold that may be erected in Idaho might easily sound the death knell of capitalism itself.

There has been a tendency on the part of many socialists to become somewhat hysterical over this affair. There is no doubt but that the events are enough to arouse the strongest emotions possible in every member of the working class but it is not emotion that accomplishes things, at least not in as complex a society as the present. Passing by at once those who talk about violence with the remark that such talk at the present time is the most valuable asset possible in the hands of those who are seeking the life of the Western Federation of Miners, it is a noteworthy fact that there are other suggestions little less dangerous. One of these which con-



stantly comes up is that of the general strike. We do not say that the general strike is not a valuable weapon in the hands of the working class when it can be used but with the present organization of labor and its present attitude to talk of a general strike is as useless as to talk of organizing a regular army. Any number of general strikes might be called but no one would obey the call. Of course this does not say that if the struggle continues to draw more and more forces to it, the time might not come when organized labor might reach such a stage of indignation that it would spontaneously revolt against the attempted murder of our Idaho comrades. At the present time, however, such talk does little more than put weapons into the hands of capitalism which can be used more effectively than any corresponding weapons with which we can reply. The struggle itself is not educative, at least certainly not to a sufficient degree to prepare workers for any constructively revolutionary action. It is a sudden blow and a powerful weapon to be used to accomplish an immediate result. Where anything constructive is aimed at, anything requiring a preceptible length of time for its action, the strike leaves society in the midst of the inevitable reaction which always follows such violent movements at just the time when constructive energies are most needed.

There are other less dramatic but much more effective means of working at the present time. The extension of the work of agitation and the organization of the workers for the capture of government is something which is much more feared by the capitalist class than any threat of a sudden outbreak either with physical force or economic action. This work is not spectacular. It does not give any opportunity to pose as martyrs or heroes, at least not at present, although it may do so in the future but it is a work which is most effective in meeting the present crisis. There will be no sudden action in Idaho. The legal machinery which has been set in motion will take months to grind out its results and those months will give time for that widespread intelligent revolt of the workers which is much more effective than any momentary outburst.



# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

No single act of any public official in recent years has created such widespread consternation and indignation as President Roosevelt's malicious declaration that Debs, Moyer and Haywood are "undesirable citizens," and thus intimating that their removal by aid of the hangman's rope would be a public blessing. That the assault upon the defenceless Idaho prisoners was deliberate and premeditated is unquestioned. There was no connection, directly or indirectly, between the plutocrat Harriman on the one side and the miners' officials on the other. Roosevelt simply quarreled with his former pal Harriman. The latter proved to the satisfaction of every disinterested citizen that he had raised a quarter of a million dollars to boodle New York state in Roosevelt's behalf. The President, driven into a corner, cries out in rage, "Liar!" Then, in order to break the force of the sensational expose and to divert criticism from his own political immorality, he resorts to the contemptible trick of a jack-knife lawyer and makes a cowardly attack upon menaced prisoners four thousand miles away! Some papsucking politician at the Washington pie-counter once made the queer remark that Roosevelt is "the greatest President since Lincoln," and some of the snobs and office-seekers looking for favors have repeated the disgusting mouthings of a fawning lackey. It is unnecessary to refer to any of the demagogical administrative acts of a general character of Roosevelt to question whether they will live in memory until he retires from office. His specific acts concerning labor far overshadow and outbalance anything that he has done or can do in a general way to perpetuate his name as a statesman. Stripped of all the flamboyant claims, the cold fact stands out in bold relief that Roosevelt has been the most consistent and merciless, though hypocritical, opponent of labor that ever sat in the Presidential chair. Roosevelt is hailed, and properly so, as "the father of the open shop" by every Parry and Post union-smasher in the country. It was through his meddlesome and autocratic dictation in the government printing office and the anthracite miners' strike that the open shop issue spread over the country like wild fire and encouraged the labor-haters to make war upon organized labor. Those unexpected and unnecessary blows have caused the unions losses of millions of dollars and thousands of members. His coarse diatribes aimed at workingmen and their representatives who demanded that the contract labor and eight-hour laws be enforced on the Panama canal are too well known to require repetition. His cheap ridicule of men who demanded a square deal in the injunction abuse, and that laws be enacted to prohibit capitalistic courts from taking sides against striking laborers, is only emphasized by his un-

seemly scramble to dictate his successor in the person of the ponderous Taft, "the father of injunctions," who sandbagged unions out of their hardearned money to assist employers and who actually went to the extreme of enjoining railway employes from exercising their Godgiven right to quit work when they chose. Many other incidents might be mentioned to show that Roosevelt's whole career has been one of persistent antagonism to the working class, and so his contemptuous attack upon the Idaho prisoners is not inconsistent. The thug Gen. Sherman M. Bell of bull-pen fame, is his personal friend, and the politicians and plutocrats of Colorado and Idaho are his retainers and supporters. The fact that many of the persecutors of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are said to have been uncovered by a federal grand jury as land thieves and grafters on a gigantic scale will probably make little difference to the "greatest President" who is said to have shot Spaniards in the back and wrote in a book that drunken and debauched cowboys on the frontier are better citizens than law-abiding mechanics in the cities. But it is quite likely that the vulgarminded Roosevelt has overreached himself, and that the temporary craze that turned his head will disappear more rapidly than it gathered force. There is hardly a labor paper in the country that has not denounced the President for his shameful act, and many of the capitalist papers have done likewise, while unions throughout the land have adopted resolutions by the hundreds condemning the prejudging of the miners. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

The action of the A. F. of L. executive council, at the recent quarterly session, in commanding the United Brewery Workers to give up the engineers, firemen and teamsters or lose their charter has aroused renewed interest in this celebrated case. The brewery workers' officials have submitted the mandate to referendum vote with the recommendation that it be rejected and that the members prepare for war. This defiance was not unexpected and the members would hardly retain their own self-respect if they permitted their union to be disorganized without a fight. Gompers has been unrelenting in his persecution of this international organization because the brewers persist in standing upon their charter rights and in safeguarding their interests by admitting all men employed in breweries to membership. For seven or eight years the brewers have been marks in Federation conventions for every form of abuse and denunciation because they refused to be chopped into craft organizations, but stand for industrialism. It has become the popular thing for Gompers' cabal to take a kick at the under dog at every opportunity, and while howling at the brewers one moment in the next they prostrate themselves before the miners, who also accept engineers, firemen and teamsters in their organization. And some of the people for whom the brewers have done the most are the loudest howlers against them. It is admitted throughout the union labor world that the brewers are the most liberal organization in the Federation or outside. No union in distress has ever appealed to them in vain for moral or financial assistance. Just for example: A certain organization had a hard fight on in Cincinnati. The international treasury was practically bankrupt and it was difficult to pay strike benefits. The men were clamoring for money to purchase food and clothing and satisfy the landlord. In desperation the officer in charge of the strike rushed over to brewers' headquarters and ap-



pealed for a loan. Without even polling the members of the national executive board, the brewers officials wrote out a cheque for a thousand dollars, handed it to the strike leader and said: "Come back when you need more!" One would think that a brotherly act of this kind ought to arouse some sense of gratitude, but the chief mogul of that international union, who was not on the firing line in Cincinnati, has never missed an opportunity to "throw the hooks" into the brewers, and his delegation in conventions always votes as he dictates. Yet while the great "leaders" are in a conspiracy to pluck the brewery workers to pieces, the rank and file are inclined to stand by them. This was demonstrated in Columbus, O., Pittsburg and St. Louis recently, where strikes were waged by the brewers and the jurisdictional controversy was injected. In Columbus the delegates in the Trades Assembly almost to a man stood by the brewery workers, when along comes an A. F. of L. organizer and revokes the central body's charter and starts an opposition show. The local movement was split, and it was only by threatening to call in their charters that several unions of other trades joined the new body. Yet the brewers defeated the bosses and their allies, the labor dis-organizers. In Pittsburg it was reported that Secretary Morrison, the father of the crazy scheme to embroil the city central bodies in the jurisdictional hair-pulling, declared that he would supply men to take the places of members of the brewers' union, but nevertheless the latter won. Morrison is a narrow Prohibitionist and has cultivated a strong hatred for the brewery workers for obvious reasons. It is claimed that he is really directing the fight against the latter because Gompers has been very busy arranging for the peace talk-fest with Carnegie and other Civic Federation duties. The brewers expect to be expelled from the A. F. of L. and they make no secret of their intention to return blow for blow. Better to go down fighting like men, they say, than to surrender like cowards and be dis-membered. There are a number of international unions whose members will demand that they withdraw from the A. F. of L. if the brewers are dumped, and the action is sure to precipitate trouble in many city central and state bodies throughout the country. I know of a number of city central bodies in the smaller towns which will go to pieces if they are compelled to expel the brewers. They are having a hard enough row to hoe under present circumstances.

It will be remembered that mention was made in this department several months ago that while the printers were engaged in a deadly contest with their national employers' association, known as the United Typothetae of America, to enforce the eight-hour day, and were steadily gaining ground despite all obstacles, President Higgins, of the pressmen and assistants, an ardent craft autonomist and who usually presides at Federation conventions when Gompers is re-elected, sneaked into a conference with the bosses at Philadelphia and signed an agreement providing for the open shop and postponing the introduction of the eight-hour day in pressrooms until 1909. I say sneaked advisedly, for last year's convention of the pressmen in Pittsburg instructed Higgins to co-operate with the officers of the bookbinders, and at the latter's request, in negotiating a new national agreement. But when the time came to meet the "master printers" President Glockling, of the bookbinders, was deliberately snubbed by Higgins, who went into session with the bosses, entered into his treasonable compact and then came forth and informed



Glockling, who was keeping warm in the lobby of an hotel by kicking his heels together, that he (Glockling) might be able to make the same arrangements—open shop and eight-hour day sometime—if he preserved due humility and forgot his radical notions. Glockling swore like a trooper and informed Higgins that their trade unionism was of different brands. However, he submitted Higgins' handout to referendum and recommended that it be buried, which it was at the ratio of 16 to 1. Last month the bookbinders' international executive board met in Columbus, O., and filed notice on the "master printers" that they would demand their eight-hour day on October 1, 1907. Meanwhile Higgins is having a merry time of it. From one end of the country to the other the local unions are condemning the sell-out in strong terms, and delegates to the convention in New York next month are being instructed to repudiate the agreement and demand the eight-hour day immediately. Indeed, Higgins is in danger of being dumped overboard along with his shameful contract. Nevertheless Higgins is an extraordinary individual (at least in his own estimation). While he is being roasted to a turn in the official organ, the American Pressman, by the rank and file, Higgins is turning on his critics and delivers himself of as fine a line of talk as ever came out of Boston. The following sample will show what great labor leaders can do when thoroughly aroused, and that it may not be lost to posterity this masterly and poetical outburst should be duly recorded. Says Mr. Higgins:

"Our Portland correspondent seems to be guilty of limous lingual limosis of litotes, which appears quite evident in his discovery of a cursoriness among the membership over his latest productions in the columns of our official journal and appears to be a clear case on his part of coagulation of the protoplasms. We advise him to erudite more sagaciously in his inquisitiveness of lamentations, by coming to our next convention and finding out all about it. Or, he will be likely to be considered by many as an Zany, of the lachrymose kind, or an Zarnich, from among the hills of that far-away section by those who know him, and those who know him not.

"This also applies to our Washington correspondent who so zealously embarks in an enterprise of trying with the aid of others to deprecate through the genus, taking a species all of his own that are regrettable for their Phlegmagouge of Phlegm, but who exist nevertheless in trying to effect a quondamship of the victim of their dislikes.

"We beg to remind them, however, that 'they alone are immune from Cephalo-Genesis who have butted the wall three times and perceived that the wall fell not.' Blest be the man who first invented sleep."



# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## RUSSIA.

For the moment the Russian Revolution centers around the struggle between the Douma and the Autocracy. The government strength in the Douma is very weak but the socialists and the Group of Toil and the other divisions of the Left have refrained from giving any grounds for the dissolution of the Douma in order that it may for a time at least function as a legislative body. At one time this policy seemed about to be broken when a socialist, M. Zuraboff, made a fierce attack on the army, declaring it to be worthless in repelling foreign attack and only valuable for crushing the working class at home. For a time it seemed as if the Douma would be dissolved, but matters were finally patched up and the Douma remained in session.

## FINLAND.

Readers of the Review have followed the struggle for universal suffrage in Finland and know the part played by the socialists in attaining that right. The first election has just been held under universal suffrage and the result is another red spot on the map of the world. The socialists cast 268,000 votes and elected 83 representatives. The reactionaries who made up the next strongest party had only 54, the conservatives 47 and the agrarians who on many points will act with the socialists have 13. This gives Finland the honor of having the largest percentage of socialist representatives in parliament of any nation in the world.

An interesting phase of this subject is in the fact that owing to the strong socialist influence universal suffrage was made really universal and included women also. The socialists nominated a number of women for legislative seats. This forced the other parties to do likewise and consequently 18 women will sit in the new parliament, 9 of them as members of the socialist party.

## ENGLAND.

The past month has been one in which several European parties have held their annual congresses; that of the Independent Labor Party was one of these. The most important decision of the congress was the one to support the parliamentary fraction in their advocacy of a limited suffrage for women. There has been much criticism of this action among the working class and many of them consider it a distinct abandonment of the revolutionary position.

## HOLLAND.

The Socialist Party of Holland held its annual congress at Haarlem on April first. An attack was made by a small fraction who claimed to be the only genuine Marxians upon Troelstra and the general party management, including the editorial policy of the *Het Volk*, the daily paper. It was alleged that there was a tendency towards revisionism and dropping of the Marxian position. Troelstra replied to his critics claiming that this was not true and that members of the so-called Marxists had had free access to the columns of *Het Volk* and that there was no tendency towards revisionism. He was supported in this position by a number of speakers and the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 226 to 11 with 14 not voting. "The congress, after giving the due consideration to the accusations that have come from many party members against the principal organ and the majority of the party, considers that those who have made these accusations have not brought forward proof and therefore rejects the accusations and denies the statement that the party is divided in two groups of which one has the true insight and tactics and from which the other deviates toward the bourgeois side, and express its complete confidence in the organ of the party and declares itself in accord with the present tactics. The congress appeals to the socialist conscience of all party comrades to co-operate in comradelike work, and with reciprocal confidence in the common struggle against capitalism."

## SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Social Democratic Party held its annual congress at St. Gall in the last week in March. The financial condition of the party was shown to be very poor. There are only about 11,000 paid up members, and were it not for the fact that the central treasury of the Grütliverein had been placed at the disposal of the party, propaganda would have been seriously hampered. It was agreed that dues were at present too low and would have to be raised and that extra efforts must be made towards extending the organization of the party.

## ITALY.

The internal struggle in the Italian socialist party has broken out again in spite of the fine resolutions of the last congress. Turati has recently published a severe attack on the party organization and management especially directed at Ferri, the present editor of the party organ *Avanti*. The result has been an outbreak in all the party organs of a fierce controversy which is still continuing. Turati claimed that the party organization was weak, that the members in parliament were not attending to their work even to the extent of being present when they should have been. It is, of course, a revival of the old struggle which has been going on in the party for many years. A special meeting of the representatives of the party has been called to consider the present crisis.

## VICTORIA.

The Socialists of Melbourne report concerning the meeting of the Socialist Party of Victoria:



"On Wednesday, March 6th, the party held its half-yearly meeting at Elizabeth street. There was an attendance that filled the hall, and although the agenda was a lengthy one every item of business was transacted, including the election of officers.

Since the commencement, 18 months ago, 1808 members have been enrolled. The propagandist meetings during the past six months were over 300. The Prahran struggle stimulated the agitation very considerably and eighteen of the comrades were imprisoned in connection therewith, and several fined.

The Sunday School has nearly doubled its scholars during the half year.

The speakers training and elocution classes have been increasingly successful.

The socials and the Sunday afternoon teas have been most successful, and altogether profitable.

The children's dancing, calisthenics, and club swinging classes are developing quite satisfactorily.

The total receipts from all sources, other than co-operative trading and co-operative shares were, for the half-year ending Feb. 28th, £1166 18s. 1d.; the expenditure was £1156 13s. 3d. The profit on the income was £561 14s."

#### BELGIUM.

The Socialist Party of Belgium held its national congress in April. The one great question still agitating the Belgian working class is the necessity of getting universal suffrage. There is a general feeling that little can be accomplished until this step has been gained and in order to secure this end it was decided that it will be necessary to maintain the alliance with the Liberal party as a first step towards universal suffrage. This position was supported by Vandervelde but met with strong opposition. Bouceare opposed the movement on the ground that it would injure the trade union movement which was replied to by Anseele, the great trade unionist, who declared that the truth had shown the reverse; that where the policy of forming alliances with the Liberals had been carried on the trade unions had entered into them heartily and that after all everybody realized that these alliances were only for the moment and for the single purpose of obtaining a weapon with which to work.



## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, By Karl Marx. Translated by Daniel De Leon. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Paper, 78pp., twenty-five cents.

This analysis of the French phase of the Revolution of 1848 has long been recognized as one of the best examples of the application of the Materialistic Interpretation of History by the discoverer of that theory. This is especially the story of the counter-revolution under Louis Napoleon, and the various squabbles between the large and small capitalists for power. As an analysis of the working of class-struggles during an extremely complex period it must always remain one of the most valuable pieces of Socialist literature.

**The Right to be Lazy**, by Paul Lafargue. Translated by Dr. Harriet E. Lothrop. Charles H. Kerr & Co., paper 46 pp., 10 cents.

Like the above this is a reprint of a well-known and valuable Socialist classic. Nowhere does the genius of Lafargue shine more brightly than in satire, and this is one of the best examples of that art. Alongside the old "Right to Work" he places the infinitely higher "Right to be Lazy," or the right to have and enjoy leisure and determine the method of spending one's life. There are few more effective propaganda pamphlets than this today.

**The Spirit of Labor**, by Hutchins Hapgood, Duffield & Co., Cloth, 410 pp., \$1.50.

Hutchins Hapgood came to Chicago to "look for a man" and seems to have found one after his own heart in Anton Johanson, of the Woodworkers' union. With only his last name dropped for a disguise he strides through the pages of the book as the hero.

Around him are grouped a large number of well-known radicals, some disguised about as effectually as Anton, some directly named and described. As an interesting "human document" the book presents a valuable study. As a sort of deification of anarchy by idealizing its principal Chicago representatives, it is hardly so much of a success. Those who know these men, perhaps a little better and little longer than Mr. Hapgood will find it hard to believe that they have been entertaining such angels unawares.

As a study in working-class psychology, there are portions that are most remarkable. He takes "Anton" and traces his life from boyhood, making him, what he practically is in this respect at least, a typical proletarian. He tramps, is hired and fired with rather more than the average frequency,—due in all probability, in part at least to his possession of something which the author terms a "temper-



ment." He thinks he becomes a Socialist, although here again the knowledge of the facts leads one to doubt the extent of Anton's knowledge on this point. He attends Kropotkin's lecture and becomes converted to anarchy, something which those who heard that lecture can never consider as a very high tribute to his intelligence.

He enters into Chicago Federation of Labor politics, helps, in a mild way to fight "Skinny" Madden, and becomes a trade-union officer.

The "radical" character of Chicago is often commented upon. "Wherever I went in Chicago," he tells us, "and I went everywhere, the ideas I heard expressed were preponderantly 'democratic,' preponderantly on subjects called 'sociological'; expressed with energy and often with distinction. For several months after my arrival in Chicago I saw these 'leading' people mainly: it was before I had become well acquainted with the laboring people themselves. When, however, I met Anton and his friends I felt myself to be in the presence of the source of the ideas in which my cultivated friends were so much interested. It seemed that the ideas and feelings most prevalent in Chicago's intellectual and serious circles began with the laboring class, and were expressed best by the intellectual proletariat. Moreover, I found that in this class, where these feelings and ideas originated, the expression of them was more direct and warmer; if less logical and balanced, it was more real, so real that it was fascinating."

Certainly the author has succeeded in making a most interesting if not fascinating, book out of the matter he discovered. It is one of a class of books that is becoming more and more frequent, that is neither fiction nor fact, neither a treatise nor a novel, but that partakes of both, and perhaps the best of both. It is idealized fact, or at least facts as seen by an idealist,—if there is any difference in the distinction.

The book should do much to remove the prejudice which still exists in "respectable" circles against everything conventional, even if it does not convince anyone of the reasonableness of the unconventional.

Wilshire's Editorials, by Gaylord Wilshire. The Wilshire Book Company, Cloth, 410 pp., m., \$1.00.

It is doubtful if there is any abler journalist in the American Socialist movement than Gaylord Wilshire. He has that peculiar combination of sensationalism, good literary style, striking phraseology and the eye for the interesting that makes up the successful journalist. Like a clever journalist he has selected the most striking features of the Socialist doctrine,—the theory that capitalism must collapse because of a break-down of its industrial machinery in time of a crisis and around this he spins all his material.

"I believe," he says in his preface, "that when the collapse of the present boom shall usher in a huge unemployed problem that the workers of the United States will refuse to be placated by any reasoning of the capitalists to the effect that they ought to expect to go hungry, knowing that they produce so much more than they can buy.

"The day has passed when the people of the United States will be satisfied to starve because they produce too much food.

"The day has passed when the people of a whole village will submit to death from typhoid fever because the doctors and preachers pronounce it a visitation of God as a punishment for the unrighteous-

ness. They now know that typhoid comes with polluted water supply, and they will proceed to purify that supply at once.

"It will be the same way with us Americans in regard to death from starvation when the capitalist cannot employ us owing to over-production. Some years ago we would have starved, thinking that such events as panics and trade depressions were mysterious events sent upon man by a divine providence, into whose way it was profane to explore.

"We now know differently. We know that a trade depression is caused by over-production, which in turn is caused by the inability of the workers to buy with their low wages what they produce. We know that low wages are caused by competition between workers—by the competitive system. We, therefore, see that the base of all the trouble is the competitive system."

This being true the workers will arise and vote to own the trusts and so the conclusion is forced from the preceding cycle of events. This, in short, is the Wilshire method of presenting the Socialist philosophy, and with the exception that it is more symmetrical in its form than the events will justify it is pretty good Marxism.

There is a portion of the philosophy which goes before this, and furnishes the cause of the coming panic, that he so industriously preaches. Comrade Wilshire holds that the work of making the great fundamental tools with which the work of the world is done is practically completed and that these tools tend to constantly create a great army of unemployed. Here is the point where it is impossible to agree with him, at least in any great detail. The work of making the tools of production is never done, but always doing. Nowhere is this more striking than in the illustration which he so frequently uses to point his moral,—the railroads. It is true that the greatest track-age in the United States was laid in the early '80's. But they have been built and rebuilt a dozen times since. Single track has given place to double, forty to ninety pound rails, sand to gravel and stone ballast, while curves have been straightened, grades reduced, tunnels dug, new terminals constructed, etc., altogether often totaling much more in labor or money than the original cost of the road. It is safe to say that more money, several times over is now being expended in constructing railroad terminals into New York City than was ever expended in constructing railroads within fifty miles of that city. The same is even more strikingly true of the factories. That American "scrap-heap" that has been the talk of so many foreign visitors can and will absorb a mighty amount of energy and labor for years to come.

But this point is really not vital to Wilshire's theory. It is a addition of his own, and does not appear in all his writings. This present book is a collection of the best editorials that have appeared in the Challenge and the various forms in which Wilshire's Magazine has appeared during its existence.

Many of them are among the best bits of propaganda in the English language, and some of them have had a wide circulation for this purpose. The many readers of these in the first ephemeral form will welcome this opportunity to secure them in permanent shape.



## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### What the Publishing House is Doing.

The month of April, 1907, breaks all records. Our book sales for the month are \$2,196.99, sales of stock \$392.99, receipts of the International Socialist Review \$281.27, contribution from Eugene Dietzgen \$250.00; total \$3,021.25.

The increase in the receipts of the Review is mainly due to the fact that we have expended several hundred dollars in advertising a new combination offer, by which we send the Review six months and sixty socialist books, all postpaid for one dollar. The books included in this offer are the forty-five numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism and fifteen other five cent books, mostly the ones lately purchased by us from the Standard Publishing Company. This offer is still open, and applies to renewals as well as to new subscriptions. For two dollars we will send the Review for a year and two sets of the books. On this offer we receive scarcely the cost of reproducing the books, together with the cost of postage and wrapping, but wish to get a thousand more sets of books into circulation this month and to add a thousand names to the mailing list of the Review.

### Where the Money has gone.

We have finished paying for the plates of all books already published, and have discounted all bills for paper used on our books to date, including paper for some books not yet printed. We have also paid the last of the note to John A. Becker, on which six per cent interest was paid, so that hereafter no higher rate of interest than four per cent will be paid for capital used in our work. Every dollar of new capital will now be used promptly in pushing the circulation of our literature harder than ever before, and in bringing out new books which the socialist movement needs. Here is a list of the forthcoming books on which our printers are now at work, with the probable dates of publication. It should be observed that as we do not own a printing and binding plant, but have our work done by



outside contract, we can never be sure in advance of the exact date when any book will be ready. When comrades can afford to pay for books in advance of publication, we welcome the help, since it saves our paying interest, and we trust it will be understood in each case that we will send the books ordered as soon as the manufacture can be completed.

**The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin. Cloth, \$1.00. This book, which will probably be ready for delivery by the time the May Review is in the hands of its readers, will be the best book yet issued for giving a careful student a clear idea of the Marxian theories. In view of the importance of the work, we shall take room here to publish the author's preface in full, since it contains a better explanation of the scope of the book than could be presented in any other way. ..

### PREFACE.

The present volume is substantially a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the International Socialist Review from May, 1905, to October, 1906.

It was my original intention to give in brief compass an account of the causes which called forth the so-called Revisionist movement, the question raised thereby, and its net results, theoretical as well as practical. It soon became apparent to me, however, that such task was impossible of execution even within the space of twice the number (seven) of articles originally contemplated for the series, because of the extreme poverty of the English literature of the subject, and the consequent unpreparedness of our readers for such discussion. In treating of the causes of the Revisionist movement, the Neo-Kantian movement in latter-day philosophy had to be touched upon, but no mere reference or allusion to it would suffice because of the entire unfamiliarity of the English reader with that subject. The revision of Marxism could hardly be discussed with people who had but a bowing acquaintance with the doctrines of that famous system of thought.

I therefore concluded to present to the English reader, instead of an account of the movement to revise Marxism, an **exposition** of the teachings of Marx, and to draw upon the literature of Revisionism only in so far as it may become necessary or expedient in the course of such exposition, in order to accentuate some of its points or differentiate them from others with which they are likely to be confused. I have therefore refrained from entering here into any controversy with any revisionist Marx critic except in so far as was absolutely necessary for my purpose. And I hope at some future time to be able to resume the argument, when I expect to take up the different critics and their criticisms one by one and draw conclusions with them.

I have also refrained from entering into any detailed statement of the Marxian economic theory as I did not intend to make this volume a primer of philosophy and political economy according to Marx, but rather an outline of the Marxian system of thought, with the accent on the **system**, that is the relation of its different parts to



each other and the unity of the whole. It is not meant as a text-book of the Marxian teaching, but as an introduction to the study of Marx, and as an aid to the understanding of him. And in this connection I wish to say that in stating what I considered to be the true Marxian doctrine I never relied on isolated statements or expressions, but always looked to the spirit pervading the whole of his work, for the explanation of any dark point or the solution of any problem encountered.

In the arrangement of the matter I have followed the suggestion of the great Master: I have treated the Materialistic Conception of History as merely introductory to the study of the actual workings of the capitalist system. I appreciate that the problems of the Materialistic Conception of History are many and manifold, but I do not believe that it would have been wise to burden the reader at the very beginning with long and abstruse philosophic discussions. Besides, many of the problems of the Materialistic Conception of History which are considered grave, are so considered only because of the failure of many students of the subject to perceive that these problems are not peculiar to this particular philosophy, but are problems of philosophy in general.

There is one respect, however, in which the Materialistic Conception of History has a harder road to travel than any other system of thought that I know of: the persistent misrepresentations of friend and foe. I have therefore deemed it advisable to attach two appendices, wherein are treated two points with respect to which these perversions and misrepresentations are most frequent and at the same time most glaring.

I hope that the volume herewith presented will give the reader, if not an adequate presentation of the Marxian doctrines, at least an adequate beginning for such presentation, and that it will serve as a stimulant towards an adequate discussion among English-speaking people of the great theoretical problems embraced within the realm of Marxism.

L. B. Boudin.

**Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring).** By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. This is one of the greatest socialist classics not yet within the reach of American readers. Our edition will, accidents apart, be ready about the middle of May. It will be the sixteenth volume in the International Library of Social Science, and will sell for one dollar. A full explanation of the scope of the book will be found in the preface of "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," which is itself an extract from "Anti-Duehring." Comrade Lewis's version does not duplicate the matter in the smaller book, and he has moreover omitted some controversial matter of no great interest today. He has thus presented nearly all that is new and valuable in Engels' great work in the space of a dollar volume. A detailed review of the book will be published later.

**Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, \$1.00. Comrade Untermann has been unavoidably delayed in completing his work on this volume, which was announced in 1906. It is now however, nearly finished, and we expect to publish it early in June.

It will be far easier and more popular in style than Comrade Boudin's work, and can safely be taken up by less advanced students.

**Capital.** By Karl Marx. Volume II. The Process of Capitalist Circulation. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, \$2.00. The type-setting and proof-reading on this book are nearly completed as we go to press with this issue of the Review, and we confidently hope to have copies ready about the first of June. American students of socialism have long been at a disadvantage as compared with their comrades on the continent of Europe, since only the first volume of "Capital" has been within their reach. The growth of our publishing house and the generous help of Eugene Dietzgen have now made possible the publication of the entire work and we hope this year to announce the third volume. Meanwhile every one who wishes to understand socialism should read the first and second volumes.

**Socialism, Positive and Negative.** By Robert Rives LaMonte. Standard Socialist Series, vol. 19, cloth, 50 cents. We have delayed any full announcement of this book until we could be reasonably sure of the date of publication. The electrotype plates are now completed, and copies of the book should be ready for delivery by May 15. The book will be a surprise and delight to those who do not remember LaMonte's "Science and Socialism," which appeared in the Review for September, 1900. To those who do remember it, the book will be a delight but not a surprise. The book will contain that essay, with half a dozen more, written at intervals since. What he says of "The Nihilism of Socialism" may come as a rude shock to some of our new converts who have not yet gotten rid of their capitalistic ways of thinking, further than to vote for socialism. But if they have patience to read also his essay on "The Biogenetic Law," they will understand the socialist movement, and their own psychology too, far better than before. LaMonte's book will at least make people think, and that is the best thing a book can do, after all. Don't fail to read it.

**Capitalist and Laborer.** A reply to Goldwin Smith. Also in the same volume, **Modern Socialism**, a reply to W. H. Mallock. By John Spargo. This is as distinctly a propaganda book as LaMonte's is a book for socialists who want to know more of socialism. Spargo's style is simple and persuasive. He answers the objectors courteously and artistically, showing the utter weakness of their arguments, but taking care not to give any needless offense to the prejudices of readers who find it hard to assimilate more than one new idea at a time. If you want a book to give or lend to a student who is not yet a socialist, you will make no mistake in choosing "Capitalist and Laborer." Cloth, 50 cents, ready about May 20.

**The Right to be Lazy and Other Studies.** By Paul Lafargue, translated by Charles H. Kerr. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready about May 25.



"The Right to be Lazy" is the most widely known of Lafargue's writings. A paper edition of it (10c) is among the books purchased by us from the Standard Publishing Company. That translation, by Dr. Harriet E. Lothrop, is "adapted" with a view to making it more effective propaganda in certain circles. The object of the present translator is to say just what Lafargue said, preserving so far as possible the delicious flavor of his style. In the volume are also included Lafargue's studies entitled "Socialism and the Intellectuals," "The Woman Question," "The Bankruptcy of Capitalism," "The Rights of the Horse and the Rights of Man," and "The Socialist Ideal."

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VII

JUNE, 1907

NO. 12

## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

### 6. IN THE PARADISE OF THE CAPITALISTS.

I HAVE come from the "Classic Land of Capitalism" to what Karl Marx has called "The Paradise of the Capitalists."

One would need to be an adept in fine distinctions to make very clear the difference between these two countries. If the working classes of England are poverty stricken and live in great overcrowded and squalid quarters, so do the workers of Belgium. There is one distinction however. There are certain classes of workmen in England who have, by organisation and united action, created for themselves a tolerable existence. In Belgium there is practically no such class. The entire mass of workers, when not actually beneath the poverty line, live but slightly above it. In both the classic land and the paradise the immense body of citizens live in abominable conditions and toil their lives away without hope of enjoying the benefits of modern civilized life.

I was interested to see and to study a paradise of the capitalists. We are wont to think of a paradise as a comfortable joyous place where the people lead happy lives and where the souls of children are full of gladness. Belgium is not such a paradise, though it might well be, if its wealth were but justly distributed. It is a paradise for the capitalist only. This means that in all parts of this tiny country, the smallest in Europe, there are spacious and beautiful estates and handsome châteaux. In other words Belgium has built for itself a new Athens. There are the citizens who participate in the public life, who control the powers of Government and the institutions of the land and who alone enjoy the rich

and abundant opportunities for a happy and peaceful life. Beneath this small group is a nation of poverty. Capitalists have made themselves a paradise; and, in order to support and enrich it, they have made for the people an inferno. Outside of their magnificent estates there is the never-ceasing hum of Industry, the great factories, the mines, the quarries, the vast docks, the wharfs, the little canals stretching throughout the country and the minutely and intensively cultivated fields, where multitudes of men, women and children labor unceasingly. Wherever one travels in Belgium one passes through such a conglomeration of industrial centres as to make one feel as if Packingtown, the great steel mills of Pittsburg, the mining districts of Pennsylvania, the textile mills of the South and all the docks of the great lakes were crowded together in one little handful of country.

Since 1830 the Capitalists have ruled Belgium and have done with it what they wished. During this time the population has steadily increased until now it is the most dense in Europe. The increase in wealth has been prodigious, and the factories, mines, commerce and cultivation of the soil have developed to such an extent that perhaps no similar bit of space in the universe is so adequately and variously industrialized. The figures of the increase of wealth in Belgium are amazing. Through these years of capitalist domination there has been amassed a wealth of 35 Millions of Francs with an annual revenue of 3 and a half Millions. Louis Bertrand shows that if this wealth were equally partitioned among the people, each family would possess a capital of 25,000 Francs or an annual revenue of 2,500 Francs. This would mean in Belgium, that every man, woman and child would possess a comfortable, and in a small way even a luxurious existence.

But no such distribution of wealth exists under Capitalism. Instead of comfort a hundred seventy thousand workmen or about 25 per cent. of all laborers gained less than 2 Frcs. per day in 1896 and 172,000 workers or 25 per cent. again earned between 2-3 Frcs. per day. This of course means that these workers were under the poverty line and unable to supply themselves and their families with the necessities of life. Perhaps as striking as any of the figures illustrating the poverty in Belgium are those of the dwellings of the workers. In Brussels their conditions are by no means the worst, but 17,597 of the families investigated, or 34 per cent. are forced to live in one room, the sole space they have for sleeping, eating and living. But it is not only in wages or in housing that the worst conditions can be shown. Even the capitalists in the present system can not easily remedy these things. The injustice and wickedness of their rule is perhaps shown more clearly by the woman and child labor and by the resistance always

put forward to the demands of the people for the education of their children. In 1892 the proportion of militiamen in the various European countries who were entirely illiterate was as follows:

(read only

imperfectly)

In the German Empire in 1900.....	0.7	per	1000	
In Sweden .....	0.8	"	"	
In Denmark .....	0.2	"	"	
In Switzerland .....	20	"	"	(read only
In Holland .....	23	"	"	imperfectly)
In England .....	37	"	"	
In France .....	46	"	"	
In Belgium .....	101	"	"	

From these figures it will be seen that the Belgians are by far the most illiterate and poorly educated of all the peoples of Western Europe. It is of course a direct and definite result of capitalist domination. They have wanted the children for their mills and mines and no protest on the part of the people has been effective in preventing the capitalists from exploiting these infants. Their rule in Belgium has been perfect, for as with us, there have been but two parties; when the one was defeated, the other was in power and both parties represented the elements that were enriched by cheap labor.

The population of Belgium therefore is the most oppressed of all those of the industrial countries of Europe. They are badly educated; they work the longest hours at the lowest pay. It would seem therefore impossible to expect from this mass of working people an intelligent and consistent revolt. Indeed this seems to be the opinion of many Belgians. A well known socialist and, it is said, the one most loved, Louis De Brouckère, has written of his own country in the following words: "Belgium, the battle field of Europe, has known for many centuries nothing but uninterrupted oppression. Spain, Austria and France fought for our provinces which had already suffered from the brutal treatment of the Dukes of Burgundy. The rival powers took possession of them, lost them and took them again at various intervals. At every new conquest our country had to be forced to surrender and to obey .....

We have been assailed by all the reactions since the inquisition, and they have raged in our country more furiously than in any other except Spain, until the Restoration. We have had to submit to the despotism of every power from Philip the second down to Napoleon. A cruel and long tyranny which ended by forcing us into servitude. During the time of our misery we learned habits of submission, from which these twenty years of socialist organisation have not been able to entirely free us.

"Soldiers and priests have long prepared our population for the masters of the factories. They pass without protest from one oppression to the other, and our Capitalist class have no trouble in controlling the workmen, who do not even murmur."

This is a strong and terrible statement, but I am not convinced that the conclusion is altogether just. The Belgians are a nation of revolt, however often it has been to no purpose. In the old days in Ghent the Mediaeval Guilds used to flock into the public square to raise their standard of revolt. And there also Gerard Denys used to lead the weavers against their oppressors. And there to-day is the Vooruit representing the modern revolt of the workers. The Walloons of Liège known always for their industry and hard labor, used to take the weapons, which they manufactured so skillfully, to use against their oppressors. A writer of the old day says, "The history of Liège records a series of sanguinary insurrections of the turbulent and unbridled populace against their oppressive and arrogant rulers."

And so it has always been. Belgium was perhaps the strongest section of the "Internationale", and the leaders were among the most capable and uncompromising. They were indefatigable in their labors to keep alive and to increase the spirit of revolt. Cesar De Paepe, Jean Pellerin, Désiré Brismée, Nicolas Coulon, Eugen Steens and Laurent Verrycken were men that any country might well be proud of. But unfortunately the "Internationale", although exhorting the workers to union and persistently urging that "the Emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves, "was a body controlled and dominated by intellectuals. It was filled with the poison of sectarian spirit. It was, despite all, ideological. The strife between the sects of intellectuals was constant and never ceasing. It was above all a continuous battle between two great intellects and the magnificent propaganda of years ended in separating and confusing the workers. They were dreary years of quarrels, which began by dividing and creating antagonisms among the workers and ended finally in the stagnation of the movement. Then came despair.

Some of the leaders began to believe with the Russians that the only hope left to them lay in pan-destruction. Others retired to their workshops hopelessly discouraged. Two "brilliant" members of the "Internationale" decided to interview Napoleon the third, who was then in England, and to endeavor to convert him to the wisdom of becoming the emperor of the workers and of the peasants. One of them became so enthusiastic about the matter that he soon imagined himself Vice-Emperor. To make clear his own novel idea he printed a little tract on "The Empire and the New France". Others of the leaders went into bourgeois politics having lost all hope of working class organisation. The

movement was dead and Capitalism in Belgium as elsewhere grew more arrogant and oppressive.

It was some time before new blood began to make itself felt. Two of the most remarkable of these youths came from among that wonderful people the weavers of Ghent. They were Van Beveren and Anseele. Other youths began to work in other parts of Belgium and pretty soon throughout the country new organisations began to arise. Workmen's Leagues, Democratic Federations, Political, Rational and Republican organisations began to spring up. Some of the old sections of the "Internationale" and the new Chamber of Labor were at work while in Ghent and elsewhere arose the Co-operative and Socialist organizations. Everywhere there came again to birth that old longing of the oppressed for unity and concerted action. With this spirit came again also leaders to give it voice; Jean Volders, Van Beveren, Anseele, Bertrand, old Cesar De Paepe and Verrycken.

Then in 1885 a hundred working men representing 59 groups came together in Brussels to discuss what they should do. It was a remarkable gathering and I had heard so much of it that I spent a long time trying to find a report of the proceedings. At another time I may perhaps go into the details of this remarkable conference which ended in the formation of the Belgian Labor Party. It will suffice here to say that to the thought of everyone the condition of the workers had become unbearable and the longing for unity amongst the working class was profound. They were sick of dogma and intellect and came very near excluding from the conference that grand old man, Cesar De Paepe. They gave no thought to program, and the socialists themselves with the exception of two or three agreed that it was better to leave the word "Socialist" out of the title of the party.

To my mind they had reached a stage more fundamentally revolutionary and more full of danger for capitalism than ever rested in any thought, any dogma, or in any statement of what the future society should be. They intended to unite a working class, no matter what the individuals believed or what the men were. And they wanted the stupid and backward elements as much as the advanced and more intelligent elements.

In this memorable year something more profound than doctrine agitated the souls of the workers and Unionists, Co-operators, Mutualists, Socialists, Democrats, Republicans, Rationalists, Catholics, Protestants, Revolutionists and Positivists came together and formed a class party. It was a union of oppressed against oppressors, a union of workers against capitalists, a union of exploited against exploiters. It was then, that they did precisely what they are now doing in England.

It was the birth of a clear-cut, class conscious, party, deter-

mined to free themselves from all political alliances or connection with capitalist parties. They did not say they were socialists, they simply said "the working class of Belgium is organizing itself politically against its exploiters", and that means in the end that they intend some day to take Belgium into their own hands and to administer it in their own interest. I will not say that some of the socialists were not dissatisfied, although they all freely and generously assented to the decision of the Congress. But whatever their opinion at that time it certainly came later in accord with that of Cesar De Paepe who wrote not long afterwards: "What more immense and at the same time more simple and precise! Why add the words Socialist, Collectivist, Communist, Rationalist, Democrat, Republican, and other limiting epithets. He who says *Parti Ouvrier* says Party of Class and since the working class constitute itself into a party how could you believe that it may be anything else in its tendencies and principles than socialist and republican?"

After the Belgian party was constituted it became the most strikingly solidified and integral party in Europe. Vandervelde has well said: "Belgian socialism, at the conflux of three great European Civilizations, partakes of the character of each of them. From the English it adopted the self help, the free association principally under the co-operative form; from the Germans the political tactics and the fundamental doctrines, which were for the first time exposed in the communist manifesto; and from the French they took their idealist tendencies, their integral conception of socialism, considered as the continuation of the revolutionary philosophy, and as a new religion continuing and fulfilling Christianity."

This is quite true. The Belgian Labor Party includes in itself every organization that expresses an aspiration of the working class. The Trade Unions, the Co-operatives with their "Houses of the People," their great stores and their public meeting halls; and the Friendly Societies with their Insurance schemes are all closely and definitely associated in one political party. This party has its press, its gigantic propaganda, its fighting force in Parliament and upon Municipal bodies. After the long years of division and of quarrels over doctrines it is not surprising that this organisation of the working class brought them hope for the future and for the present immense confidence in themselves.

During the following year in Belgium riots broke out in various industrial sections. The working class had long stood oppression and now at last it seemed the time had come to change the conditions of their existence. During all the years of capitalist domination the two old parties had ignored the necessities of the

poor. There was no legislation of any importance to benefit or protect the working class. The total disregard of the capitalists for the misery of the workers is shown by their treatment of a bill introduced in 1872 to regulate child labor. It was an effort to prevent little boys under 13 years of age and girls under 14 years of age from working underground in the coal mines. The bill was ignored for six years and only in 1878 did the Capitalist parties have time to consider it. And then even after the horrible conditions of child slavery had been stated, out of 155 representatives in Parliament 150 voted against the bill. But things began to change immediately after the formation of the Labor Party. The Capitalists were then forced to consider seriously the miserable condition of their working people. A commission of enquiry was established and a few years after 1886, law after law was voted for the benefit of the working class. Of course they were not important laws but, as I have shown in my recent paper on the British Movement, even these miserable concessions from the ruling powers were wrung from them only after a superb political revolt of the wage workers.

I have written so much of the earlier days of the Belgian Movement, because it is so significant. It seems to me also that it demonstrates the superiority of the class struggle over the mere belief in socialism or collectivism. There are many persons who call themselves socialists simply because they believe in Government ownership, or if you please the ownership by the people of certain or all forms of industry. Many of these socialists have believed in the past, and many even in the present day believe, that it is possible to convince a very considerable number of the propertied classes of the advantages of such collective ownership. Of course that was what Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen thought. In all countries in the middle of last century there were men who, if that disposition of fact, the advantages of socialism could be made so clear to the rational mind, that it only needed thorough statement to convince all mankind. There are some socialists today, many in the old political parties of every country who are in this sense convinced socialists.

It is perfectly possible I think for many sincere socialists to take this view. Indeed there are a large number of men in the socialist parties of Europe who still believe that socialism is solely an ideal for the future form of society. There are Fabians, Revisionists, and others who hold this view, including of course many who have left the party, because they have felt that they could as individuals do more effective work for socialism outside than inside the party. I shall not question the sincerity of such men such as John Burns, Millerand, Viviani and Briand, but in my opinion they are utopian socialists.



Opposed to this conception of socialism is the one held by those men who have believed that the most important work of all is the organisation of the workers. I mean such men as Liebknecht, De Paepe and Hardie. Certainly these three men have seen that the organisation of the workers against their exploiters is more important as a basis for a revolutionary organisation than the acceptance of a doctrine concerning the future organisation of society. For instance Liebknecht quarrelled with Marx because Liebknecht felt that the bringing of the working men of Germany together in a party was more important for the movement than the program. De Paepe in Belgium definitely urged the organisation of a class party and begged the other socialists who were there with him to give up for the time the pressing of the program. Hardie has more recently done the same in England. These striking examples of great political leadership are significant for us in America at this moment, because we may have a similar situation to deal with.

It is unnecessary to point out that the line of action spoken of above is not in any sense opportunism. Opportunism has become in party parlance almost a technical word. It means approaching nearer to the capitalist parties; it means affiliation, joint action, *blocs* and similar arrangements with capitalist parties for the purpose of getting specific legislation or other benefits. The action which Liebknecht, Hardie and De Paepe took is the exact contrary. It deals a death blow to the old political parties. It means finally their destruction and annihilation; it means teaching the working class self respect and demonstrating to them their tremendous power; it means uniting them; it means taking them in masses from the old parties and teaching them, perhaps not so much to know the value to them of socialism, but certainly to realize their gigantic power as a class; it means drawing the lines of battle; it means teaching loyalty to co-operatives as meaning to the word traitor; it means showing to the working class that whatever they want they can have if they will but unite themselves. In other words opportunism means sacrificing the clear and definite lines of the class movement for the sake of some benefit, perhaps in itself extremely important, for the welfare of the working classes. The other line of action means not pressing for the moment the final aim, in order that the working classes may be united and taught the enormous value of solidarity. I may not perhaps make this tactic entirely clear and if I have not, I shall be glad, if questioned, to write on the subject more fully at another time. I speak so much of it at this time only because during the last few months, since giving special attention to the formation of the English, Belgian and German Movements I have felt increasingly the importance of these tactics.

ROBERT HUNTER.

## The Conditions of Living Among the Poor.

SOME talented writer, I think it is Jacobs, in an article published recently in some magazine, I think *The American*, introduces to us a newly discovered specimen of genus Americans the "Middle American" yclept. He ranges us all, the fifteen odd millions American families, in a row, according to the visible and tangible means of subsistence of each family, placing at one end the billionaire families and coming down to the other end with the lowest dregs of the submerged ten million. After having stood us all up in a nice row, he comes up to the middle of the row and picks out the middle family. The head of this family is the "Middle American". Mr. Jacobs then proceeds to show the place of this "Middle American" in the scheme of creation. The social status of the specimen is illumined by the fanciful genius of the author. He finds that the object of his research is ever rubbing elbows with poverty, and manages only by dint of incessant toil and drudgery to maintain his place on the ragged edge of existence. The author is consoled by the thought of the seven and one half million families whose position ever improves in the ascending scale, but he is appalled that there are as many families whose fate is getting ever worse as it is further removed from the "Middle American," till the very lowest pit of poverty and degradation is reached. The picture is striking and fanciful, but a prosaic mind finds it difficult to discern its outlines in real life.

Being of that disposition, I was much more impressed by the plain, matter of fact way in which Mr. S. E. Forman deals with the same subject in his article entitled "Conditions of Living Among the Poor" which was published in the *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* for May, 1906. The article bears the marks of painstaking labor and industrious research. It is my purpose to exhume some of the facts from the *Bulletin* and give them another chance for life.

The author set out to find out how the poor live, not from books or reports, but by going to the poor and asking them to tell him all about it.

The inquiry was made in Washington, D. C., and all the poor whose manner of living he studied were residing in the shadow of our national prosperity mill—the Republican Congress, Executive and Supreme Court. The author "operated" on 19 families, all of them average working class families. Says the author :

"The article does not give an account of the living conditions which prevail among paupers or among those who have reached the lowest stages of destitution. It is impossible to secure accurate statements of household expenses from families wholly submerged by poverty."

The author reduces the 19 human tragedies to 105 pages packed closely with facts and figures. Rather dry. All the more the pity that men who know how, have not turned these facts and figures into "copy" as printable in the daily press and as readable by the workmen as a murder trial or baseball report. Out of the 19, we shall take 3 families and let Mr. Forman introduce them to you:

"Family No. 1.—Ten in family—husband, wife and aged aunt and seven children of the following ages: 8, 6, 5, 4, (twins,) 2, 5 months. The husband about 30 years of age, is the only wage earner and is a coal heaver. His income varies from \$9 to \$12 a week. Food consuming power, 5.45 adult males. Occupy a two-story four-room frame building in the neighborhood of the gas works. The rooms are of medium size. The house has no conveniences, and water is brought from a distance. Bath house and surroundings are unsanitary. Rent \$8.50 a month."

"Family No. 6.—Seven in family—widow and six children of the following ages: 16, 14, 12, 9, 7, 2. The mother is a charwoman in the service of the Government. Her regular wages are \$20 a month, but her hours of labor permit her to earn some extra money in private families. Boy also works and brings in several dollars a week, but amount is irregular. Food-consuming power, 5.25 adult males. Occupy a small two-story frame building with four rooms of medium size, located on the outskirts. The house is not kept in repair and is unsanitary. Rent, \$5 a month."

"Family No. 15.—Six in family—husband, wife, and four children of the following ages: 11, 8, 6, and a baby. The husband, a young man, is the only wage-earner and is a tinner. His wages are \$2.50 a day but he finds it impossible to get regular work. Food-consuming power 4.1 adult males. Occupy a two-story building of four rooms very unfavorably located. The house is in a shamefully dilapidated condition and is so insanitary as to be a disgrace. Water is brought from a distance. Rent, \$5 a month."

"An examination of the above details shows that the report deals with a normal and with a very large segment of society. The people, the intimate facts of whose domestic economy are herein set forth are representative of the thousands of other people in the District. Taking the country over they are representative of millions of honest industrious citizens who help to make the world around us the pleasant place it is."

The inquiry covered five weeks, 3 weeks in the summer and 2 weeks in the winter. It included the entire household budget of each family, as, food, rent, clothing, fuel, furniture, insurance, miscellaneous. We will examine each item separately.

FOOD.—Obviously the most important element in the family budget of the poor is the food element, says the author. We should therefore expect to find that element constant and stable. We find it instead fluctuating from week to week. In family No. 1 for instance, the food expenses for 5 weeks are \$5.31, \$5.77, \$8.60, \$7.39, \$8.57. The author proceeds to show the reasons.

"What is the explanation of these great differences in food expenditure? How can the fact be accounted for that family No. 1, for example, spent \$5.31 for food in the first week of the investigation and \$8.57 during the last week? In this instance the explanation is the very simple one that in the first week the wage-earner was idle about half the time, while in the last week he was employed every day. In the case of family No. 2, why was there a fall from \$5.86 in the second week to \$3.91 in the third week? Because in the third week the rent fell due. Why in the budget of family No. 3 is there the great difference between \$6.77 in the first week and \$2.45 in the last week? Because in the last week the rent had to be paid and a payment of \$6 upon an old debt had to be made, and furthermore the wage-earner was idle part of the time. Thus we might go through the accounts of every family and find that any considerable decrease in food expenditures was almost always due to the payment of rent or some financial stress of the week."

The range of diet among these families is very limited. It is confined to a few articles, as, bread, meat, potatoes, coffee and tea. These are the staples.

It was found that nearly 25 per cent of the total expenditures of all families or nearly 60 per cent of the food expenditures, was for bread and meat. Stale bread is largely used and of the meats only the cheap varieties of beef stew, sausage etc. are accessible to the poor. Only 5 families occasionally indulge in eggs. Milk is used irregularly, in some cases scarcely at all, and many families lead weeks of butterless existence. Some of the families buy no fruit of any kind and the average weekly expenditure for fruit per adult male is 2 cents. The "adult male" is the standard by which the consuming power of a family is measured and means more than merely a person. So for family No. 1 of 10 persons the consuming power is given as 5.45. The average daily food expenditure per adult male ranges from 10 cents a day in family No. 4 to 26 cents a day in family No. 12. The per cent of food expenditure of the total expenditures ranges from 33 per cent to 69.3 per cent.

"The greater part of the earnings of the poor," says the author, "is expended for something to put into the stomach."

The investigator found only in 13 families the use of tobacco and in 2 families only did the expenditures exceed a dollar for the five weeks.

Says Mr. Forman:—"Beer and whiskey practically do not appear in the budget at all. The almost complete absence of these articles is due to the fact that families in which intoxicants were habitually used were avoided in making this investigation."

The temperance apostle and the other of rolling-the-eyes-heavenward, holier-than-thou fraternity may take a leaf from here. Here are 19 American families belonging to the working class, selected by the investigator especially for their industry, regularity and sobriety. The investigator is compelled to note the fact of *actual starvation* among them. Let him speak for himself:

"An examination of the food expenditures in the detail indicates plainly that the fluctuations in food expenditure mean great difference in actual nourishment and that during those weeks when expenditures were lowest there was not enough to eat. In a number of the families it is plain that the food purchased was at no time sufficient to provide proper nourishment. In nearly all of the 19 families there are appearances at times of excessive and injurious economy in food purchases, and in most, but not in all, of the cases in which this economy is excessive it is enforced."

It is useless to point again to the savings banks' deposits as a sign of prosperity of the working class; or to the expenditure of the working class for liquor. While the figures of the savings banks deposits and of the nations budget for liquor are formidable the pangs of hunger, the drawn faces of slow starvation pass unrecorded. No statistician has as yet reduced to figures and tables the famine that ever preys on the men and women who toil. Good times may come to them who are now famishing. But there can be no compensation for pains once felt. For all his vileness and malignity Mugridge in Jack London's *Sea-wolf* has sounded the deeps of this great wrong:

"If I was President of the United States to-morrer, 'ow would it fill my belly for one time w'en I was a kiddy and it went empty?"

RENT—Mr. Forman finds that in the food budget there is a minimum below which nature will punish want of nourishment by impairing the human machine. Not so in rent. Says the author:

"There seems to be no house too cheap, no structure with too small a rental value, to prevent its being used as the habitation of human beings. In the downward march of poverty, therefore the

descent in housing conditions continues long after food conditions have reached their lowest point."

The rent ranges from \$4 to \$14 a month for 3 to 5 rooms. In one case the rent is \$3, but the housewife is caretaker of the premises and the rent is only nominal. In one case the family owns the house, which is mortgaged to its full value and the interest and water rate amounted to \$6.35 a month which is a virtual rental.

"An examination of the descriptions of the houses occupied by these 19 families will give a pretty correct notion of the housing conditions which prevail among the poor, for almost every house described is matched by tens, sometimes by hundreds, of houses around it. The examination discloses the fact that many of the conveniences known as modern are not shared by the poor. In none of the houses is there a bath tub, and in but one is there running water. In a large number of cases water has to be brought so far as to prevent it from being brought at all in quantities adequate for cleanliness. Gas is supplied to but one house (No. 18) and in this instance by means of a slot device instead of by a regular meter. A quarter of a dollar is dropped in the slot and a certain amount of gas metered out. When the amount is consumed, the gas is instantly shut off. Most of the houses are so small as to preclude the idea of privacy and some are crowded beyond the point of decency. The location of most of the houses is very undesirable and often very inconvenient. It will be noticed that many of the families seek the outskirts of the city. This is of course to save rent. But this economy is to some extent delusive. In the remote suburbs there are extra expenses for car fare, especially for the wage-earner. The prices of necessities in the outskirts are higher than they are in the center of the city. The grocer in the suburbs usually charges more for flour and sugar and the coal dealer ordinarily adds 25 cents or 50 cents to the price of a ton of coal when he sells it to customers several miles away. The sanitary conditions of the houses of these poor are seen from the description to be almost uniformly bad."

It is found that the poor pay a higher rent on the market value of the property than the well-to-do. For instance, on the basis of 10 per cent. profit on the market value of the property, which is considered a good return on high class of property, family No. 1 should have paid \$3.50 a month rent. In fact it paid \$8.50 a month rent. In rent, as in other things, the poor get less value dollar per dollar than the well-to-do.

**CLOTHING**—It stands to reason that a five weeks budget will give no adequate data on expenditure for clothes. The investigator found it impossible to give figures. For one reason because in many instances there was almost nothing to report. The poor

get their clothes in a way which would elude all statistical reports: prosperous relatives, churches, charities, rummage sales are the sources of supply. It seems that a piece of clothing is never too worn out so that it cannot be patched and worn again. There is however one item which cannot be avoided. This is shoes.

"A hat or a skirt or a coat may be worn for almost a generation, but shoes soon wear out and must be replaced and cash is required for the replacement. It is 'shoes, shoes, shoes' with the very poor as it is with those in better circumstances."

"A true conception of clothing conditions in these families can be acquired only by visiting the homes. In some of the families the husband although a regular wage-earner, has no 'best suit' and the wife no 'best dress'. What is worn on week days must be worn on Sundays as well. In such cases church-going and visiting are considered out of the question. In several instances the children are not permitted to go to school because they are not properly clad. In five of the families (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 15, and 17) fathers, mothers, and children are so poorly clad that it is difficult to see how they maintain their self-respect."

**FUEL**—The sources of fuel supply of the poor are various and precarious. The husband brings home now an old railroad tie, now a pocketful of coal picked up near the tracks. One family exploited the ash heaps located near the house. Husband and children would devote their Sundays to digging in the ash heaps. Such haphazard supply may be sufficient for cooking purposes. When the cold weather comes, the fuel must be bought. The poor buy coal by the peck or bushel and pay from 40 to 50 per cent. more than if they could have purchased it by the ton. Only one fire is kept and the family huddle together in the kitchen.

"When fuel is purchased at such ruinous prices it is not to be expected that the heating will be ample. The bucket of coal or the sack of coke is very precious and is made to last longer than is consistent with comfort. In several of the houses during cold weather there was only enough fire to take the chill from the atmosphere. In very few of them was there a comfortable degree of warmth."

**FURNITURE**—18 out of 19 families buy their furniture on the installment plan. The nineteenth family buys no furniture at all. Only the absolutely indispensable articles are bought, as stoves, bedclothes, etc.

"The installment plan does not suffice to give the poor well-furnished homes. Three of the 19 houses were furnished sufficiently well to produce a homelike appearance. In the others there was little but the remains of the outfits purchased years before at the time of marriage. Occasionally a cheap and gaudy

rug or a highly varnished rocking chair emphasizes by way of painful contrast the general dilapidation."

**INSURANCE**—It seems that among the poor every one, except infants under 1 year of age, is insured. Out of 124 persons in the 19 families 119 were insured. The others were infants. The insurance is all "industrial" which means that the poor pay two or three times as much for insurance as the well-to-do. The amounts of weekly payments range from 10 cents to \$1.17 a week. The object of insurance is one only.

"The dread of 'potter's field' is always present in the minds of the poor. 'I would rather stint them (the children) a little in food,' one mother said, 'and pay my insurance for then if anything happens to them there will be a place to put them.' Burial money, that is the be-all and end-all of insurance among the poor. Very seldom is there anything left after the undertaker has been paid and the cemetery expenses discharged. The little weekly premiums are not investments, are not hoardings, but are a pious provision for decency and propriety in the hour and article of death. And herein is seen the real significance of the insurance element among the poor. History teaches that the institution of insurance as it is regarded by the poor is as old as society and the facts of the budget are illustrations of the truth that insurance is a fundamental necessity of the social relation."

**MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES**—The miscellaneous expenses of the poor remind one of the snakes in Ireland. There are none. Amusements,—no expenditure; not one cent for 19 families. Newspapers,—two of the 19 families occasionally receive a penny paper. For physicians and medicines in case of sickness the poor must resort to charity.

The installment system forms an important part of the economy of the poor. Everything is bought on installment plan. And even rent and food are paid on this plan. The result is that the family is always in debt and there is little sense of property in anything. Things may be carried off for non-payment. The investigator finds this extremely demoralizing. But he admits that he sees no other way.

"Many of the very poor families who buy regularly on the installment plan do succeed in surrounding themselves with a few, at least, of the comforts of life, while with few exceptions those families who buy nothing or very little in that way live under conditions too bad to be justified by any economic or social theory. 'I know as well as anybody,' said a widow who was paying for a stove by installments, 'that I will pay more for the stove than it is worth, but I would rather do that than freeze, and I am glad that I can get it on the installment plan'."

The investigation showed that irregularity of employment is



the greatest curse of the poor. In one family the husband receives \$1.50 a day regularly. It manages to get along better than another family whose wage-earner gets \$3.00 a day, but is frequently laid off. With the poor regularity of employment is of more importance than the rate of wages.

The investigator devoted a long chapter to show the losses which the poor sustain in making their purchases in small quantities, and day by day and even meal by meal. The extreme hardships under which the poor borrow are shown in great detail. A computation upon figures furnished to an applicant by 15 loan companies of the District showed that the rate of interest actually charged ranges from 138 to 221 per cent. per annum. The investigator verified these figures by actual transaction and found that the rate of interest amounted in one case to 244 per cent. per annum.

It is worth while reiterating that the above is not from a report of some charity institution. It is a report of an investigator of the Federal government, published by the government. It deals not with paupers or the very poor who are regular objects of charity, but with the average American workingman's family. The investigation was made at the time when using the many times reiterated phrase of President Roosevelt, "the country was enjoying a period of unparalleled prosperity". The American working men have shown the most profound and abiding faith in President Roosevelt. It behooves us, therefore, to take his words to heart and ponder over them earnestly. We do so. We consider that the conditions under which the average American workingman lives are intolerable and almost appalling. But we are aware that the American workingman is satisfied that he is prosperous. We confess that we are non-plussed. And we ask: Are the American workingmen too poor, or are they not poor enough to revolt?

HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

## The Intellectuals and Working Class Socialism.

THE struggle now in progress between the trade union socialism of the laborers and the democratic socialism of the intellectuals might be likened to an actual class struggle if it were not an abuse of terms to give the name of class to the group of professional thinkers. But this analogy, false in itself, would at least have the merit of indicating the opposition of interests and ideas which lines up on one side, the socialism of political parties, and on the other, the socialism of working-class institutions.

It would be difficult to think of a more distinct antithesis, on the one side the working-class arrived at self-consciousness resolves to emancipate itself by its own creations: its efforts are thus necessarily directed against the modern hierarchy embodied in the state and its disputing parties. On the other, the mass of the intellectuals from whom are drawn the officials of all factions who carry on the state have a tendency on the contrary to increase the part played by government, to enlarge the scope of state institutions and to extend the directing function of parties. These are thus two movements which go on in opposite directions in proportion as the conquest of public powers stands opposed to the dismantling of the state and the automom of the labor movement to the preponderance of parties under socialism.

We are thus in the presence of two categories of interests and of contradictory ideas. This separation stands out clearly only in countries where democracy is fully realized. Classes do not clash brutally until the day when their antagonisms cease to be veiled by a common struggle for political rights, but wherever democracy is still to be won, intellectuals and laborers find themselves more or less confounded in the common struggle for liberty. The democratic thesis precedes the working-class antithesis.

As France is of all countries the one which presents most clearly the classic type of democracy, it is in France more than anywhere else that we can trace the relations of the intellectuals and the proletariat in socialism. Of course, the knowledge of the experience of France will not give mechanically the key to what is passing in other countries. It is evident that conclusions which are good for a given environment cannot be carried

over just as they are to a different environment but it is none the less true that every social experiment contains the sum-total of lessons which can be utilized when it is reproduced under conditions slightly dissimilar.

Again the examination of the problem admits a sum-total of general considerations: of these what is especially happening in France is merely the most concrete illustration.

## I

### PROLETARIAT, INTELLECTUALS, SOCIALISM.

1.—The problem has to start out with a precise notion of socialism. Our explanations can have no bearing unless we confess socialism as summed up entirely in the struggle of the working-class. From this point of view we need not insist at length on the fact that the labor movement is the backbone of the modern historical movement. Marxian criticism has sufficiently established that it is the proletariat which makes history. Placed at the heart of production, that is to say, at the center of society, it sustains on its shoulders the capitalist world and the least of its movements imparts repeated vibrations to the whole social body. Itself the product of industrial evolution, it precedes all other classes on the road of the future and impresses its rhythm on the march of history.

The proletariat is truly the only revolutionary class as much from the negative point of view as the positive. It destroys and builds while fighting; while it ruins the bourgeois institutions and ideology. And it is this double activity, the negation of capitalism and the elaboration of socialism which constitutes its mission.

It is easy to see how the proletariat is in the first place the one force to destroy the bourgeois order. Of all classes this alone is irreconcilably opposed in its interests to capitalist society. All other suffering classes like the peasants or the small capitalists can to a greater or less extent enter into treaty with a social system founded on individual property in the means of production. But the working-class could find there no stable footing nor convenient place. The proletariat considered as a whole, is by its very make-up condemned in the schedules of the capitalist world to keep to its double role of producing class and exploited class without hope of deliverance. Some few of its members may free themselves separately, the mass is clamped to its chain. This is another way of saying that the maintenance of capitalist society is incompatible with the freeing of the proletariat.

Every attempt at the liberation of the working-class whose aim is not to overthrow capitalism from summit to foundation is therefore destined to be but a vain labor of Sisypheus. The

producing class will be delivered from oppression only by a complete social transformation which shall substitute common property for individual property in the means of labor. That is what is meant by the "class struggle." Remember Marx's phrase, "It is the bad side of history which makes history." It is only the classes that are oppressed by a certain system which can destroy it and replace it by a new system and thus it is that in present society the proletariat is really the only class in a position to be permanently revolutionary.

But it is also the only organic force that is capable of shaping the new order. If the class of producers pursues as its final aim the common appropriation of the means of production, it centers all its efforts on the practical activity which constitutes its *movement*. Not only does it struggle to modify to its advantage the existing economic, legal and political relations but above all it organizes itself into groups of a very definite character and it creates institutions and ideas which are suited to it. Upon its unions, its federations of unions, its labor exchanges, its organizations of every kind the proletariat centers itself more and more, borrowing nothing but from itself and hoping nothing but from its strength alone.

Thus from day to day it withdraws more and more from the capitalist system and forms little by little a labor State within the capitalist State. And it is because it thus develops within itself a new organization and new ideas independent of the traditional organization and ideas, and opposed to them; it is because within itself different forms of life, independent economic institutions with their appropriate legal and moral systems are progressively shaping themselves, — it is because of all this that it can make possible the formation of a socialist society. It may thus fairly be said that the working-class carries within itself the new *economic man* and *moral man*.

This explains why socialism blends with the labor movement in the class struggle. None but the intellectuals of democracy regard socialism as the product of philosophical or ideological conceptions or again as the progressive development of state institutions.

Working-class socialism is a *philosophy of producers*. It conceives itself as related only to the world of production. It is born in the workshop, in the strike, in the union, in the labor exchange. It springs from the revolt and organization of the proletariat struggling for the new law which shall regulate a society *without masters* and *without parasites*.

But precisely because it is the beginning and end of socialism the labor movement of the class struggle must secure itself against the influx of any corrupting elements. Now the greatest danger which threatens it is that the ditch which it is digging

more and more between capitalism and itself may be filled up by those very persons who outside its ranks are setting forth the claims of socialism. And the mass of the intellectuals sated with political power, sinecures and official positions stand in the front rank of these dangerous "recruits."

2.—What are we to understand by intellectuals? It is a vague expression the content of which is difficult to define because it applies to widely different categories of individuals who cannot be brought under a common definition. But what we actually include under this term is all the people who make a profession of thinking and derive profit from it. They come from strata where some little culture is developed; where, for example, a high school or college education is the usual thing and from which (this is important) the liberal professions are recruited:—the lawyers, judges, doctors, engineers, professors, officials, journalists, writers, etc. With these may also be included certain employees, the teachers, etc., in a word all those whose practical and paid activity is of an order distinctly cerebral: it is in this sense that the term intellectual is opposed to the term manual. We are perfectly well aware that this distinction between intellectual and manual labor has no physiological nor experimental basis. In manual labor every intellectual effort does not disappear and many labors which are called intellectual are not so at all, but this distinction has been historically given us by the development of modern production. Marx has pointed out this process.

The great mechanical industry, he says, works a separation between manual labor and the intellectual forces of production which it transforms into the power of capital over labor. This separation of laborers into intellectual and manual is thus at the base of the current social hierarchy. It is the support of the division into superiors and inferiors, into governors and governed.

It is understood that this division of brain activity and physical activity has made the exercise of both alike into a trade. Whether we consider the trade of an intellectual to be inferior or superior to the trades of practical life, it is none the less an industry, the *industry of thought*. *Intellectual* does not mean *intelligent* and *mental worker* does not necessarily mean *thinker*. The ruling characteristic of the intellectuals is the heterogeneity of the groupings within which they are subdivided. The lawyer and the inventor, the doctor and professor, the chemist and the journalist have professional interests and not class interests. In a study which appeared in 1895 on "Socialism and the Intellectuals," Kautsky pointed out this very thing. The intellectuals are divided into very different categories, into very exclusive coteries, and they are not united within each of these

subdivisions by any bond except one analogous to that of the old time guild and even in each category the professional interests of the individuals composing it are far from being alike. The situation of a poor devil of a journalist with 150 or 200 francs a month has nothing in common with the situation of an editor-in-chief with a monthly salary of 1,000 or 2,000 francs. It will thus be seen how inaccurate it is to speak of a *class* of intellectuals. A class is a category of men placed on the same economic plane and united by homogeneous material and moral interests. The thing that defines a class is the inner solidarity which welds its members one to another on a permanent basis at once economic and moral. We may say the class of landed proprietors, the class of capitalists, the class of proletarians because these social categories rest on definite economic phenomena and common material and moral interests. Rent and the growth of rent; profit and the increase of profit; wages and the raising of wages. There is nothing like this with the intellectuals. They do not form a group and they have no struggles strictly in common. They do not constitute a class for *themselves*. They exist only for the other classes. Having neither homogeneous life nor ideology of their own, the intellectuals defend the interests and ideas of the classes or the parties to which they adhere. They thus play merely the part of auxiliaries. They are what Marx calls the ideological representatives of the classes into which they are incorporated.\* Scattered through the different social strata putting themselves at their service; borrowing their conceptions; working up ideas for them; how could they be united by any effective bond of solidarity. That is why there exists among them more furiously than within any other social category a jealous competition, a fierce rivalry, a spirit of exasperated intrigue. They must sell at any price their intellectual ability, their only commodity, their only security. And the market for ideas is so glutted! So it is only by an abuse of terms that we sometimes say the class of intellectuals. *Sub-class* would be more suitable or better still *out-of-class*.

Historically the intellectuals have played a foremost part in the development of political society. We do not mean to speak especially of the historical influence exerted by ideology. It is undeniable that while interpreting reality the work of the mind reacts upon the reality itself. Engels in his famous letters on historical materialism was himself obliged to insist at some length

\* "What makes democrats of the representatives of the little capitalists is the fact that their brains cannot outgrow the limits which the little capitalist himself cannot transcend in his living. The former are thus brought theoretically to the same problems and the same solutions which their material interest and social situation impose upon the latter. Such is moreover in general the bond which unites political and literary representatives of a class to the class which they represent." Karl Marx. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.

upon this fact and it is from this point of view that the action of ideology and ideologists is found everywhere in history. Who could question the influence of the legal and moral systems which were successively the work of the monks of the Church in the middle ages; the civilians of royalty; the jurists of the French Revolution.

But that is not the question. It is of the political role of the intellectuals that we wish to speak. M. Ferrero, in one of the best pages of his history of Rome, in which he pictures the eminent role of Cicero, has well defined the place held in political history by professional thinkers. He (Cicero) was, M. Ferrero says, the first statesman belonging to the class of intellectuals and consequently the head of a dynasty as corrupt, vicious and mischievous as you please, but which the historian though he detests it must recognize as having lasted longer than that of the Caesars; for from Cicero's time to ours it has never ceased through twenty centuries to dominate Europe. Cicero was the first of those knights of the pen who all through the history of our civilization have been sometime the props of the state and sometimes the artisans of the revolution: orators, jurisconsults, polygraphs in the Pagan Empire; afterwards defenders and fathers of the church; monks, civilians, theologians, doctors and lecturers in the middle ages; humanists in the time of the Renaissance; encyclopedists in France in the eighteenth century and in our days lawyers, journalists, public men and professors.

In the course of time it is only the condition of the intellectuals which is changed, formerly artistic and privileged the lettered class has seen its independence diminish in proportion as the capitalist mode of production has developed. This evolution is easy to follow.

It is no exaggeration to say that the church preceding democracy on this route had created one of the most perfect governments of intellectuals. Its clergy had organized the most methodical domination that could be imagined of a body of lettered men over the mass of the people. But it was also the professionals of thought who, constituting a new clergy, the lay clergy, emancipated the civil society from religious society and arrayed against the latter a rival government. The bourgeoisie effected its revolution with the aid of these intellectuals; men of law and letters, advocates, magistrates, professors, journalists who arose from the third estate and interpreted its class aspirations. At such times when the capitalist class is engaged in ruining the old social forms and preparing its political future, the intellectuals are not attached to society by virtue of a special function but are bound up with its general development. Having no positive economic interests, finding themselves above and outside social conflicts, separated from the bourgeois class by a

throng of intermediaries, they defend the general interest of society. In the struggle waged against the ruling forces they represent the critical spirit. Their chief function is to destroy the authority which is at the base of the old regime. They overthrow tradition and thus favor especially the triumph of the bourgeoisie.

But once the bourgeoisie has become master of the situation antagonisms arise between the newly triumphant class and the intellectuals; the intermediaries which separated them (that is to say the adverse forces to be fought) having been eliminated by historical evolution, the bourgeoisie and intellectuals come to face each other. Their relations change rapidly and in proportion as the oppositions between capital and labor become accentuated the category of the intellectuals become more and more dependent upon the capitalist class. Relieved of its other cares, the bourgeoisie turns its whole attention to these class oppositions and endeavors to solve them to its profit. The intellectuals become its men of all work. It had required literary men to establish its rule. It still requires them to maintain it. More and more it shifts all its responsibility for thinking and governing upon the category of the intellectuals and develops this type to a prodigious extent. Special capacities of every sort, engineers, chemists, agricultural experts, etc., are created in a continuous stream according to the multiplied exigencies of industrial evolution. Meanwhile the state grows fat, the public and private administrations enlarge, the bureaucracy grows, public instruction is organized, journalism is extended; all so many causes of a prodigious awakening of intellectual forces.

But along with all this overproduction of capacities the capitalist system degrades thought, reduces it to the state of merchandise subject to the law of supply and demand. The intellectuals are no longer anything more than Phrasemongers in the exact sense of the word. Disinterested research, the independent productions of literature, art and science, for these the bourgeoisie has no care. It requires from its domestics of the pen the fabrication of the intellectual product which suits its taste and is on its level and it is well known what this taste and this level are. The inferior scientific, artistic and literary products which flood the market are an accurate gauge of the intellectual aspirations of the ruling classes.

The overproduction of these literary men whom the capitalist system supports in this fashion leads to a lowering of their salaries. The number of those unemployed or crowded out is constantly increasing and the competition among them is becoming disastrous. Then begins the formation of what is very improperly called the intellectual proletariat. Surely the distinctive mark of the proletarian is to be inevitably bound by the very



conditions of production to his precarious and inevitably miserable state without the possibility of emerging from it to establish himself permanently in bourgeois society. We may perhaps say that the unemployed or exploited members of the category of intellectuals are in a situation which suggests that of the laborers but this is only at times when they are unemployed or exploited and this characteristic is shared with them by many other strata of society none of which has any greater resemblance to the proletariat. Moreover the intellectuals are or may be only momentarily in unfortunate circumstances. At the worst they have the hope of emerging from them.

The objection is raised that the uninterrupted formation of intellectual capacities tends to maintain an always increasing portion of them in this miserable situation bordering on that of the proletariat. Their salaries are falling to such a level of wretchedness that it is no longer merely when they are not working that the poor intellectuals are unfortunate. It is also when they are working.

No doubt; yet however pitiable may be the lot of the poor intellectual, and it is often lamentable, these exterior similarities do not go deep enough. There is an essential and irreducible difference which prevails over all the analogies which may be suggested by their state of insecurity. It turns on the quality of producers which is characteristic of the laborers, and the quality of non-producers, which is the specific mark of the intellectuals. The former are the active agents of society. The latter are only its parasites.

But whence come these intellectuals whom the economic, political and administrative exigencies of social life call forth in constantly increasing number. Apart from their natural increase they come especially from the little capitalists and from rural neighborhoods. It is a phenomenon which Kautsky clearly pointed out in the article we have mentioned and to which he often returned in his book against Bernstein. "There is forming," he wrote, "a new and very numerous class constantly increasing and whose increase may under certain circumstances make up for the losses which the decadence of small industry and trade are causing the middle class to suffer." The movement is so general that it may be said that there is no country where the small capitalists and peasants do not push their sons into intellectual positions mediocre but permanent and apparently brilliant.

If then we try to locate the group of intellectuals in the system of capitalist production we discover that it is not linked directly to the division of society into classes but rather to the system itself considered as a whole. It is only in indirect fashion

that these intermediaries tend to take a position in the general schedule of classes.

This situation has given them a peculiar psychology and it is this psychology common to most of the intellectuals which enable us to unite them into one and the same category. The literary caste, the thinking caste, by the mere fact that it receives a privileged education and higher instruction easily imagines that it is independent of social conflicts, that it represents the general interests of society, that it constitutes an intellectual aristocracy. The professional thinker assumes to solve everything by the light of Reason (his reason) and of the Idea (his idea). He reduces everything to questions of reasoning in which, he is past master. The self-sufficiency and intolerance of the new college graduate are proverbial. He regards himself the trustee of the wisdom of the world. Experience goes to show that most of the intellectuals have more or less contempt for manual laborers and easily believe themselves the quickest to understand everything, the most capable to govern everything, the worthiest to direct everything,

"Work to the laborers,  
Power to the cultivated people."

This is their understanding of the social hierarchy. Is it not a French publicist, Henry Beranger, who in a characteristic and pretentious book *Intellectual Aristocracy* set forth the claims of the intellectuals to the dictatorship of the world?

They have tradition on their side; the state has long been in the hands of professional politicians; it is the instrument of their industry; it permits them either to impose their ideas by force or to serve their own interests or do both at once. The ruling classes absorbed in production and exchange take these clerks into their pay to rule to their advantage. The intellectual is arrogant only when it is a question of how his merits should be estimated; in the presence of his masters he has no back bone and he carries out the policy which they direct. Sorel arrived at an exact definition of the state as "A group of personages exploiting the privileged classes and giving them in exchange the power to exploit the laboring classes." It is certain that the talents thus employed cost the bourgeoisie dearly and that political parasitism is a heavy load on capitalism.

Jaures in a recent eulogy on democracy said that it was a "dear government." He meant that we should not regret this continued increase of governmental expenses necessitated by the increasing extension of function. It is plain that the "capacities" in charge of the operation of the state and its public administrations will never consider that they are paid in proportion to their value. "Talents" can never appraise themselves high enough.

Politics which is simply the exploitation of the state by those in charge, is thus the vocation of the intellectuals. In this sense they indeed form a distant caste which is separated from society in order better to exercise its brigandage at society's expense. However much political factions may fight each other they have a strong resemblance. The intellectuals constitute at once their general staff and their constituency and their universal aim is to conquer the state in order to pillage it. It is very essential that the governors live off the governed.

HUBERT LAGARDELLE, Paris.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(To be continued.)

#### EDITORIAL NOTE.

It is well in reading this exceedingly clever presentation of one phase of the "syndicalist" movement, that is now playing so great a part in Europe to remember that "intellectuals" may juggle phrases in support of "syndicalism" as well as of capitalism or socialism, that assertion of the functionless character of these "intellectuals" does not alter the fact that they are still playing an important role in just that scientific and mechanical development from which socialism proceeds, and finally that the mere fact that Lagardelle, Arturo Labrioda, and indeed practically all the "syndicalist" writers, spokesmen and leaders are members of this same despised class of "intellectuals," and this to an even greater extent than the "parliamentarians" at whom they hurl such fine scorn, should not prejudice us too strongly against giving ear to what they have to say.

## The Biogenetic Law.

It is very easy to go too far in drawing analogies between biology and sociology. Society—as yet, at least—is not an organism in the sense that a tree or a mammal is. It is quite true that with the perfect organization and solidarity to which Socialists look forward the analogy will be more complete than it is to-day, but for the present we must always remember that, as the lawyers would say, “the cases are not on all fours.” If we bear these reservations in mind laws drawn from natural science are often of the greatest aid in enabling us to understand the phenomena of psychology and sociology.

One of the most helpful of these laws of science is the biogenetic law which is always associated with the great name of Ernest Haeckel, its most distinguished exponent. Doctor William Bölsche, in his book\* on Haeckel, uses, to illustrate this law, the familiar example of the frog. The mother frog lays her eggs in the water. In due course a new frog develops from each of these eggs. But the object that develops from them is altogether different from the adult frog. This object is the familiar fish-like tadpole. It finally loses its tail, develops legs, and becomes a frog. Doctor Bölsche discusses the matter as follows:—

“There are reasons on every hand for believing that the frogs and salamanders, which now stand higher in classification than the fishes, were developed from the fishes in earlier ages in the course of progressive evolution. Once upon a time they were fishes. If that is so, the curious phenomenon we have been considering really means that each young frog resembles its fish ancestors. In each case to-day the frog’s egg first produces the earlier or ancestral stage, the fish, it then develops rapidly into a frog. In other words, the individual development recapitulates an important chapter of the earlier history of the whole race of frogs. Putting this in the form of a law, it runs: each new individual must, in its development, pass rapidly through the form of its parents’ ancestors before it assumes the parent form itself. If a new individual frog is to be developed and if the ancestors of the whole frog stem were fishes, the first thing to develop from the frog’s egg will be a fish and it will only later assume the form of a frog.

“That is a simple and pictorial outline of what we mean when we speak of the biogenetic law. We need, of course, much more

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\* Haeckel: *His Life and Work*. By William Bölsche. George W. Jacobs & Co.

than the one frog-fish before we can erect it into a law. But we have only to look around us and we find similar phenomena as common as pebbles.

"Let us bear in mind that evolution proceeded from certain amphibia to the lizards and from these to the birds and mammals. That is a long journey, but we have no alternative. If the amphibia (such as the frog and the salamander) descend from the fishes, all the higher classes up to man himself must also have done so. Hence the law must have transmitted even to ourselves this ancestral form of the gill-breathing fish.

"What a mad idea, many will say, that man should at one time be a tadpole like the frog! And yet—there's no help in prayer, as Falstaff said—even the human germ or embryo passes through a stage at which it shows the outlines of gills on the throat just like a fish. It is the same with the dog, the horse, the kangaroo, the duck mole, the bird, the crocodile, the turtle, the lizard. They all have the same structure.

"Nor is this an isolated fact. From the fish was evolved the amphibian. From this came the lizard. From the lizard came the bird. The lizard has solid teeth in his mouth. The bird has no teeth in its beak. That is to say, it has none to-day. But it had when it was a lizard. Here, then we have an intermediate stage between the fish and the bird. We must expect that the bird embryo in the egg will show some trace of it. As a matter of fact, it does so. When we examine young parrots in the egg we find that they have teeth in their mouth before the bill is formed. When the fact was first discovered, the real intermediate form between the lizard and the bird was not known. It was afterwards discovered at Solenhofen in a fossil impression from the Jurassic period. This was the *archeopteryx*, which had feathers like a real bird and yet had teeth in its mouth like the lizard when it lived on earth. The instance is instructive in two ways. In the first place it shows that we were quite justified in drawing our conclusions as to the past from the bird's embryonic form, even if the true transitional form between the lizard and the bird were one ancestral stage, that of the fish, is reproduced in the young bird in the egg the reproduction of two consecutive ancestral stages: one in the fish gills, the other in the lizard-like teeth. Once the law is admitted, there can be nothing strange in this. If one ancestral stage, that of the fish, is reproduced in the young animal belonging to a higher group, why not several?—why not all of them? No doubt, the ancestral series of the higher forms is of enormous length. What an immense number of stages there must have been before the fish! And then we have still the amphibian, the lizard, and the bird or mammal, up to man.

"Why should not the law run: the whole ancestral series must be reproduced in the development of each individual organism? We are now in a position to see the whole bearing of Haeckel's idea."

In analogy with this, is it not true that every thinking man and woman in the course of his or her development, epitomizes the history of human thought? To be more specific, I take it that you, reader, are an educated man of middle-class origin, and that you have been a socialist for at least six months, and have, of course, read Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." Now, is it not a fact that your socialism has developed from Utopia toward Science exactly along the lines Engels has traced for the movement at large? So true was this in my case that for a long time I was inclined to push the biogenetic law too far and to conclude that every socialist had traveled the same road. I still think the law holds here, but not in the narrow way I first applied it.

In the course of my work as an agitator (and socialist agitation is the best School of Socialism) I met many sterling socialists who had never been Utopians as I had. They were born fighters, so to speak, and had been full of the class spirit, and fighting the capitalists in the trade-union and elsewhere in every way they could think of, long before they had ever heard of the ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth. And these men are among our best and most uncompromising socialists. Here was a hard problem for me. I believed in my law, but it did not seem to cover the cases of these militant socialists. I was long in solving the problem, but I solved it at last.

Socialism has two aspects. As the most vital fact of modern life it is a kinetic force. "Modern Socialism" in Engels' words "is in its essence, the direct product of the recognition on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of to-day, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wageworkers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production." This is Socialism, the most pregnant actuality in the palpitating life all about us. But, as Engels pointed out, Socialism also has its ideological side. In this sense it may correctly be called a theory, if we bear in mind that it is the virile force of class-feeling, and not the theory, that is going to effect the Social Revolution. Now, every individual socialist does in his development conform to the biogenetic law; but the bourgeois socialist is more apt to epitomize the history of Socialist theory, while the proletarian socialist recapitulates the development of class feeling as a kinetic force from blind and often unavailing hatred of the rich to the fruitful class-consciousness of the Marxian Socialist. The individual may combine these two processes in varying

proportions; but in broad outline the bourgeois may be expected to reproduce fairly closely the history of Socialism, as a theory, while the proletarian reproduces the history of Socialism, the great kinetic force.

While, from the standpoint of socialist theory, the statement of Doctor Parkhurst and many others that "Christ was a Socialist" is a manifest absurdity, the historian who traces back the history of Socialism, the kinetic force, will surely be led by the chain of fact to James and Jesus and Isaiah. For they were among those who gave most effective expression to the class-hatred which is the lineal ancestor of Marxian Socialism viewed as a kinetic actuality. In this sense Jesus was one of the founders of Socialism.

Here are a few extracts from these ancient sowers of the seeds of discontent:

"The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancient of his people, and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses.

What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts."

"Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!" ISAIAH.

"Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven.

And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

"Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretense make long prayer: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." JESUS.

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.

"Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten.

"Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days.

"Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sebaoth." JAMES.

James would appear to have been somewhat more class-conscious than is deemed decorous by most of our modern Christian Socialists. But Isaiah and Jesus and James all give expres-

sion to precisely the same fierce emotions that I have many a time seen blazing out of the eyes of poor hopeless proletarians grouped around the soap-box; and it is the glory of Modern Socialism that it has been able to transform this fierce class hatred into intelligent class-consciousness which aims by loyalty to the Proletariat to rescue the rich as well as the poor from the fatal curse of economic inequality.

The bourgeois and the proletarian who come into the Socialist movement both have tadpole tails to lose in the course of their development into scientific socialists; but the tails are different. The proletarian has to rid himself of his hatred of the rich as individuals. He has to learn that Rockefeller, just as much as he himself, is a product of economic conditions. After he once thoroughly learns this there will be no danger of his being a Democrat or Anarchist or any other species of dangerous reactionary. The bourgeois tail is harder to lose. It consists of animistic, theological and dualistic habits of thought, issuing in utopianism and non-materialistic idealism. For, if I may be permitted to toy with the Hegelian dialectic in the manner of Marx, no man can be a fruitful idealist until he has become a materialist.

The socialist materialist realizes that the obsolescent ideals of Christianity and the Family have played leading roles in the great drama of human progress. It is impossible for him to speak lightly or contemptuously of the ideals which have sustained and comforted, guided and cheered countless hosts of his fellows through the long, dark ages of Christian Faith. But he knows that those ages are past and that present day adherence to the old ideals is atavistic and reactionary. But none-the-less his mental attitude toward the old ideals is one of reverent sympathy and, I had almost added, gratitude. This state of feeling has found perfect expression in these lines by William Morris:

"They are gone—the lovely, the mighty, the hope of the ancient Earth;  
It shall labor and bear the burden as before that day of their birth;  
It shall groan in its blind abiding for the day that Sigurd hath sped,  
And the hour that Brynhild hath hastened, and the dawn that waketh the dead;  
It shall yearn, and be oft-times holpen, and forget their deeds no more,  
Till the new sun beams on Baldur, and the happy sealess shore."

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

(From *Socialism, Positive and Negative.*)



## Landmarks of Scientific Socialism\*.

**B**Y UNANIMOUS vote as expressed in their enormous circulation in all the languages of the earth two volumes have come to be looked upon as the great propaganda classics of Socialism,—the “Communist Manifesto” and “Socialism, Utopian and Scientific”.

Most Socialists know that the latter work is but three chapters of an elaborate reply written by Engel's to one Eugene Duehring, whose only title to fame now lies in the fact that he was fortunate enough to be intellectually demolished by Frederick Engels. Many socialists have doubtless wondered why the remainder of the “Anti-Duehring” has not been translated into English. They liked the “sample” and would have gladly devoured more had it been accessible. Those who had read the German usually replied to this question by stating that a large part of the untranslated portion was taken up with personal controversy and ridicule of Duehring, which would be unintelligible to one who did not know the object at which the sarcasm and invective was aimed.

In the translation which now lies before us this difficulty has been most happily met. Austin Lewis, the translator, has not hesitated to cut out these uninteresting and unimportant portions, or to shorten and summarize them, while he has made accessible to the English speaking world, a great mass of valuable material.

As those who have read the introduction to “Socialism Utopian and Scientific,” will remember, Duehring had signalized his “conversion” to socialism, like many another convert, by setting about the reformation of Socialism, and the better to do this he evolved on entire philosophy of human life. In order to thoroughly answer him, Engels was forced to follow his devious wanderings in all paths of human investigation. The result is that in this book we have the best summary of the Socialist philosophy, as a philosophy, that has, perhaps ever been written.

Herr Duehring had based his philosophy on “eternal truths,” and on his own system of physics, chemistry, biology, ethics and economics, and into all these fields Engels follows him.

He starts off with a definition of Socialism, which in some respects can scarcely be improved upon :

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\* Landmarks of Scientific Socialism. (Anti-Duehring). By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, \$1.00.

"Modern socialism is in its essence the product of the existence on the one hand of the class antagonisms which are dominant in modern society, between the property possessors and those who have no property and between the wage workers and the bourgeois; and, on the other, of the anarchy which is prevalent in modern production. In its theoretical form however it appears as a development of the fundamental ideas of the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory it was obliged to attach itself to the existing philosophy however deeply its roots were embedded in the economic fast."

Engels places himself firmly upon the dialectic method with these words:

"If we examine nature, the history of man or our own intellectual activities, we have presented to us an endless coil of interrelations and changes in which nothing is constant whatever be its nature, time or position, but everything is in motion, suffers change and passes away."

Upon this basis he proceeds to develop the philosophy of historical materialism.

We cannot concern ourselves long with his discussions of metaphysics, or of natural science, because in both these fields the positions he maintains are now practically accepted, so far as their fundamental principles are concerned, and it is only in his illustrations, which necessarily were taken from contemporaneous science, that there has been change. It is, however, interesting to see this early socialist championing the cause of Darwin at a time when most scientists were still denying the truths of evolution.

The chapter on "Morals and Law" serves to dispose of some old bug-a-boos of "eternal truths" and "justice" and "equality" that are still found in the minds of the great mass of capitalist thinkers. His treatment of the "equality" idea is worthy of reproduction:

As well known, the bourgeois class as soon as it escaped from the domination of the ruling class in the cities, by which process the medieval stage passes into the modern, has been steadily and inevitably dogged by a shadow, the proletariat. So also the bourgeois demands for equality are accompanied by the proletarian demands for equality. Directly the demand for the abolition of class privileges was made by the bourgeois there succeeded the proletarian demand for the abolition of classes themselves. This was first made in a religious form and was based upon early Christianity, but later derived its support from the bourgeois theories of equality. The proletarians take the bourgeois at their word, they demand the realisation of equality not merely apparently, not merely in the sphere of government but actually in the sphere of society and economics. Since the French bourgeoisie of the great Revolution placed equality in the foreground of their movement, the French proletariat has answered it blow for blow with the demand for social and economic equality, and equality has become the special battle cry of the French proletariat.

The demand for equality as made by the proletariat has a double significance. Either it is, as was particularly the case at first, in the Peasants War, for example, a natural reaction against social inequalities which were obvious, against the contrast between rich and poor,

masters and slaves, luxurious and hungry, and as such it is simply an expression of revolutionary instinct finding its justification in that fact and in that fact alone. On the other hand it may arise from reaction against the bourgeois claims of equality from which it deduces more or less just and far reaching claims, serves as a means of agitation to stir the workers, by means of a cry adopted by the capitalists themselves, against the capitalists, and in this case stands or falls with bourgeois equality itself. In both cases the real content of the proletarian claims of equality is the abolition of classes. Every demand for equality transcending this is of necessity absurd.

So the notion of equality, in its proletarian as well as in its bourgeois form, is itself a historic product. Certain circumstances were required to produce it and these in their turn proceeded from a long anterior history. It is therefore anything but an eternal truth. And if the public regards it as self-evident in one sense or another, if, as Marx remarks "already occupies the position of a popular prejudice" it is not due to its being an axiomatic truth but to the universal broadening of conception in accordance with the spirit of the eighteenth century.

It is in the portion dealing with "Political Economy" and "Socialism" however that the most valuable material is found.

Here we have clearly set forth the idea that each social stage must have its own political economy and that there are no universal economic laws, truths which some of our colleges have not yet learned, although they are slowly and grudgingly, and never with credit, accepting the truths set forth by socialist writers of more than a generation ago. Here is the way Engels states this point:

Political economy is, in the widest sense, the science of the laws controlling the production and exchange of the material necessities of life in human society. Production and exchange are two entirely different functions. Production may exist without exchange, exchange—since there can only be exchange of products—cannot exist without production. Each of the two social functions is controlled by entirely different external influences and thus has, generally speaking, its own peculiar laws. But on the other hand they become so mutually involved at a given time and react one upon the other that they might be designated the abscissas and ordinates of the economic curve.

The conditions under which men produce and exchange develop from land to land, and in the same land from generation to generation. Political economy cannot be the same for all lands and for all historical epochs. From the bow and arrow, from the stone knife and the exceptional and occasional trading intercourse of the barbarian to the steam engine with its thousands of horsepower, to the mechanical weaving machine, to the railway and the Bank of England is a tremendous leap. The Patagonians do not have production on a large scale and world-commerce any more than they have swindling or bankruptcy. Anyone who should attempt to apply the same laws of political economy to Patagonia as to present-day England would only succeed in producing stupid commonplaces. Political economy is thus really a historical science. It is engaged with historical material, that is, material which is always in course of development. At the close of this investigation it can, for the first time, show the few, (especially as regards production and exchange) general laws

which apply universally. In this way it is made evident that the laws which are common to certain methods of production or forms of exchange are common to all historical periods in which these methods of production and forms of exchange are the same. Thus for example with the introduction of the specie, there came into being a series of laws which holds good for all lands and historical epochs in which specie is a means of exchange.

Again those who are expecting a recognition of the injustice of social relations to bring about socialism would do well to ponder these words of Engels:

While political economy in a narrow sense arose in the minds of a few geniuses of the seventeenth century, it is, in its positive formulation by the physiocrats and Adam Smith, substantially a child of the eighteenth century, and expresses itself in the acquisitions of the great contemporary French philosophers with all the excellencies and defects of that time. What we have said of the French philosophers applies also to the economists of that day. The new science was with them not the expression of the condition and needs of the time but the expression of eternal reason; the laws of production and exchange discovered by them were not the laws of a given historical form of those facts but eternal natural laws; they derived them from the nature of man. But this man, seen clearly, was a burgher of the Middle Ages on the high road to becoming a modern bourgeois, and his nature consisted in this that he had to manufacture commodities and carry on his trade according to the given historical conditions of that period.

(Herr Duehring having applied the two man theory to political economic conditions and having decided that such conditions are unjust, upon which conclusion he bases his revolutionary attitude, Engels remarks as follows):

"If we have no better security for the revolution in the present methods of distribution of the products of labor with all their crying antagonisms of misery and luxury, of poverty and ostentation, than the consciousness that this method of distribution is unjust and that justice must finally prevail, we should be in evil plight and would have to stay there a long time. The mystics of the Middle Ages who dreamed of an approaching thousand years kingdom of righteousness had the consciousness of the injustice of class antagonisms. At the beginning of modern history three hundred years ago, Thomas Muenzer shouted it aloud to all the world. In the English and French bourgeois revolutions the same cry was heard and died away ineffectually. And if the same cry, after the formation of class antagonisms and class distinctions left the working, suffering classes cold until 1830, if it now takes hold of one land after another with the same results and the same intensity, in proportion as the greater industry has developed in the individual countries, if in one generation, it has acquired a force which defies all the powers opposed to it and can be sure of victory in the near future—how comes it about? From this, that the greater industry has created the modern proletariat, a class, which for the first time in history can set about the abolition not of this or that particular class organization or of this or that particular class privilege but of classes in general, and it is in the position that it must carry out this line of action on the penalty of sinking to the Chinese coolie level. And that the same greater industry has on the other hand produced a class which is in possession of all the tools of production—

and the means of life but in every period of prosperity (Schwindel-periode) and in each succeeding panic shows that it is incapable of controlling in the future the growing productive forces; a class under whose leadership society runs headlong to ruin like a locomotive whose closed safety valve the engine driver is too weak to open. In other words it has come about that the productive forces of the modern capitalistic mode of production as well as the system of distribution based upon it are in glaring contradiction to the mode of production itself and to such a degree that a revolution in the modes of production and distribution must take place which will abolish all class differences or the whole of modern society will fall. It is in these actual material facts, which are necessarily becoming more and more evident to the exploited proletariat, that the confidence in the victory of modern socialism finds its foundation and not in this or that bookworm's notions of justice and injustice.

Duehring argued that exploitation is based upon force and that therefore political force is the dominant fact and not economic power. Again Engels' reply has a very modern sound, as an answer to those who seek to use the capitalistic state as a means of abolishing present conditions without abolishing the class character of that state, or to those who consider that the possession of that state by the capitalist class will enable them to permanently enslave the workers:

If political conditions are the decisive causes of economic conditions the modern bourgeoisie would necessarily not have progressed as the result of a fight with feudalism, but would be the darling child of its womb. Everybody knows that the opposite is the case. The bourgeoisie, originally bound to pay feudal dues to the dominant feudal nobility, recruited from bond slaves and thralls, in a subject state, has, in the course of its conflict with the nobility captured position after position, and finally has come into possession of the power in civilized countries. In France it directly attacked the nobility, in England it made the aristocracy more and more bourgeois and finally incorporated it with itself as a sort of ornament. And how did this come about? Entirely through the transformation of economic conditions which was sooner or later followed either by the voluntary or compulsory transformation of political conditions. The fight of the bourgeoisie against the feudal nobility is the fight of the city against the country, of industry against landlordism, of economy based on money against economy based on natural products. The distinguished weapons of the bourgeois in this fight were those which came into existence through the development of increasing economic force by reason of the growth at first of hand manufacture and afterwards machine-manufacture and through the extension of trade. During the whole of this conflict the political power was in the hands of the nobility, with the exception of a period when the king employed the bourgeoisie against the nobility in order to hold one in check by means of the other. From the very moment, however, in which the bourgeoisie still deprived of political power began to be dangerous because of the development of its economic power the monarchy again turned to the nobility and thereby brought about the revolution of the bourgeois first in England and then in France. The political conditions in France remained unaltered until the economic conditions outgrew them. In politics the noble was everything, the bourgeoisie was of the highest importance while the nobility had abandoned all

its social functions and yet pocketed revenues, social services which it did not any longer perform. Even this is not sufficient. Bourgeois society was, as far as the whole matter of production is concerned, tied and bound in the political feudal forms of the Middle Ages, which this production, not only as regards manufacture but as regards handwork also had long transcended amid all the thousand-fold gild-privileges and local and provincial tax impositions which had become mere obstacles and fetters to production. The bourgeois revolution put an end to them. But the economic condition did not, as Herr Duehring would imply, forthwith adapt itself to the political circumstances,—that the king and the nobility spent a long time in trying the effect—but it threw all the mouldy old political rubbish aside and shaped new political conditions in which the new economic conditions might come into existence and develop. And it has developed splendidly in this suitable political and legal atmosphere, so splendidly that the bourgeoisie is now not very far from the position which the nobility occupied in 1789. It is becoming more and more not alone a social superfluity but a social impediment. It takes an ever diminishing part in the work of production and becomes more and more, as the noble did, a mere revenue consuming class. And this revolution in its position and the creation of a new class, that of the proletariat, came about without any force-nonsense but by purely economic means. Further more, it has by no means accomplished it by its own willful act. On the other hand it has accomplished itself irresistibly against the wish and intentions of the bourgeoisie. Its own productive forces have taken the management of affairs and are driving modern bourgeois society to the necessity of revolution or destruction.

Other phases of political economy and socialism are taken up and discussed in the same fundamental manner.

While this larger work can never become so popular, nor so fundamental as "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific", it is not too much to say that the time will come when every Socialist who makes any pretensions to familiarity with the fundamentals of Socialism will have a copy of this translation in his library.

A. M. SIMONS.

## The Margin of Leisure.

"If I am to listen to another man's opinion, it must be expressed positively."—*Goethe*.

WHEN today one puts aside his own immediate affairs to think of the city around him, it is not improbable that a curiosity in regard to the effect of the new conditions upon the people of San Francisco will be found to have usurped the earlier interest excited by ruins and reconstructions. And since here ingenuity and resourcefulness are fully matched by circumstances, the activities of any group in the community would afford the economist an unexampled opportunity for investigation. But, out of the entire population, it will be found in general that the attention tends to fix itself upon the conduct of the laboring class. For the laborer, in his collective capacity, is the man of the hour, and as a consequence the spirit in which he meets this opportunity is a subject of immediate concern.

In the present labor situation one phase in particular has attracted my own interest to such a degree that I have been led to examine it in its widest bearings. Of this phase the following is stated as a typical instance. Two men were found, after much trouble, to undertake the plastering of a building in the burned district. They were to be paid twelve dollars per day of eight hours. To the disgust of the owner, however, he soon found the men were working but a half day each. When questioned, they explained that they were satisfied with earning six dollars and therefore declined to work more than half time. The cases of similar character, occurring in various employments from washerwomen earning two dollars a day up, are sufficient to eliminate the element of individual caprice.

Expressed in general terms what is shown by this course of action is that after the individual is assured of the necessities of life he tends to prefer the control of Time to the accumulation of Wealth.

"The chief work of economic science, Marshall says, is connected with the measurement of motives by the price which, as a normal or general rule, is sufficient to induce a person of a particular class under given conditions to undertake a certain task of undergo a certain sacrifice. A statement with regard to the tend-

encies of man's action under certain conditions is an economic law."

This quotation gives at least a partial clue to the reason why the rule of the Margin of Leisure just stated is not usually to be found in works on economics. For it illustrates the bent among economists to confine their investigations to minima, to base their conclusions on the phenomena observable at the lower limit of the money equivalent involved in transactions. Quite clearly, however, there may be an upper limit where it is possible that new phenomena make their appearance. In the case of the plasterers mentioned it may be taken for granted that such an upper limit has been reached.

The statement of this tendency in connection with the laboring class is significant, not because of a special applicability to this class, but simply because it can be recognized as applicable to it in any degree.

The rule is, in fact, applicable to every grade of society. Thus, the "leisure class" is made up of persons who are sufficiently supplied with the necessities of life and so make no effort to increase their incomes. It must not be supposed that the "leisure class" is confined to the "wealthy" or the socially conspicuous. Any person with resources sufficient to provide for him the necessities of life, without present labor, and who retains control of his Time, is a member of the "leisure class".

Again the operation of the tendency may be traced in the commercial classes. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that every man engaged in commerce plans to retire from business at some point in his career. If he does not retire at least he throws the drudgery of his work upon other shoulders and thus releases much of his own time. Here also it should be noted that those who retire with just enough to provide the necessities in the condition of life to which they have been accustomed far outnumber those who retire with "fortunes".

A modern community contains, then, three principal classes: — people in complete control of their time; people devoting all or part of their time to business in the hope of securing complete control of their time later in life; people whose endeavor is to obtain a Margin of Leisure, as they earn their livelihood, day by day.

The contrast between the methods of the commercial and the laboring classes is characteristic and radical. The business man works for an uncertain accumulation which he does not always get and but infrequently is able to turn to account; the laborer works for a definite modicum which there is every reason to believe he may secure.



But while the case of the plasterers may seem exeptional, the action of the men is in accord with the conclusion reached by Jevons;—

“Laborers,” he says, “enjoying little more than the necessities of life, . . . will work less hard as the product increases. . . The same rule seems to hold throughout the mercantile employments. The richer a man becomes, the less does he devote himself to business.”

With an agreement as to the phenomena there is, however, a wide difference in the interpretation placed upon them by Jevons and by the present writer. Where Jevons observes the conclusion of a series of competitive tendencies in a cessation from labor on account of its painfulness, the writer sees evidence of a redirection of energy, which passes on from the object of labor as fulfilled, to the possession of Time as only commencing.

The object of labor is physical sustenance. “The existence of man,” as Seligman says, “depends upon his ability to sustain himself.” The redirection of energy which takes place after the object of labor has been attained, has for its object the exercise and development of that characteristic of man which distinguishes him pre-eminently; namely, the power of thought. “All human progress is at bottom mental progress. The means necessary for the exercise of thought, and so for all human progress, is the control of Time. The factor of Time bears a relation to the satisfaction of mental wants similar to that which Wealth bears to the satisfaction of subsistence wants. As however the latter must be provided for first—the discommodity of labor—there remains for application to the former only a variable Margin of Leisure.

The absence of any comprehensive study of Time as an economic factor is hard to understand. Marshall, who refers to it as “the source of many of the greatest difficulties in economics,” treats of it at some length in connection with problems of supply and demand; but the word does not even appear in the index of the majority of works on economics. The different phases under which Time appears, as for example in connection with production or interest, may account to a certain extent for the neglect of it as an independent subject. But the habitual acceptance of terms which obscure its recognition may also have contributed to the same result.

Thus in his essay on *Civilization* John Stuart Mill says: “There are two elements of importance and influence among mankind: the one is property; the other, powers and acquirements of mind.” It does not appear that in making this antithesis Mill was conscious of contrasting factors which belong to different categories. As an institution property may be “primary and fundament-

al," but when, as here, it is contrasted with intelligence, it must be regarded as secondary, as the result of efforts instigated by desires. Physical wants and mental wants may be compared, or the means of providing for each of these may be compared; so the terms of the antithesis which Mill desired would be, on the one hand property or wealth, and on the other the Margin of Leisure.

The distinction in much the same form as it is used by Mill reappears throughout the extent of economic literature. This would seem to point to the general recognition that man's activity is conditioned by the necessity of providing for two different classes of wants; in the first place he must sustain life, in the second he must make provision for his mental development.

That leisure is the prerequisite of mental development has been recognized by men in all times.

The emphasis laid on it by Aristotle both in the *Ethics* and *Politics*, has been a source of trouble to his commentators.

He says, "in size and extent (the state) should be such as may enable the inhabitants to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure."

Again, "nothing is more absolutely necessary than to provide that the highest (the governing) class, not only when in office, but when out of office, should have leisure."

And the end of the *Ethics* appears to be that happiness consists in the exercise of the intellect, and requires perfect leisure.

Probably the most remarkable passage in literature bearing on this point is contained in *Ecclesiasticus*, the book of "the wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach." (The passage is however too long to quote in full.)

"The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure;

"And he that hath little business shall become wise.

"How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,

"That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,

"That driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors,

"And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?

"He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;

"And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.

"So is every artificer and workmaster....

"So is the smith sitting by the anvil....

"So is the potter sitting at his work....

"All these put their trust in their hands;

"And each becometh wise in his own work....

"They shall not be sought for in the council of the people....

.. "And where parables are they shall not be found.

"But they will maintain the fabric of the world;

"And in the handywork of their craft is their prayer.

"Not so he that hath applied his soul,  
 "And meditateth in the law of the Most High;  
 "He will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients,  
 "And will be occupied in prophecies. . . .  
 "Many shall commend his understanding;  
 "And so long as the world endureth, it shall not be blotted out:  
 "His memorial shall not depart,  
 "And his name shall live from generation to generation."

Similar quotations, showing the relation of leisure and thought, might be multiplied; and practically every biography of a man of genius ever written might be introduced as evidence in support of the same fact. It will only be necessary, however, to direct attention to some opinions typical of those held by economists to-day.

"Some surplus over the necessities of life," Marshall says, "is required to support that mental effort in which progress takes its rise. It is needed then, diligently, to inquire whether the present industrial organization might not with advantage be so modified as to increase the opportunities which the lower grades of industry have for using their mental faculties."

Gide also thinks "that we should endeavor to assure to all persons a certain amount of leisure, to make them free to participate in all those liberal activities which are both a duty and an honor."

Aristotle has been seen, held that the governing or highest class in the state should have leisure; the mechanic he held could not even be admitted to citizenship in the best form of state. To-day, on the other hand, enlightened opinion holds that the laborer should have a Margin of Leisure assured to him.

It is a symptom of a tendency in modern society that these opinions of Marshall, Gide and others are most significant; the counterpart in the world of thought, to the action of the plasterers already mentioned. What neither the scholars nor the laborers seem to have grasped clearly is that a certain stage has now been reached in the struggle that was old when Aristotle wrote; the struggle for a Margin of Leisure in which to exercise or develop the powers of mind, a struggle which follows inevitably from the character of the human species.

It is not practicable in the present instance to follow this struggle through the phases of its history. Attention may, however, be called to the fact, pointed out by Fustel de Coulanges, that in the early stages of Greek and Roman society, dominance, which meant the most complete control of the leisure of the group and its accumulated knowledge, went by primogeniture. After a time the rule of primogeniture disappears and, as a result, the

younger branches of the family are liberated. The disappearance of the clientship is included by Fustel in this revolution, inasmuch as the client, while in reality a serf, was a part of the family. Later, by another revolution, the plebs entered the city and thus gained a status in the community. What appears in the remote stages of society described by the author of the *Ancient City*, is typical of the relations between the aristocracy, the mercantile class, and the laboring class of more recent times. The "first comers" enjoy possession until the stratum next in order takes a share in the leisure it has helped to earn, and in the accumulated knowledge of the group. As Mill pointed out there is no instance of any class of society, in the possession of power, ever having used this power in the interest of the other classes of society. Each lower class has been compelled to fight in turn for its share in the Margin of Leisure. For the last century the line of conflict has been between the mercantile and the laboring classes.

In the course of this struggle the upper classes have used many arguments and of these some account must be taken.

Thus men who have had the leisure to exercise thought have always expressed grave fears at the effect of leisure on those who have not been so favored. Gide in speaking of the modern "slavery of machinery," thinks that the slavery of natural forces would have similarly disastrous effects on the men of the twentieth century to what antique slavery had on the masters in Greece and Rome. He fears that the men of to-day "might in the course of time have no ideal but that of the degenerate Romans:—*panem et circenses*."

Such views are properly met by the answer "it is only through freedom to use leisure as they will, that people can learn to use leisure well."

Of greater importance however, is the plea made for the "leisure class" on the basis of the service it has rendered to society. Here again the opinion expressed by Gide may be taken. "It cannot be denied," he says, "from the historical point of view, that the so-called idle rich have in the past performed a genuine social function, a social function of the very first importance; namely the creation of the arts, the sciences, literature, politics, refinement and culture, everything, in a word, that constitutes civilization. We owe all these things to the idle rich of Greece, Rome, Judea, and of all those antique societies in which it must be admitted that idleness possessed the particularly odious characteristic of being due solely to force, robbery, and slavery."

Irony could have achieved no more drastic substitution of appearance for reality than this. What history does show is that "everything that constitutes civilization" has proceeded, not from

the idle rich but from the Margin of Leisure in the community. Whatever truth is at the bottom of such an argument as that given above rests on the fact that the idle rich succeeded in absorbing the greater part of the available leisure, and succeeded in guarding the accumulated knowledge of the group from the classes below them.

As a working policy, the dominating class patronized those of the lower classes who displayed genius too aggressive to be neglected; and in its own interest absorbed the brighter minds that appeared among the lower orders. Hence arose the view expressed by Ben Jonson: "Learning needs rest; sovereignty gives it. Sovereignty needs council: learning affords it. And from whom doth (the prince) hear discipline more willingly, or the arts dis-coursed more gladly, than from those whom his own bounty and benefits have made able and faithful?"

In dealing with the people as a whole, the patrician class used its religious and political prestige and organization to inculcate its own views. The habit of respect in the people led most of them to accept unquestioningly the injunctions of their masters "that ye study to be quiet, and to work with your hands, even as we charged you." Indeed the entire resources of praise, allure-ment, warning and threat have been exhausted in the effort to keep men working with their hands in quietness. Could men only be convinced of the inherent beneficence of toil, could they be persuaded to sink their minds in unremitting drudgery, then the uprisings of plebs, peasant insurrections and latter-day strikes would be unknown. But, fortunately, there have never lacked revolutionaries of independent and aggressive minds to overthrow the plans for a permanent social organization, based on the ex-clusion of any from the benefits created by all.

It has been necessary here to confine myself to the most general terms, and to state in positive language considerations which in reality are most intricate in character. This is, however, the only method possible in calling attention to factors of social importance which at least appear to have been unduly neglected; there need be no fear of the established opinion suffering from the lack of advocates.

Stated in briefest outline it seems that certain observed facts in society can best be explained on the theory that after the in-dividual is assured of the necessities of life he tends to prefer the control of Time to the accumulation of Wealth.

On re-examination of society this theory would seem to be verified by the tendency for persons engaged in commercial pursuits to retire, or at least to devote less time to business as it becomes more profitable.

The explanation here given of this phenomenon is that by reason of the characteristics of human nature, man must provide for two different classes of wants: the subsistence of his body and the exercise of his mental faculties. Time, or the Margin of Leisure, it is believed, bears a similar relation to the satisfaction of the latter wants, that Wealth does to the former.

That a Margin of Leisure is the prerequisite of mental development, has been recognized from time immemorial; but it has been thought apparently that the few only and not the many could be entrusted with leisure. To-day we see, however, that not only are economists of the highest standing coming to recognize that a margin of Leisure is necessary to every individual in society, but, as shown in the typical instance with which this paper commenced, that the laboring class is beginning to secure for itself such a Margin.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

# EDITORIAL

## Progress of the Idaho Battle.

Another month has dragged by and so far as the legal proceedings are concerned but little has been accomplished in the Idaho trial. Probably by the time this reaches the readers a jury will have been selected and the taking of evidence begun.

So far as the outcome of the trial is concerned it now seems certain that the men will never be hung. Roosevelt's "Undesirable Citizen" letter settled that by raising such a volume of protest and attracting such intense interest in the case as to make impossible the carrying out of any plot. To be sure the venires that have been drawn indicate an attempt to pack the jury. Although the number of wage workers in the county is equal to that of the number of farmers only a half dozen of the former have appeared in contrast with a couple of hundred of the latter.

After all, however, the real battle now, as in the past, is not in Boise. The lines of the struggle long ago extended beyond the confines of that little Western city and the events there are little more than reflections of the great struggle going on throughout the country. The most significant fact of this wider battle has been the solidifying effect which it has had upon labor factions. Hitherto widely separated and most fiercely antagonistic bodies have joined in Moyer-Haywood conferences and have worked together with tireless energy for the common good and most important of all, the gap which has existed between the organized labor movement and the revolutionary political movement has been closed up in a host of cities.

The socialists began the fight but in every instance they have shown a willingness to not simply co-operate with the trade unions but stand aside wherever it became evident that the large body could do more effective work in arousing class interest and class enthusiasm and a revolt in behalf of the imprisoned officers of the Western Federation of Miners. This fact has not escaped the notice of the ruling

class. Indeed it is the one thing that has frightened them. And well it might frighten them; for on the day when organized labor and socialism become identical the beginning of the end of capitalism is here.

So startled have been the organs of capitalism by this suddenly acquired solidarity and socialist attitude of labor that they have been thrown into something almost like a panic. All over the country the press has been warning labor unionists against the dangers of affiliation with the terrible red flag men. Finally the strenuous occupant of the White House exercised his propensity for butting in by writing his famous letter to the Pittsburg Labor World. This insignificant little sheet had never been heard of outside its immediate locality until its editor demonstrated his sycophancy by endorsing President Roosevelt's "undesirable citizen" letter. At once the President hastened to send him a personal letter assuring him of the support of the highest official in our present government and declaring it to be his (the president's) desire to "drive a wedge" into the labor movement, between the desirable and undesirable citizens.

The effect of this letter, however, was not exactly what was expected. As on several previous occasions, the phraseology chosen by the president was not the most happy in the world. Trade unionists, no matter whether socialists or not, do not like to have a wedge driven into the labor movement. Most of the capitalist papers saw this point even if Roosevelt did not and "played the story down," so that very little was made of it.

It is safe to say that while there will undoubtedly be wedges driven into the labor movement many times in the future, yet it will never be possible to split the trade unions and the socialist movement as widely apart as they have been in the past. In hundreds of cases the temporary Moyer and Haywood conferences will prove but the beginning of the process of amalgamation and education which will force organized labor to recognize the necessity of solidarity on the wider field of political action. Thus again, as hundreds of times before, a blow from the enemy only succeeded in driving closer together the particles of labor and welding them into a more compact mass.

There is just one trifling exception to the solidarity that is worthy of notice and this, we are sorry to say, is at the very point where the solidarity ought to be most evident. Some of the correspondents of the socialist papers at Boise are evidently under the impression that they personally and not Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, or even the great working class battle, are the center of attraction and have fought with a disgustingly petty jealousy to get into the lime light. That any person should at this time consider personal squabbles of greater importance than the great battle which is now taking place seems almost incredible.

Let us hope that this disgusting exhibition may have at least a



brief recess until the trial is over and then it is to be hoped that the Socialist Party will know how to deal with those who have so thoroughly proven their lack not only of all consciousness of class solidarity but of those common decencies which are supposed to prevail among human beings in any organized society.

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## The Red Flag.

There has been a sudden revival of hostility or rather expressions of hostility to the Red Flag on the part of the capitalist press during the last few weeks. The reason for this is not far to seek. The processions of Moyer-Haywood protest meetings have usually carried this emblem and these processions have been the outward sign of a growing solidarity of class interest. This antagonism to the emblem of International Socialism has been met largely in one of two ways. Some of the weaker hearted comrades who have shown an inclination to drop the Red Flag entirely have been explaining that its use only tended to prejudice and arouse antagonism.

Others seem inclined to outdo the patriotic purveyor of capitalist ideals in devotion to an emblem and would flaunt the Red Flag as the principal method of propaganda. It is easy to reply to the first and to show that it is not the Red Flag, as such, that capitalism fears and that blue, green, yellow or any other color would be equally repulsive if it stood for a working class movement. Capitalism cannot be captured by stealth. Changing the name and the emblem would never enable us to get within the ramparts of the present ruling class without being caught.

There is no sense in talking about dropping the emblem that has long been symbolical of working class solidarity. At the same time socialists would be very foolish to center their fight around the right to carry a particular sort of an emblem. It would be too much like the peasant revolts of the middle ages which would never start until the magical red banner with its embroidered peasant's shoe in the center was ready to unfurl and where on several occasions the uprising was prevented by the simple process of stealing the banner.

That the ruling class is finding it necessary to attack our emblems shows also that they are not repellent to the working class. If they were, the more we carried them the better it would please the powers that be. The whole attitude is simply significant of the growing class struggle and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The National Association of Manufacturers, the organization that was formed by David M. Parry, C. W. Post, Kirby, Nunemacher and other middle class plutocrats who hate the "labor trust" like poison, held its annual convention in New York during the past month and renewed its declaration of war to the knife and knife to the bilt upon organized labor. J. W. Van Cleave, of St. Louis, upon whose shoulders the presidential mantle fell when Parry retired, appealed to the 3,000 capitalists who are members of the N. A. M., for nothing less than \$1,500,000 with which to exterminate trade unionism and socialism, one-third of which sum is to be paid in each twelve months during the next three years. The convention endorsed the president's plan and action was taken to gather the war fund and to oppose trade unions to the finish in every future contest of importance. Van Cleave is as uncompromising a foe of organized labor as was his predecessor. He is president of the Bucks Stove & Range Co., in St. Louis, and, just to show in what contempt he holds the workers, he had notices posted in his plant several months ago notifying the metal polishers and other employes that they would be required to work ten hours a day instead of nine, as they had been accustomed. The men struck and are still out, and a national boycott has been declared against Bucks stoves and ranges.

Like Parry, Van Cleave is particularly hostile toward the socialist element in the labor movement. The former is said to have retired from the presidency of the N. A. M. for the purpose of utilizing all his spare time to rescue the working class from the dangers of socialism. His consuming ambition is to be regarded as the intellectual leader and generalissimo of anti-socialism. He has even taken himself seriously enough to write a book called "The Scarlet Empire," which he hoped would become the standard authority to explode the fallacious doctrine of establishing a co-operative commonwealth. But there is something lacking in this great work, for it is accumulating dust on book shelves and is never quoted even in kindergartens. However, while Mr. Parry is sadly disappointed in his failure to strike a popular chord and realize his great ambition to become the idol of the "aunties," he will persevere, and rumor has it that he is again burning midnight oil and is still hopeful of winning the laurel wreath of a literary genius. Van Cleave, too, has seized his trusty pen, and in his "Square Deal," an organ which he inherited from Post, the Battle Creek manufacturer of gripenuts and postmortum cereals, and in his presidential proclamations in the semi-monthly "American Industries," he plunges into the fray with gusto, not to say eclat. Naturally the followers of Parry, Van Cleave,

Post, et. al., are taking their cue from their leaders and the campaign to "smash socialism" is an inspiring one. It must be discouraging to "sissy" Easely and his National Civic Federation and Sam Gompers and his pure and simple aggregation to find the Parry-Van Cleave crowd robbing them of their thunder and bidding for popularity in the "smash" campaign. And when one stops to survey the field and notes the many different directions from which the armies of "aunties" are marching to destroy socialism, one cannot but sympathize with the intended victim—the puny, young and unsophisticated Socialist party.

Just why the National Association of Manufacturers should decide to accumulate a huge fund for the purpose of making war upon the unions controlled by the conservatives, and who uphold and defend the system that makes the Parrys and Van Cleave possible, is a deep mystery. Gompers & Co. mean no harm—in fact they loudly deplore raising any issue or doing ought that may be calculated to arouse the ire and attract the antagonism of the capitalist class. We must be conservative in our demands and temperate in our language, they say, for fear that our masters may take offense. If the manufacturers increase the cost of necessities 20 per cent, let us request an advance of 10 per cent in wages; if the increase be 40 per cent in necessities, we shall ask 20 per cent more wages, and thus plug the hole of deficit in our purchasing power. The capitalists must have a "fair share" of profits or they would not become multi-millionaires and it would not pay them to hunt around for work for the workingman to do. The only explanation for the decision of the N. A. M. to raise \$1,500,000 to be used in combating organized labor is probably found in the fact that the great, big capitalists are squeezing the middle class crowd so hard that the latter hope to recoup their losses or get rich quicker by shaking more wealth out of the working class.

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There is no doubt but much of the \$1,500,000 to be raised by the National Association of Manufacturers will be utilized in corrupting the labor movement and honeycombing the unions with their espionage systems. Nor is there any longer doubt of the close connection between the Citizens Alliance and the Pinkerton agency, and the National Association of Manufacturers with the Corporations Auxiliary, the Manufacturers' Information Bureau and kindred concerns that boast of having elaborate organizations of sneaks and traitors in the unions. Recently one of these agencies, the Corporations Auxiliary, in appealing for patronage from that element among the capitalists—like the Carnegies and Belmonts and Baers—who realize the danger and futility of completely destroying unions, but who would rather direct and control them, made the statement in a confidential circular that its emissaries are helping to "run" the unions along conservative grooves.

"Our experience has convinced us," says the communication to the capitalists, "that the best way to control labor organizations is to lead and not to force them. We are also convinced that the conservative element in all unions will control when properly led and officered, which we are prepared to do. We help to eliminate the agitator and organizer quietly and with little or no friction, and further, through the employment of our system, you will know at all times whom among your employees are loyal and to be depended upon."

Now while this grafting spying agency unquestionably makes extravagant claims, it is nevertheless true that some of the emissaries of the dozen odd sneak and traitor bureaus have pushed themselves to the front and occupied positions of prominence. This fact is clearly illustrated in "The Pinkerton Labor Spy," just issued, which shows that one Smith, a Pink thing, was appointed an organizer of the United Mine Workers, a fellow named Cochran held a similar position in the Western Federation of Miners, still another named Gratiot was the most trusted official in the strike at Denver, and many other reptiles wormed their way into organizations for the purpose of betraying workmen for blood money. Several years ago the writer obtained and published a complete list of spies and traitors, employed by the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, who were under direction of many of the leading trusts and combines in the country. Some of the scoundrels were holding positions of honor and responsibility in various bodies and were driven out, others operated under assumed names and could not be traced, having a new in every place where they applied their nefarious occupation.

While these degenerated procurers of scabs and traitors are aiming to claim credit for many foolish things that are done by the so-called conservatives, and becoming rich and fat in their grafting, the truth is that, with possibly an exception here and there, the union officials are as conscientious and incorruptible lot of men as can be found in any avenue of life. Generally they are cordially hated and fought hard by capitalists and receive plenty of "knocks" from their own people, only to be dumped sooner or later, despite their hysterical assurances that they are safely and sanely conservative. Just why, after being constantly on the firing line of the class struggle and forced to plan and worry and work to keep their organizations intact, these so-called "leaders" should exuberantly and monotonously plume themselves upon conserving the present planless system, is another riddle that is difficult to solve. The mention of political action to them along socialist lines is likely to horrify the real conservative "labor leader" fully as much as the most uncompromising, Parryized plutocrat. Even though the rank and file are unresponsive, "not ready," as claimed etc., and, as a rule, the members are more inclined to be progressive than the officials—that is no reason why the leaders should not lead, speaking in a political expense. But Gompers, Duncan, Mitchell, O'Connell and the rest of the crowd in control of the Federation would rather attack and suppress the radicals in their own ranks than to combat the capitalist class and strip it of its privileges. If you are a Republican or Democrat and stupidly vote the same blamed old machine ticket each year you are regarded with favor by the aforementioned gentlemen, but if you are a Socialist you immediately become an object of suspicion. They inform the world that you are a no good trade unionist and abuse you like a pirate, and then, if you withdraw and start a show of your own, you become the worst double-dyed villain on earth. It is as much a crime today to advocate overthrowing tyrannical exploiters as it was a century ago or two thousand years ago or in the time of Moses or any other time. If the master class will condescend to reduce the labor time somewhat or concede an increase in wages of ten per cent, in order to permit the leaders to boast of their wonderful accomplishments, the praises of that class will be sung, even though the price of bread and meat and clothing and shelter be advanced double the amount.

Therefore, it need cause no surprise when such parasitical institutions as the Corporations Auxiliary take advantage of the situation created by the conservatives to discredit them and profit at their expense. Likely as not these grafting agencies will soon issue special secret circulars pointing out who are safe and sane leaders and who are hateful radicals in their endeavor to obtain chunks of that \$1,500,000 that is to be accumulated by the National Association of Manufacturers as well as proportionate amounts set aside by other employers' associations, trusts and combines to make war upon labor.

As is well known in every case where there is a fundamental principle at stake brought in the high courts labor is usually handed a lemon and consequently the Parryites are elated. This has been once more demonstrated in the United States Supreme Court decision in the test case to compel government contractors to obey the eight-hour law in dredging harbors, rivers, etc., and to which attention was called in this department of the Review several months ago. The eight-hour law limits the employment of mechanics and laborers on public works to eight hours a day. The dredging companies have flagrantly violated the law, and owing to agitation among the workers test cases were brought in Massachusetts and Ohio. The defendant companies of contractors were prosecuted and found guilty in the lower courts and in time their cases found their way into the United States Supreme Court—the same body that recently placed the seal of approval upon kidnaping, especially when it concerned workingmen. The upper court starts out by declaring that the eight-hour law is constitutional, but held that it “does not apply to laborers and mechanics on dredges, and that men so employed cannot be held to be employed upon public works.” The novel excuse is also offered that persons working on dredges “are not laborers and mechanics” but are seamen, to whom the law is not applicable. In other words, if dredgemen are not employed upon public works, then it follows that the rivers and harbors are privately owned. This is the view that is undoubtedly taken by the vessel owners' associations and dock combines that control the waterways as thoroughly as ever the pirates controlled the Spanish main. Probably the last Congress voted \$87,000,000 for river and harbor improvements for the benefit of the modern pirates for the same reason that the manufacturing barons have been subsidized with tariffs and that fortunes might be piled up for certain individual labor skinners amounting into hundreds of millions. Then, again, if a dredgeman is not a laborer or mechanic, but a seaman, what is a seaman? Is he some sort of curiosity or freak? This august tribunal known as the United States Supreme Court is becoming quite a joke factory. Doubtless it has great amusement when a labor case is brought before it. The judges probably read the A. F. of L. convention proceedings as they related to some of the jurisdictional disputes and decided to destroy the eight-hour law piecemeal, just as some of the charter rights of international bodies are being invaded by the crazy craft autonomists. The judges are a lot of wise old owls. They will allow others to solve the puzzle: What is a seaman? What is a cook? What is a laborer or mechanic? Why is it?

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## AUSTRIA.

After Finland comes Austria, each marking a long step forward in the progress of the International Army of Socialism. In both countries the election followed close upon a hard battle for universal suffrage and while in Austria "Universal" still excluded one sex, yet the advantage over previous conditions was great. In the first ballot fifty-six socialists were elected and the number was largely increased in the second ballot although to just what extent it is as yet impossible to say. The total socialist representatives in the Reichstag will be about eighty.

This places both Austria and Finland ahead of Germany in the number of socialist representatives.

The Christian socialists, who have nothing whatever in common with socialism except the name, had expected a much greater gain than they received. The national parties were almost completely crushed out.

"Even in Bohemia," says *L'Humanité*, "the classic land of race battles, the national parties were crushed. Pan-Germanists and young Bohemians have been particularly wiped out ..... The industrial villages have everywhere elected socialists. Twenty-eight of our comrades were elected on the first ballot in Bohemia."

Such old and well known socialists as Victor Adler, David and Ellenbogen were elected with a greatly increased count. The total number of socialist votes is not yet obtainable but 184,762 were cast in Vienna in contrast with 100,223 at the election of 1901. At this rate the total socialist vote would be something over one million. It is generally agreed that the result is due to the magnificent organization of the Austrian Socialist Party. Says Vorwaerts: "Magnificent as is the result, the methods by which it was attained are equally glorious. The Austrian Party was the victor in the electoral battle because of its skilful utilization of the situation, by its wise adaptation to the essentials of victory without at the same time falling into an unprincipled opportunism. The Austrian Social Democracy can proudly boast of having set forth the principles of socialism with a sharpness not exceeded by any other socialist party. Its agitation was free from all phases of demagogism and was based upon the spirit of Marxism."

## SWEDEN.

The Swedish socialists are making a strong fight for an extension of the suffrage. They have just succeeded in securing the passage by both legislative chambers of a measure reducing the property quali-

fications for voting in a considerable degree. But this will not go into effect until 1909.

The Woman's Suffrage movement has gained most remarkable strength. Recently a great meeting was held in Stockholm where the largest assembly hall, a great building intended for the accommodation of circuses, was filled and thousands crowded the streets outside. Among the speakers at this meeting was the well known socialist Hjalmar Branting.

As a result of this great movement nearly all the Swedish parties are now claiming to favor woman's suffrage, yet the fact is that the only party that has dared to put a plank demanding this right for women in its platform is the socialist, and this party is the only one that is taking any effective steps towards the attainment of the desired privilege.

### JAPAN.

The Japanese socialists are just experiencing a severe persecution. Their meetings have nearly all been broken up; their organizations been disbanded and the government has at last succeeded in permanently suppressing the daily paper which started out with such favorable prospects. Under these conditions the Japanese socialists have announced that for the time at least, they will give up all attempts to publish the paper or to maintain a public organization but will confine themselves to such work of agitation and education as may be carried on secretly, waiting for a more favorable opportunity for open work.

### SPAIN.

Spain has once more been going through the farce of an election. The result which was predetermined before the ballots were cast, was the election by an overwhelming majority of the conservatives. The suffrage is so restricted and management of the elections so corrupt that the socialists could expect no result.

It is slightly significant that the number of republicans (who advocate the abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a republic) increased their seats in the Upper House from five to seven.

### FRANCE.

Recent elections held in Paris for the City Council have seen an increase in the socialist vote and the addition of two members, Brousse and Brunet, to the number of socialist Councilors.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Turn of the Balance**, by Brand Whitlock. Bobbs-Merrill, Cloth, 622 pp., \$1.50.

This is strong meat for the average novel reader. It is the story of a man hounded to his death by the law. To those who have gained their idea of the law from orthodox sources, to whom it is a symbol for protection and justice and fairness between men, this book will come with crushing jar. The law here is a tigerish creature that hunts a working-class family to the uttermost depths. It drives the central figure on from crime to crime and finally lands him in the electric chair, the victim of the law that finally kills him. It sends his sister to the brothel, and forces his father to commit suicide.

The very lid of the social hell is lifted and we get glimpses of the nether world where the victims of capitalism rot and suffer and die. There is a love story running through it, that serves as more than a thread on which to hang the lesson. Indeed the lesson is never preached. The author is too much of an artist for that.

The criticism which might be made is that in its philosophy the book is distinctly anarchistic. It stops short with inculcating a hatred of the law as it is and offers no suggestion of any way out. Not that it would have been artistic to have stuck a speech on socialism, or a description of the co-operative commonwealth into the mouths of one of the characters as some less artistic writers have done in similar cases. But if the picture was to have been wholly true it should have shown that after all the workers are not so utterly helpless as the writer paints them. There should have been some sign of social solidarity, some touch of intelligent revolt, some recognition of class rebellion, as well as of individual hatred against social institutions. This the book lacks and this lack leaves a feeling of dissatisfaction with the reader.

Yet we must not ask too much. The ground must be cleared before the building rises, and no one who reads this book can ever again have quite the same respect for "law and order."

**Family Secrets**, by Marion Foster Washburne, The Macmillan Co., 212 pages, \$1.25.

Marion Foster Washburne, herself a successful editor, has put so many good things into this book that it is well worth a careful perusal. The story is that of a family of culture and education that found itself forced by conditions, over which it had no control, to migrate from its pleasant home to a rather shabby house in the straggling outskirts of the town where the life of their neighbors was filled with poverty and the hard struggle for existence.



The author pictures the stages by which the family, rooted up from all old traditions, adjusted itself to the new conditions in which it found itself. The efforts to make an old and delapidated dwelling look home-like; the keen appreciation of the nature bred by a nearer contact with woods and fields and spring winds and snow storms are told in homey fashion that win the attention and fill the imagination.

The book is replete with observations on the questions in the home that are constantly disturbing the mind of every house wife and mother. Mrs. Washburne has many excellent things to say about the training of children and she speaks from a long and successful experience.

The book is artistically well done and is so entirely above the great quantity of matter written for women that its wholesomeness is refreshing.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### AS TO FINANCES.

Apparently the optimistic report we published in this department last month had the effect of leading the comrades to suppose that no special effort was needed to keep things moving, so they settled back for a rest. At any rate our receipts slumped from \$3021.25 in April to \$1982.22 in May. Our May book sales were \$1341.87, Review receipts \$196.85, and sales of stock \$221.85. Meanwhile our expenses were far heavier than usual, since during the month we printed 50,000 copies of our Socialist Book Bulletin, 30,000 of which were sent out with the regular issue of the Chicago Daily Socialist.

An immediate outlay of several thousand dollars is necessary for the new books we are bringing out, and there is no big capitalist at hand to provide the money; we co-operative stockholders have to do it ourselves.

### MONEY NEEDED NOW.

The manufacture of the second volume of "Capital" is nearly completed, and copies will probably be ready for delivery within a few days after the June Review is in the hands of its readers. The necessary outlay on this book is about \$1200. The translation by Austin Lewis of Engels' "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism" (Anti-Duehring) and Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx" were published last month. Part of the bills are already paid and the rest are just coming due. The total is nearly \$500 for each book. La Monte's "Socialism, Positive and Negative" was published on the last day of May, and represents an outlay of \$250. The plates of Spargo's "Capitalist and Laborer" are finished, and the book will be ready early in June. This means another \$250. The plates of Lafargue's "The Right to be Lazy and Other Studies" and of our new fifty cent edition of Marx's "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" are nearly completed, and we expect to issue both of these books during June. This means another \$500. The printing and

mailing of our Socialist Book Bulletin will cost no less than \$400. An appeal has already been mailed to all paid-up stockholders and responses should soon be coming in. But a large part of the needed money should be raised from the sale of new stock, and the readers of the Review are the ones who ought to subscribe for it.

We sell books to stockholders at cost, and we must depend in large part on the money received from stock subscriptions to provide the capital for issuing new books. The 1744 socialists who have thus far subscribed for stock are mostly working people to whom ten dollars is a large sum. Moreover, many of them put in the money years ago, at a time when there was very little immediate benefit to be derived, because the variety of books issued by the publishing house was so limited. The purchase of a share now gives the right to buy at cost nearly all the socialist books in the English language that are worth reading.

#### SPECIAL CASH OFFER.

A share of stock costs ten dollars. For fifteen dollars cash with order we will send a full-paid stock certificate, the International Socialist Review one year, and any books published by us to the amount of fifteen dollars at retail prices, we paying expressage. On this plan the purchaser will get full value in books for his remittance, so that the share of stock, which will secure him all his socialist books at cost in future, will really cost him nothing. On the other hand, two hundred such subscriptions will give a new impetus to the work of the publishing house, enabling us to put all our energy into bringing out new books and finding new readers instead of being obliged to put a large share of it into the raising of money for immediate needs.

#### MARX'S CAPITAL, VOLUME TWO.

The event of the year in socialist publishing is the issue of the second volume of Marx's Capital, translated by Ernest Untermann. This volume appeared in German in 1885; it was soon after translated into French, and has long been a most important part of the armory of our socialist comrades on the continent of Europe. We have already received an advance order for five hundred copies from Swan Sonnenschein & Co., the London publishers. We have also received an order for a hundred copies from the Wilshire Book Company. But the advance orders thus far received from our 1744 stockholders up to the first of June amount to only 118 copies. We have already sold over 1500 copies of our new edition of Volume I. We had previously imported and sold over a thousand copies of the London edition, and hundreds of copies of this had undoubtedly been imported by others before we began advertising it. Moreover a New

York reprint had been widely circulated, probably to the extent of several thousand copies. This makes it evident that there will be an immense demand for the second volume when once it becomes known. But the bills for printing and binding it have to be paid now. Send your order in at once. If you are a stockholder, we will mail it for \$1.20. If not, you will have to send \$2.00, but we will if you wish credit 80c out of the \$2.00 as your first payment on a share of stock, with the understanding that you will send not less than a dollar a month until the share is paid for. In that case you can buy books at the same rates as a full-paid stockholder, while you are making your payments.

### SOCIALISM, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE.

This little book by Robert Rives La Monte, which sells for 50c with the usual discount, is something that no reader of the International Review will want to miss. It is not a book for the kindergarten, though its opening article, "Science and Socialism," is one of the best constructive statements of the socialist position ever made. But the remainder of the book tells the whole truth about socialism for socialists. It is brilliant, fearless, searching. It pricks some beautiful bubbles. It will ruffle some people's feelings. But it will leave the reader with a clearer view of socialism and a better understanding of his own mental make-up. And it is delightful reading. Now ready.

### LANDMARKS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM (ANTI-DUEHRING).

An extended review of this book by A. M. Simons appears elsewhere in this issue. Little has been said of the book thus far in our announcements, but we are now ready to fill all orders for it on the day they are received, and it should be in every socialist library, however small. One dollar, to stockholders 60c, postpaid.

### BOUDIN'S "THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX.

A student who wishes to understand the modern socialist position and to know just how little foundation there is to the claim in certain quarters that the Marxian system has been outgrown, will find this the most satisfactory book to study. We published the author's preface in this department last month. A review of the book will appear later. Meanwhile we can hardly commend the book too highly to those wishing a clear and comprehensive introduction to the study of Marx. The questions of value and surplus-value are handled in a way that is especially helpful to the beginner. One dollar, to stockholders 60c, postpaid.

**BEBEL'S "WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM."**

We have made an arrangement with a New York publisher by which we are enabled to offer 250 copies of this great work by the greatest living socialist on the same terms as if we controlled its publication. It is a volume of 390 large pages, substantially bound in cloth. We will mail it (if ordered at once) to any address for \$1.00 or to any stockholder in our publishing house for 60c. We have no space here for a description, but we have described the book in our Socialist Book Bulletin, a copy of which will be mailed free on request. We can not promise to supply copies when our present lot is exhausted, and would therefore advise those wishing to make sure of the book to order at once.

**LORIA'S "ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY."**

This work by Achille Loria, an Italian professor, is one of the most useful books to make clear to the beginner the socialist principle of economic determinism. It is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the economic foundations of morality, of the law, and of politics. We have for several years been importing copies from London, but at so high a cost that we could not afford to advertise the book. We have just concluded a new arrangement by which the sale of this book will pay its fair proportion of the general expenses of the publishing house, and we have laid in a large supply. It is a book of 400 pages, price \$1.25, to stockholders 75c, postpaid.

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We desire here to call attention to two special offers which are fully explained in the Socialist Book Bulletin.

For one dollar we will mail the Review six months and a full set of sixty socialist booklets, including all the numbers of the Pocket Library of Socialism with a number of larger pamphlets. These books sell separately for five cents each. There is no profit in this offer, but there is any amount of propaganda. The offer applies either to renewals or new subscriptions. We will if desired send the Review to one address for a year and two sets of the books for \$2.00.

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These offers are not limited to stockholders, but are open to any reader of the Review. The selection of books must be left to us; the offers are made to close out a miscellaneous lot of books which we have on hand, and as there are only a few copies of each title, we can not publish a list of them. Address,

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# THE Rise of the American Proletarian

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The industrial history of America has yet to be written, but in this volume Mr. Lewis has at least sketched the background and drawn an outline that cannot be neglected by the future historian. His chapter on "The Rise of the Greater Capitalism" deserves the most careful attention of every serious student of American history.

Probably no American writer has assimilated more thoroughly the dialectic mode of thought which is associated with the names of Hegel, Marx and Dietzgen; and it is this revolutionary mode of thought which is the distinctive work of the proletarian revolutionist, rather than the mere formal acceptance of the goal of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Such a passage as the following is most refreshing, and could never have been written by the Middle Class derelicts who have necessarily done much of the pioneer work of Socialist propaganda.

"It is not by the good in a system but by the evil in it that progress is made. Anything which tends to obscure the antithesis existing in a social organization, to hide the contradiction, is an obstacle in the path of progress. Boards of arbitration and such like efforts to reconcile irreconcilable interests are really only nuisances. The antithesis is there, all soft words to the contrary notwithstanding, it must work itself out, and upon this working out depends the progress and further development of the particular society. We shall now see how the antithesis existing in the feudal system declared itself, and how it finally resulted in the destruction of that social system, for, as Engels says, in a sort of paraphrase of the Hegelian dictum concerning the rationality of all existing things, the chief value of all phenomena is the certainty of their disappearance."

The impotence of labor organizations divided by craft lines, and the blighting effects upon proletarian independence of organized co-operation between "labor leaders" and representatives of the greater capitalism are convincingly set forth by Mr. Lewis.

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